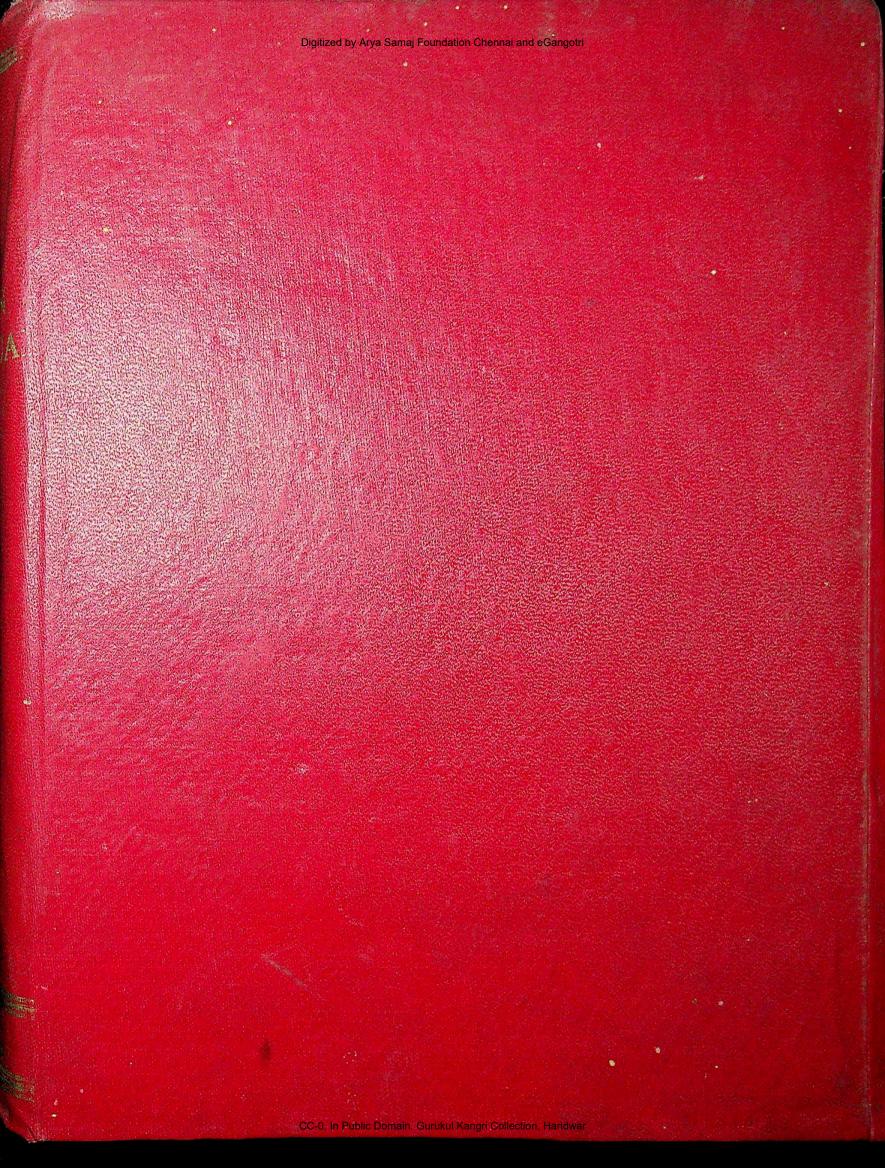
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THE

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IN

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# THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

### VOLUME LVI-1927



THE PROMOTION OF DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN THE COMPANY'S DAYS.1

By C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

A. Early Missionary Effort.

The pioneers of the modern study of the South Indian vernaculars and particularly of Tamil, were the European missionaries. It is said that immediately after the celebrated St. Francis Xavier commenced his labours among the Paravas on the Tinnevelly coast towards the end of 1542, he arranged to have the Creed, the Ave Maria, the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue rendered into Tamil and himself committed the translations to memory.<sup>2</sup> Robert de Nobili and Constantius Beschi (1680-1747) inspired by their admirable labours the enthusiasm of all lovers of Tamil. Nobili was a nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine and came out in 1606 to serve the famous Madura Mission and died near Mylapore about half a century later, combining in his own person the sanctity of the sannyâsî and the erudition of the pandit. Beschi spent the years 1710-1747 in the Tamil districts, where he acquired a marvellous knowledge of Tamil, especially over its classical dialect, "as no other European seems to have ever acquired over that or any other Indian language".<sup>3</sup>

The labours of these two great pioneers of European scholarship in Indian languages are fully portrayed in the Annual Letters of the priests of the Madura Mission preserved in the Archives of the Society of Jesus and in some cases in the public libraries of Europe. These Letters were written annually, sometimes every three years, from every Province or Mission of the Society to its General in Rome, giving an account of every important event that occurred in the Mission. It was from this inexhaustible quarry that Father Bertrand drew materials for his voluminous work—La Mission du Maduré (4 vols.)— and also Father Besse for his instructive biography of Beschi.<sup>4</sup> The Letters of the Madura Mission preserved in the Archives of the Society are secured in photographs in the private library of the St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. "The various compilations published under the name of Lettres edifiantes et curieuses were made up from such annual letters".<sup>5</sup>

As a great Tamil scholar and poet, Beschi has always attracted the attention of all Tamils and of Protestant missionaries, engaged in Tamil studies, like Rottler, Caldwell and Pope. Of Beschi's works on the grammar of the Tamil language and of his dictionaries, one writer admiringly points out that they "have proved invaluable aids to his successors and to Protestant missionaries and indeed to all students of Tamil after him". A list of Beschi's numerous works in prose and verse, both in Tamil and in Latin, was published in The Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1840. There was indeed a previous manuscript Life of Beschi in Tamil written about 1790 which probably served as the basis for the saint's life, which was published in Tamil in 1822 by A. Muttuswami Pillai, Manager of the College of Fort St. George, who, some years previously, undertook a tour in the southern districts of the Presidency for the purpose of securing a collection of Beschi's works, at the instance of F. W. Ellis, a celebrated linguistic scholar. The Memoir was enriched with a catalogue of Beschi's works

<sup>1</sup> A paper submitted to the Lahore session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1925

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Caldwell's History of Tinnevelly, (Madras, 1881), p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> Caldwell-Introduction to the Comparative Study of the Dravidian Languages, (1875).

<sup>4</sup> Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus; His Times and Writings, (Trichinopoly, 1918).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-4.

and extracts from some of them. In 1840 the author gave, at the request of Sir Walter Elliot, an English version of the biography. There is a translation into French of the Tamil notice of Muttuswami Pillai made by Father Louis du Ranquet, S.J., in a letter, dated the Fishery Coast, 1st March 1841.<sup>6</sup> A manuscript French notice of Beschi by a contemporary Capuchin missionary who wrote in 1731 is said to have been found in the library of the Church of Surat and is now in the Calendrier des Missionaries Jésuites dans l' Inde (Bibl. Nationale, Fonds Français, No. 9777, Paris).<sup>7</sup>

According to Sir George Grierson, the first Tamil books were printed in 1577-79; and the first printed Tamil Dictionary was brought out at Cochin in 1679 by Father A. de Proenza. A new Tamil grammar by Baltasar da Costa appeared in 1680; while the grammar of Ziegenbalg, the Danish missionary of Tranquebar, was printed in 1716. These are, however, very rare or not available at all: while Beschi's much better-known Grammar on the Common Dialect of the Tamil Language was written in 1728 for the use of his confrères in the Madura Mission and published in the Tranquebar Press in 1737. This work was translated into English first by C. H. Horst in 1806 and more authoritatively by G. W. Mahon at the S. P. C. K. Press, Madras, in 1848—the latter being considered the most accurate English translation of the work. Father Besse says that Anquetil du Perron, the pioneer French Orientalist, presented an abridged French translation of the same grammar to the Bibliothéque Nationale (MS. No. 219).9

Beschi's Grammar of High Tamil, the preface of which is dated September 1730, was in Latin and remained unedited for nearly two centuries, until the Latin text was published at Trichinopoly along with the English translation of B. G. Babington.<sup>10</sup> Babington's translation was originally printed at the Madras College Press in 1812; and the learned Dr. G. U. Pope calls it "an exceedingly correct and scholar-like edition of a most masterly work."<sup>11</sup>

Connected with this Grammar of High Tamil (Literary Dialect) are two other works by Beschi on the Tamil language; (a) The Tonnûl Vilakkam, all in Tamil; and (b) The Clavis (humaniorum literarum sublimioris Tamulici idiomatis). Both these works are divided into five parts, embracing prosody, rhetoric, composition, orthography and etymology. The first work has been published several times; and a prose version of it is included in the Rev. W. Taylor's Catalogue Raisonnée of Oriental Manuscripts with the Government of Madras; 12 while the work itself is examined as MS. No. 2179. 13 Mr. Taylor says that the MS. prose version has the appearance of having been a class-book, when the Madras College had a native school attached to it. The noted French scholar, M. Julius Vinson, ranks the Clavis among the doubtful works of Beschi, though Dr. A. C. Burnell, the author of South Indian Palæography, had no doubt about Beschi having written it and had it printed at Tranquebar in 1876 from a manuscript, which he thought had been revised by the author in person.

More important than these works on grammar, were Beschi's dictionaries. Of these the first was the Sadur-Agaradi (Quadruple Dictionary) consisting of five parts, which was composed in the years 1732-47, and which disclosed "in its author a vast erudition and an astonishing knowledge of the Tamil language and its classics" according to Bertrand. It was published by the Madras College under the supervision of two Tamil Pandits who revised the manuscript and added a supplement. It has been reprinted several times in Madras and in Pondicherry, the last edition at Pondicherry of 1872 being by the authoritative and accurate scholar, Father Dupuis. The next lexicon of Beschi was the Tamil-Latin Dictionarium,

<sup>6</sup> Besse's Life of Beschi, p. 6.
7 Ibid., p. 9.
8 Linguistic Survey of India, vol. IV, Munda and Dravidian, p. 302.

<sup>9</sup> Besse, p. 214.

<sup>10</sup> A Grammar of High Tamil, Latin Text with the English Translation of B. G. Babington, Trichinopoly, (1917).

 <sup>11</sup> Tamil Hand-Book (Madras, 1867), p. 67.
 12 MS. No. 2172, p. 784, vol. III (Madras, 1862).
 13 MS. No. 2179, p. 2, vol. III (Madras, 1862).

with a long Latin preface, wherein the author compares himself to St. Paul, "the custodian of the garments of those who stoned St. Stephen." He then praises Father Bourzes, the author of a Tamil-Latin Dictionary, which had been useful to him in the compilation of this work. There was a French translation of this work, of which Anquetil du Perron wanted a copy made for him by the Superior of the Mission at Mahé. According to his original plan Beschi was to have supplemented this work by a Portuguese-Latin-Tamil Dictionary as a second part. Portuguese was then the language commonly understood by all Europeans in South India, and the Mission House of Trichinopoly possesses a copy<sup>14</sup> of the second part, in which Beschi gives the meaning of 4353 Portuguese words. With the help of this work, other missionaries prepared French-Tamil Dictionaries which are usually attributed to Beschi. The Rev. E. Hoole, in his preface to Beschi's Tamil work-Rules for Catechists-which he published in 1844, mentions a Dictionary of Tamil and English among the works of Beschi, while Muttuswami Pillai attributes also to him a Latin-Tamil Dictionary, now extant.

It has also been suggested by Father Besse that Beschi composed a Telugu Grammar, on the ground that Telugu was the language spoken at the Court of the Nayaks of Madura, with which Beschi must have been familiar, and that a century before him de Nobili had composed works in Telugu without ever having left the Tamil country. M. Vinson is not inclined to accept the tradition, and possibly the Telugu grammar was the work of one of the fathers of the Carnatic Mission, whose field of activity was mostly in the Telugu country.

Among the manuscripts which Muttuswami Pillai collected as being the works of Beschi, are found other works, theological and secular, too numerous to mention here. The Têmbâvani, a long and highly wrought religious epic on St. Joseph in 36 cantos, in the style of the ancient classic of the Chintâmani, enables him to be placed in the very first rank of Tamil poets; and "the Tamils could not believe that it was the work of a foreigner". 15 Beschi's Commentary in Latin and Tamil on the Sacred Kural of Tiruvalluvar has been made use of by later editors and translators of the great book, like Ellis<sup>16</sup> and G. U. Pope.<sup>17</sup> Beschi was the last and the most learned of those Jesuit missionaries, and shortly after his time the Jesuit Society and the Madura Mission were suppressed; and for long the great accomplishments of Beschi remained forgotten.18

While the Madura Mission did pioneer work in Tamil studies, Protestant missionary effort soon followed suit. The earliest Protestant Mission to South India was the Tranquebar Danish Mission, started by Ziegenbalg and Plutscho. They learnt Tamil "without dictionary, grammar or Munshi"; and between 1708 and 1711 contrived to translate the New Testament into Tamil, and followed it up shortly afterwards with the Hebrew Bible as far as the Book of Ruth.<sup>19</sup> By 1725 the Tamil version of the Old Testament, begun by Ziegenbalg, was completed by his successor, Schulze. This was the magnum opus of the missionaries and received two appreciative letters of recognition from King George I of England.20 The first printing-press that was established in Madras was by the S. P. C. K. in 1711, which had recently begun its operations at the Presidency. It began to take a deep interest in the activities of the Tranquebar Mission which had its own press. Schulze subsequently took charge of a mission in Madras, where he preached in the Tamil, Telugu and Portuguese tongues and translated portions of the Bible into Telugu and Hindustani. The Tranquebar missionaries subsequently printed a

<sup>14</sup> Besse, p. 231.

<sup>15</sup> Nelson, A Manual of the Madura Country (1868), part III, p. 299.

<sup>16</sup> Ellis, Kural (Madras, 1822), 304 pp. (incomplete).

<sup>17</sup> Pope, The Sacred Kural (Frowde, 1886).

<sup>18</sup> See the writer's article in The Educational Review, vol. XXIV (Madras), on "The Madura Mission, and Tamil Scholarship;" Caldwell's History of Tinnevelly, pp. 232-244; and D'Orsay, Portuguese Discoveries, Dependencies and Missions in Asia and Africa (1893), pp. 251-261, which gives an account of Robert de

<sup>19</sup> J. W. Kaye, Christianity in India (1859), p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Claudius Buchanan's Christian Researches in India, (1840).

grammar in Tamil and German and a history of the Church in Tamil.<sup>21</sup> Beschi's first grammar on the Common Dialect appeared in 1737; while C. Th. Walter's Grammar appeared two years later. Ziegenbalg's Dictionarium Tamulicum was prepared in 1712, and was perhaps only a manuscript.<sup>22</sup> A Tamil Grammar by J. Ch. Fabricius and J. Chr. Breithaupt, missionaries of Madras, was issued in a second edition in 1789. Among these early missionaries, the scriptural system of instruction, the training of schoolmasters and catechists, the publication of manuals of the grammars of the vernaculars and of translations of the Bible, were the methods employed,<sup>23</sup> and they opened not merely western education among the people, but also an era of critical study of these languages. Under the illustrious Christian Frederick Swartz, who laboured in the country for nearly half a century from 1750, and his contemporaries and colleagues, Gericke, Kohloff and Kiernander, translation of Scriptures and other works went on increasing, with large aids from the S. P. C. K. When Valentyn, an indefatigable missionary, who had long resided in Malaya and had translated the Scriptures into colloquial Malay, wrote his history (1727), the Old and New Testaments had been almost completely translated into Singalese as well.

In Malayalam also, much activity was displayed by the missionaries. A Portuguese grammar with a Malayalam vocabulary was published in 1733. Portuguese and Italian missionaries are stated by Grierson<sup>24</sup> to have completed a Malayalam dictionary in 1746, based on materials accumulated in the two previous centuries. The German Jesuit, J. Ernst Hanleden, is stated by Fra Paolino to have written a grammar, which does not seem to have been printed. Other grammars on the language were written by Peter Clemens (Rome, 1784) and by Robert Drummond (Bombay, 1799). In 1781 J. Adam Cellarius published some notes on the features of the language. Grierson says that the first Malayalam printed book was probably the Symbolum Apostolicum printed in 1713 at an unknown place.

With regard to Kanarese (Kannada), the Spanish Jesuit Hervas gave 63 Kanarese words in his vocabulary. Schulze, the Danish missionary, prepared a Kanarese version of the Lord's Prayer, which was printed in Berlin in 1806. The famous Serampore missionaries took up the study of Kanarese in earnest; and a grammar of the language by William Carey appeared in 1817, followed six years later by a translation of the New Testament.<sup>25</sup>

The Telugu (or Gentoo) language is frequently mentioned in the Madras Records from 1683 to 1719. Nobili was said to have written some books in that tongue; but Schulze was the first European who made a thorough study of it. He translated the Bible into Telugu, published a Catechismus Telugicus Minor (Halle, 1746); Colloquium Religiosum Telugicae (Halle, 1747) and other books. He also gave an account of the Telugu alphabet in his Conspectus Litteraturae Telugicae, (Halle, 1747). Later a Telugu grammar was printed at Madras in 1807, and a Telugu translation of the New Testament was issued from the Serampore Mission Press in 1816, followed by a version of the Pentateuch in 1851. It was in Telugu that the greatest necessity was felt by the Madras Government for encouraging the production of books, which would serve the double purpose of assisting civilians, missionaries and other Europeans and also of helping the natives in the acquisition of English; and it was the Telugu masters and scholars of the College of Fort St. George who greatly helped in the promotion of Dravidian linguistic studies by the Madras Government from about 1800. The Carnatic Mission, which was started for the Telugu country by the Jesuits in 1702, had the services of eminent scholars like John Calmette (1693-1740)<sup>26</sup>, who was a great Sanskrit scholar and very probably the Satyabodha Swamulavaru of the Vedânta-Rasâyanam and who besides translated into Sanskrit a large Catechism de la Foi, including a book from the Tamil by Father Beschi.

<sup>21</sup> The Educational Review (Oct. 1923), article, "Progress of Education in Madras in the 18th century," by C. S. Srinivasachari.

<sup>22</sup> G. A. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, vol. IV, p. 302.

<sup>23</sup> Hough, History of Christianity in India, vol. III, p. 104. 24 Linguistic Survey, vol. IV, p. 350.

<sup>25</sup> George Smith, Life of William Carey (1885), pp. 238-9; and Grierson, vol. IV, p. 368.

<sup>26</sup> History of the Telugu Christians (Trichinopoly), 1910, p. 308.

#### B. Encouragement by Government.

It was from the starting of the Board for the College of Fort St. George<sup>27</sup> that Government actively took in hand the publication of works in the Dravidian and other native languages and in working the College Press. The Board maintained a depôt and library for the sale and loan of oriental works; and later took charge of the library28 of Oriental manuscripts transferred from the Museum of the Madras Literary Society, which was started in 1817 by Sir Thomas Newbolt, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Regular rules <sup>29</sup> for observance by the Board of the College were framed in 1820. The College, besides training civil servants in the vernaculars, supervised the instruction of Munshis and of persons who were to be appointed law-officers and pleaders in the native courts. The College was advised by Government that "the acquirement of a knowledge of the general grammar and connexion of the several languages of Southern India and of some acquaintance with the sources whence they spring is the chief object of the first two branches of this course."30 Sometime later Government asked the College Board, which consisted of scholars like F. W. Ellis and A. D. Campbell, to report their opinion regarding the merits of the Carnatica (Kannada) Grammar and Vocabulary submitted by Mr. John McKerrell.31 Shortly afterwards the Board granted certificates of proficiency to native scholars trained by it, including Muttuswami, the biographer of Beschi, and addressed Government concerning the purchase of the copyrights of "several elementary works of first utility in the High and Low Dialects of the Tamil Language—commencing with Beschi's Grammar of Low Tamil". confine its patronage to the products of European scholarship alone. It recommended the purchase of the copyrights of A Brief Exposition of the Tamil, by Chidambara Pandaram, the Head Tamil Master of the College, and of a Telugu Dictionary entitled the Andhra Dîpica, compiled by one Mamidi Vencayya of Masulipatam, declaring that the latter work would greatly assist in the formation of an ample Telugu and English Dictionary and proposing the sum of 1,000 star-pagodas for the purchase of the copyright<sup>32</sup>. The Board desired also to acquire the right over a Sanskrit dictionary by the same author. Consequent on its recommendation, the manuscript of A. D. Campbell's A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language commonly termed the Gentoo was acquired on public account<sup>33</sup>, and the work was printed at the College Press, being dedicated to the Governor-General, the Earl of Moira, K.G. Works on law were also recommended; for instance, the translation of the Vignanesvariyam by the Head Tamil Master of the College, who was also employed in rendering into Tamil the Vyavahâra-kândam, corresponding with the 8th and 9th books of Sir William Jones' Translation of the Institutes of Manu.34 It was ultimately recommended that the copyright should be purchased for 1000 pagodas, which the author agreed to expend in the erection of a public choultry. 5

In 1815 efforts were made to produce works in Malayalam, and in a Consultation, dated 26th April 1815, recording a letter from the College Board, we read that Mr. Whish had made considerable progress in a grammar of the Malayalam tongue and that he had also commenced a dictionary in that language, and now requested the sanction of the College Board to continue his design of making a copious grammar and converting the two vocabularies (recently

<sup>27</sup> Notification, dated the 1st May 1812, vide Public Consultations, 1st and 5th May, 1812.

<sup>28</sup> Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, (1885, Madras), p. 543.

<sup>29</sup> Rules for the College of Fort St. George, published by Government in 1820.

<sup>30</sup> PP. 2471-72 MS. Pub. Consultations, 1st and 5th May 1812 (Madras Record Office).

<sup>31</sup> Public Consultations, 14th July, 1812.

<sup>32</sup> Fort St. George, Public Consultations, dated 28th September 1813.

<sup>33</sup> Extract from a letter from the Court of Directors, dated 2nd April 1813, para. 31. Fort St. George, Consultation, 7th Dec. 1813, gives the approval of the Governor-in-Council to acquire the copyright. The 1st edition of the book is dated 1816.

<sup>34</sup> Public Consultations, 21st June 1814, pp. 3446-47 of vol. VIII of the year (Madras Record Office).

<sup>35</sup> Public Consultations, 11th Sep. 1815.

6

purchased by Government from Mr. Murdoch) into the form of good serviceable dictionaries. In the course of the same year the College Board was asked by Government to report on the Tamil Translation of the English Liturgy36 prepared by the Rev. Mr. Rottler, promising him assistance if the report should be favourable. Likewise the Board was required to report on Babington's Tamil Translation of Beschi's Grammar of Shen Tamil (Higher Dialect).37 The Board declared that Rottler's work was of limited utility, the translation being too stiff and in some places not conveying the plain meaning. It declared itself satisfied with the Telugu grammar prepared by Mr. A. D. Campbell and requested Government to bring it to the favourable notice of the Court of Directors, soliciting financial assistance38. The book was published in 1816 and saw its third edition as late as 1849.39 In the preparation of the Grammar. Mr. Campbell was assisted by the note! scholar F. W. Ellis and also by the learned Telugu instructor, Udayagiri Venkatanarayana Iyah, who was Head English Master at the College and later became Interpreter to the Supreme Court, and also by Pattabhirama Sastri, Head Sanskrit and Telugu Master at the College. The latter gentleman compiled a Telugu Dhâtumala (List of Roots). It was Campbell who first pointed out the radical and intimate connection that exists between Telugu and the other South Indian vernaculars.

Correspondence was long carried on between Government and the Board on the questions of McKerrell's Karnataka Grammar and Telugu Dictionary and of Whish's Malayalam Grammar and Dictionary. 40 In 1816 Mr. Campbell made a further proposal to compile a Telugu Dictionary, which he asked to be referred to the Court of Directors. 41 Shortly afterwards Government asked for payment of charges for the collection of books and manuscripts purchased by the College Board from Colonel Colin Mackenzie and a native assistant of his. 42

One Mr. J. Dalziell supplied to the Board the specimen of a Telugu Dictionary that he proposed to complete, and this offer, as well as another made by him to compile a Telugu and English Dictionary, were both disposed of. The Telugu Grammar published by Mr. W. Brown was not favourably reported on at first and Government refused to purchase copies of it.43 In 1819 Government ordered, on the favourable report of the College Board, to be transmitted to England copies of The Tales of Vikramanka in Telugu, compiled by K. Gurumurthy, a master in the College. It also ordered the printing and distribution of an almanac prepared by the native astronomer of the College, as well as the second edition of Campbell's Telugu Grammar. In the following year the proposal that Mr. Campbell should compile a Telugu Dictionary took definite shape; and Government permitted him 44 to take two native assistants from the College to Bellary, to help him in the preparation of his Dictionary. Again, on the recommendation of the College Board, Government passed orders that "Mr. Morris's elementary work in the Telugu language" be printed and published under its auspices and the author be sufficiently remunerated. 45 The English and Telugu Dictionary, which Mr. Morris published in 1835, was compiled under the auspices of the College Board and was at their recommendation purchased by Government on behalf of the Hon'ble the

<sup>36</sup> Public Consultations of 20th January.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 10th March 1815, p. 672 of Record in the Record Office.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 22nd Dec., pp. 3358 and 3536 of volumes in the Record Office.

<sup>33</sup> The work was entitled, A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language commonly termed the Gentoo. It was however as a tolerably correct treatise, being the translation of an original crabbed work.

<sup>40</sup> Public Consultations, 10th March, p. 672, 26th April and 8th July (1815), pp. 672, 1116, 1853, of Record Office volumes.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 1st of June 1816 (Dispatch Nos. 55 and 56 in the Records).

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 14th of August 1816 (Dispatch. Nos. 20 and 21).

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 15th April 1817 (Dispatch Nos. 44 and 45).

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 23rd February 1820 (Dispatch Nos. 232-5).

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 1820, 18th July (Dispatch Nos. 12 and 13); 1st August (Dispatch Nos. 11 and 12); 20th October (Dispatch Nos. 11 and 12),

Company, to whom the copyright was assigned. In this compilation the author was assisted by the College Telugu Master, K. Gurumurthy Sastri, to whom reference has been already made 46

the College Telugu Master, K. Gurumurthy Sastri, to whom reference has been already made. 46 Besides Messrs. McKerrell, Dalziell, Campbell and Morris, we learn from a consultation 47 that Mr. Boileau asked the help of a Telugu teacher in the completion of his Telugu Dictionary. Both Dalziell's Dictionary and W. Brown's Grammar<sup>48</sup> were refused assistance. Shortly afterwards, we read of the handsome donation made by Lieutenant Sinclair of certain Portuguese and Singalese manuscripts to the Library of the College. What use these were of to the Madras scholars, we do not know. From a despatch of the Court of Directors 49 we learn that instructions were given respecting the purchase of W. Brown's Gentoo (Telugu) Vocabulary; Campbell's Telugu Dictionary; Babington's Tamil work; Rottler's Translation of the Liturgy; Morris's Telugu work; McKerrell's Karnataka Grammar and other books. In continuation of their policy of patronising native authors, the Governor and Council<sup>50</sup> sanctioned a reward to Thandavaraya Vadhiar and authorised the printing of Amara Kośa and three other works in Tamil. The College Board was further asked to report on certain of the Mackenzie Manuscripts<sup>51</sup>; and the Tamil translation (perhaps a condensed account) of The Arabian Nights Stories, made by one Gnana-Mudaly, was helped by Government purchasing a certain number of copies.<sup>52</sup> Mr. Charles Philip Brown, the well-known Telugu scholar, now began to rise into prominence. He had already translated the verses of Vamana, a rustic epigrammatic poet; and in 1827 he published at the request of Mr. Clark, a member of the College Board, An Analysis of Telugu Prosody, adding explanations of the Sanskrit system. Several books tendered by Mr. Brown were purchased by Government, who recommended to the Directors the payment of 1,000 pagodas to him for the original of his treatise on Prosody. A few years later Government acquired the copyrights of the Dictionaries of Morris and Reeve on behalf of the Company. To revise the Tamil Dictionary about to be published by the Rev. Dr. Rottler, Government deputed Mr. Harkness, assisted by two Munshis, and later Mr. A. Robertson.<sup>53</sup> The avidity for learning displayed by Major-General Sir John Malcolm, whose sphere of activity lay mainly in the west of India, is well illustrated in a Government consultation<sup>54</sup> defraying the expenses incurred by Muttuswami Pillai in preparing a copy of Beschi's Tamil poem Tembavani, which was presented to Sir John.

The continued assistance rendered by the College Board to Mr. Rottler and his successor, Mr. Taylor, in the compilation of the former's Tamil-English Dictionary<sup>55</sup> is seen in the association of T. Venkatachala Mudali, a certificated teacher of the College, with the work of revision. This work refers nearly all words to their roots or primitives; the synonyms were largely drawn from the Sadur Agaradi; while Beschi's manuscript Dictionary of the Common Dialect and another manuscript dictionary, Tamil and French, by Du Bourges seem to have been made use of to some extent<sup>58</sup>, as well as Fabricius' Tamil and English Dictionary. In 1851, one Captain Ouchterlony solicited patronage for his Tamil-English Lexicon. In 1853

47 Dated 24th August 1821.

49 Embodied in Public Consultation, 7th October 1823.

50 Consultation, 3rd May 1825.

51 Pub. Cons., dated 16th May 1826.

52 Ibid., dated 7th Nov. 1826.

54 Pub. Cons., 28th June 1831.

<sup>46</sup> A dictionary English and Teloogoo, by J. C. Morris, F. R. S. (Madras, 1835)—Introductory Notice:—Pub. Cons., 27th February 1827.

<sup>48</sup> This was William Brown (Cocchi) who died in 1837. "In 1818 he printed a poor vocabulary and a poorer Grammar. I recollect that he assured me the language, which he called Gentoo, possessed no literature," p. xiii—Literary Life of C. P. Brown; An English and Telugu Dictionary (2nd Edition).

<sup>53</sup> Proceedings of Government in the Public Department, Cons. of 23rd Dec. 1828; and Cons. of 20th January 1832.

<sup>55</sup> A Dictionary of the Tamil and English Languages, by the Rev. J. P. Rottler, vol. I., part I (Madras, 1834), vol. I, part II (Madras, 1836-37); part III (Revised by W. Taylor and T. Venkatachala Mudali—1839); part IV (Madras, 1841).

the College Board solicited authority for retaining the Rev. Mr. W. Taylor's services for the formation of a Catalogue Raisonnée of the Oriental Manuscripts in the College Library. 57 According to C. P. Brown<sup>58</sup>, who had a hand in accumulating the Mackenzie MSS. in the Madras College Library, the method adopted by Taylor was unsatisfactory, as he was acquainted with colloquial Tamil alone and unskilled in chronology, and did not use the right method and phraseology in explaining the works. In 1854 the Rev. M. Winslow, American Missionary in Madras, solicited Government patronage to his prospectus of A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil<sup>59</sup>. This work superseded all earlier works and helped in proving that "in its poetic form, the Tamil is more polished and exact than the Greek, and in both dialects with its borrowed treasures more copious than the Latin."60 About the same date Caldwell's Dravidian Affinities was published, Government rendering him also some help<sup>61</sup>. Thus before the Company's rule ended, a brighter day had dawned for

Tamil studies with the appearance of Winslow and Caldwell.

In Telugu studies, the labours of Mr. J. C. Morris supplemented by his brother, Mr. H. Morris, and of Mr. C. P. Brown stand out very prominently. From a perusal of the Index volumes to the Proceedings of the Madras Government in the Public Department we are furnished with abundant testimony as to the educative value and popularity of Morris's Telugu Selections, Brown's Dictionary, and Campbell's Telugu Grammar. Brown rates his Grammar as being the most difficult and intricate of all his works, with the possible exception of his Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Muhammadan Chronology. Brown's works in Telugu are too numerous and varied for detailed notice here; but one may recall the Nistara Ratnâkaram (Ocean of Salvation), which he revised from an unknown author, being a summary of the Christian religion in Telugu metre. Brown himself thus speaks of the state of Telugu learning at the time when he commenced his labours "When I began these tasks, Telugu literature was dying out; the flame was just glimmering in the socket. The Madras College, founded in 1813, preserved a little spark. . . . "62 An outburst of native authorship was the result, which was to be followed in due course by critical studies. As early as 1839, one B. Subbarayulu published Carpenter's English Synonyms with Telugu Explanations. Strangely enough, Morris' Telugu Selections was translated into Malayalam by A. J. Arbuthnot, who submitted it for support by Government<sup>63</sup>. Some years before this date appeared Captain Whistler's Translation into Telugu of the Arabian Nights, and almanacs both in Tamil and Telugu published by the College Board. Malayalam and Kannada (Canarese) came in also for proportionate attention and encouragement by the College Board and by Government. It was the Rev. Mr. Whish who was first encouraged by the College Board in the compilation of a Malayalam Dictionary. A Consultation of 183464 supplied to England information regarding the works in the vernacular languages prepared by the late Mr. C. M. Whish. In 1847 Government gave financial assistance to the Rev. J. Reeks' proposed Grammar of the Mr. F. W. Ellis first pointed out the abundance in Malayalam Malayalam language<sup>65</sup>. of Sanskrit derivatives 66 "in a proportion exceeding half, equal perhaps to three-fifths of the whole under the two heads common to all dialects of South India, tat-samam, pure

58 P. xviii of The Literary Life of C. P. Brown quoted above.

<sup>57</sup> Pub. Cons., 15th February 1853.

<sup>59</sup> Compiled with the assistance of native scholars; and from MS. materials of the Rev. J. Knight of Jaffna (died 1838) assisted by the Rev. P. Percival (Madras, 1862).

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. vii of Preface.

<sup>61</sup> Pub. Cons., 13th Jany. 1854.

<sup>62</sup> P. xxii of The Literary Life of C. P. Brown quoted above.

<sup>63</sup> Proceedings in the Public Dept., 27th Nov. 1849.

<sup>64</sup> Dated 8th July and answering a communication from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

<sup>65</sup> Proceedings in the Pub. Dept., 15th July.

<sup>68</sup> Wilson's Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, etc., (London, 1855), p. xx iii (Preface).

Sanskrit words, or tat-bhavam, derived from Sanskrit." The Desya (native words) may be divided into pure Tamil and derivatives from Tamil. The study of the language was greatly facilitated in this generation by the Grammars of Mr. Spring of the Madras Civil Service and of the Rev. Mr. Peet of the Church Mission Society, and by the good and useful dictionaries of Malayalam and English, and English and Malayalam, compiled by the Rev. Mr. Bailey of the same Mission. In 1842 Government patronage was solicited for the work of Mr. Bailey.67 Both Government and the College went only a little way towards meeting the need for printed books for the use of students.

With regard to Kannada, the want of a good dictionary was supplied early enough68, in which the Madras College had a good share. A better dictionary, both Kannada and English, and English and Kannada, was published in four quarto volumes by Mr. Reeve of the London Missionary Society in 1832. The copyright of Reeve's work was acquired by the Company on the recommendation of the College Board in 1831.63 Reeve commenced his labours as far back as 1817. He emphasized the affinity between Telugu and Canarese, and he made the fullest possible use of the Telugu Dictionary of Campbell and the Sanskrit Dictionary of Wilson. He had to encounter, as he says 70, the full force of adverse conditions—"the rareness of ancient manuscripts, the endless blunders of drivelling and hireling transcribers, the paucity of duplicates for collation, and the comparatively small number of men to be found among the natives, possessing appropriate philological information, soundness of judgment or zeal for literary research and improvement, have occasioned no inconsiderable suspense, annoyance and embarrassment." Records of 1849 tell us of the Government's recommendation to the Court of Directors that help should be given to the Rev. Mr. Moegling in publishing certain works of his in the Kanarese language<sup>71</sup>. The same author was later promised aid in publishing the Basava Purâna and the Chenna Basava Purâna; but the Court of Directors considered that "the aid of Government should be confined to original works or to publications calculated to be useful to junior civil servants, and the expense of which was moderate.72

Works undertaken on behalf of the Madras Government, like Ellis' Mirasi Tenure, Robertson's Glossary in Tamil and English of words used in the law-courts, may also be mentioned in this connection, as having helped in linguistic studies to some extent. Mr. Richard Clarke of the Madras Civil Service collected a great volume of materials relating to terms used in Government records, including Muhammadan law-terms; and his valuable MSS. were useful to Professor Wilson in the compilation of his valuable Glossary. The publications of the Madras School Book Society, started in 1820, formed a most enlightened development of vernacular literature. The abolition of the College of Fort St. George in 1854, and the constitution of a Board of Examiners instead, closed a most useful side of governmental activity. Now that the critical study and promotion of the vernaculars is in full progress, it behaves us to remember gratefully and cherish the good pioneer work done by missionary enterprise and both directly and indirectly by Government agency also—which was promptly and willingly taken advantage of by Indian scholars and students. Further material for the elucidation of this interesting subject lies imbedded in the Records of the Public Department in the Madras Record Office.

<sup>67</sup> Public Consultations, 29th Nov. 1842.

<sup>68</sup> Grammar and Dictionary of Karnata, by J. McKerrell, M.C.S. (1820).

<sup>69</sup> Public Consultations, 2nd Jan. and 12th March 1824; and 28th June 1831.

<sup>70</sup> Preface, p. ii, and Kittel, A Kannada-English Dictionary, (Mangalore, 1894), (Preface), pp. vii and viii.

<sup>71</sup> Public Consultations, 31st July.

<sup>72</sup> Proceedings in the Pub. Dept. of the 16th Nov. 1852 (Dispatch Nos. 19-21).

# YASODHAVALA PARAMÂRA AND HIS INSCRIPTION.

BY R. R. HALDER.

YASODHAVALA was one of the Paramara rulers of Âbu, and was the father of the Paramara Dhârâvarsha, the most famous among them. He secured the throne of Âbu after the deposition of his uncle Vikramasimha. According to Dvyâśraya Kâvya 1 by Hemachandra, Vikramasimha was ruling at Âbu, when Kumârapâla, the Solanki ruler of Gujarât, came to Abu and waged war against Arnôrâja, the Chauhân king of Ajmer. The name of Vikramasimha, however, is not mentioned in the inscription,2 dated Samvat 1287 (A.D. 1230) at the temple of Neminâtha on Mount Âbu which gives the genealogy of the rulers of Âbu; but as Hemachandra (Hemâchârya) was a great Jain scholar in the reign of Kumârapâla, his version cannot be discredited. It seems, however, that at the time of battle between Arnôrâja and Kumârapâla, Vikramasimha turned traitor and went over to the side of Arņôrâja. This disloyalty on the part of Vikramasimha led Kumârapâla to place him in confinement and set his nephew Yaśodhavala on the throne of Âbu.3

Yaśôdhavala ruled at Âbu as a feudatory of Kumârapâla and was a brave warrior. He is said to have killed Ballâla, the lord of Mâlava, when he learned that he had become hostile to the Chaulukya king Kumârapâla of Gujarat<sup>4</sup>. His rule began in s. 1202 (A.D. 1145) and may have lasted up to s. 1220 (A.D. 1163), the date of commencement of his son's rule.

The date of the accompanying inscription of Yaśôdhavala is s. 1202 (A.D. 1145); that is to say, he was the ruler of Abu in that year. Consequently, the above-mentioned battle between Arnôrâja and Kumârapâla of Gujarat must have been fought in or shortly before that year. Some Jain writers, however, have confused this battle with that fought later between the same rulers.

From the Chitorgarh inscription of Kumârapâla, dated Samvat 1207 (A.D. 1150), we learn that Kumârapâla, having defeated Ânaka, the ruler of Śâkambhari, and devastated the Sapâdalaksha country, went to Chitor to view the beauty of that place.5

The ruler Ânaka referred to in this passage was clearly Arnôrâja, the Chauhân king of Ajmer, who is also known as Ânâ, Ânâka, Ânnalladêva, etc. The Chauhâns were called Sakambharîsvara or Sambharînarêsa (kings of Sakambharî or Sambharî) after their capital at Sâkambharî (Sâmbhar). The capital of Arnôrâja, however, was not Sâmbhar, but Ajmer, to which place the seat of the capital of the Chauhâns was transferred from Sâmbhar by Ajayarâja (Ajayadêva), father of Arņôrâja. Before Sâmbhar, the Chauhâns had their capital at Någaur (Ahichhatrapura) in the Jodhpur State. This is known from an inscription,6

- दाक्षेः परस्तात्रगरीयभूपेत्रामीयभूत्यैः पलदीययोधैः सपर्वतीयैश्च सपर्वतीयवेषेष्ठेतोथार्बुदमाससार ॥ ३३ ॥ तां पार्वतीं क्ष्मां कुकणीयपर्णीयशोभमानाभवितेत्यथोचे । पत्तिः स्वकीयो नृपतेर्गहीयपदातियुग्विक्रमसिंहनामा | १४ | Dvyastaya Kavya, canto XVI.
- 2 Epigraphia Indica, vol. VIII, p. 200.
- ततः सर्वावसरे तं विक्रमसिंहमाकार्य द्वासप्तिसामन्तसमक्ष हकयित्वा मह्नैः सज्जीकृत्य कारागारे निक्षिप्तवान् । तद्राज्याधिपं तस्य भ्रात्रव्यं यशोधयलनामानं कृतवांइच ।

Kumarapata-Prabandha of Jinamandanopadhyaya, p. 42; also, Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 188-89 and the Parmaras of Dhar and Malwa by C. E. Luard and K. K. Lele, p. 34.

- Epigraphia Indica, vol. VIII, p. 201.
- सपादलक्षमामद्ये नम्रीकृतभयानकः ।

[स्व]य[म]यान्महीनायो मामे शाव्तिपुराभिषे ॥

सन्निवेद्य सि(गि)विरं पृथु तत्र त्रासितासहनभूपतिचक्रम् ।

चित्रकूरगिरिपु [ब्क्र] लगोमां द्रष्टुमार नृपतिः कृतुकेन  $\parallel$   $E_{pigraphia\ Indica,\ vol.\ II,\ p.\ 423,\ ll.\ 11.13.}$ 

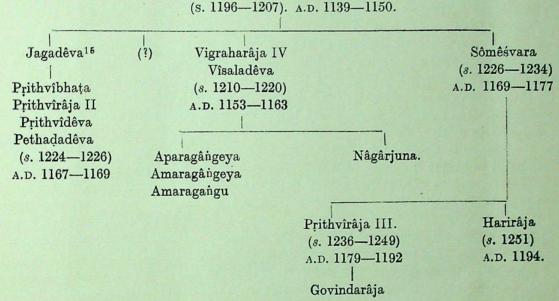
विप्रश्रीवस्सगीत्रेभ्दहिळत्रेपुरे पुरा ।

सामंतीनंतसामंतः पूर्णतः नृपस्ततः ॥ १२ ॥

Also see Indian Antiquary, vol. XL, p. 29.

dated Samvat 1226 (A.D. 1169) found at Bijolyân in the Udaipur State, which states that one of the early Chauhan kings, Samanta, ruled at Ahichhatrapura7. Nagaur was also the capital 8 of Jangaladeśa, which comprised the whole of the present Bikaner 9 State and the northern part of Mârwâr (Jodhpur State). So the Chauhâns were also called kings of Jângaladêśa10. The territory lying in the vicinity of Nâgaur was originally known asSapâdalaksha 11, and the Chauhans were called Sapadalakshiya-nripati (kings of Sapadalaksha). Gradually, the Chauhâns of Ajmer under Vigraharâja (Vîsaladeva) IV extended their sway over the country outside Rajputana, as far as Delhi and Hânsî 12 in the Punjab. 13 Roughly speaking, all the territories that came under the rule of the Chauhâns were known as the Sapadalaksha country.

Arnôrâja and other Chauhâns of Ajmer are shown in the following table 14:-Arnôrâja—Ânnalladêva—Ânaka—Ânâka



The defeat of Arnôrâja mentioned above in the inscription of Chitorgarh was evidently the result of a battle fought in or about Samvat 1207 (A.D. 1150), which is quite different from the former battle, to which I have referred.

-Someśvara's Kirtikaumudi, canto II.

12 प्रतोल्यां च वलभ्यां च येन विश्वामितं यशः [1] दिल्लिकामहणआंतमाशिकान्ताभन्नंभितः (तं)॥ २२॥

Bijolyân Inscription of the time of the Chauhân king Sômêśvara, dated s. 1226. [JASB., 1886, pt. I, p. 42.] 13 Certain parts of the Kishengarh, Jaipur, Bundi, Kotah and Udaipur States were also under the Chauhans.

15 Jagadêva being a parricide, the throne was seized from him by his younger brother Vîsaladêva.

<sup>7</sup> The name Ahichhatra occurs at several places. Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 1, pt. II, p. 560, n. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Indian Antiquary, vol. XL, p. 28.

<sup>9</sup> The rulers of this state style themselves as the 'kings of Jangaladhara.' See also Indian Antiquary, vol. XL, p. 28.

<sup>10</sup> दण्डे मण्डपिका हैमी सहमत्तेमतंग्जैः। दत्वा पादं गले येन जाङ्गलेशादगृह्यत । ५३ हृदि प्रविष्टयद्वास्यिक्तष्टेनाधूर्णितं शिरः। जांगलक्षीयिपालेन व्याचक्षायाः परैरपि । ४६

<sup>11</sup> The name Sapadalaksha also occurs elsewhere. Vide Indian Antiquary, vol. X, p. 344; Epigraphia Indica, vol. XII, p. 30.

<sup>14</sup> According to Prithviraja-Vijaya and several inscriptions. The dates are mostly taken from inscriptions set up during their reign. Consequently, they represent the shortest but surest period of their rule. Their reign may have lasted longer than the above dates of their inscriptions.

While the general contents of the inscription of Yaśodhavala are of no great interest, its date is important, inasmuch as it definitely enables us to determine the period of the first battle between Arņôrâja and Kumârapâla.

The stone was found by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gourishankar H. Ojha in the Sirohi State in Rajputana and is now deposited in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. It contains thirteen lines of writing: lines 8—11 are badly defaced. The character is Nâgarî and the language is Sanskrit, but incorrect. It is dated Monday the 14th day of the bright half of Magha, Samvat 1202 (A.D. 1145), and records that a certain grant was made at the village Âjâhari by the queen Saubhâgyadêvî of the Chaulukya family (of Gujarat) during the prosperous reign of Mahâmandaleśvara Yaśodhavala (ll. 1—6). The next three lines are imprecatory and threaten punishment in the next life to those who may appropriate this grant in future. The last two lines mention the name of the Sûtradhâra (engraver) as Châdadêva, and contain two words talâra and surabhî (ll. 12 and 13 respectively), which need explanation. The word surabhî means a cow and the grants made by kings or rulers inscribed on stones are called sureha, surihi or surî, which are corrupt forms of the Sanskrit word surabhi. Such inscriptions contain on top the figure of a cow with a suckling calf, and sometimes the sun and the moon on either side above the cow, which represents the earth. The idea is that as long as the earth, the sun and the moon shall endure, so long will the grants be preserved. In Rajputana, they are generally found in fields and temples, and this is first inscription known to me, in which the word surabhî is written.

The word talâra is another form of the word talâraksha 16, which seems to be an official title. Probably it meant in those days what the word kôtwâl (a police officer) means at the present day. The word is used several times in the Chirwâ inscription 17, dated Samvat 1330 (A.D. 1273), of the time of Râwal Samarasimha of Mewâr.

In the *Prithvîchand Charitra* of Manikyasundarasûri, composed in s. 1478, there is a list of officials, which includes the names talavar and talavarga. Sometimes in inscriptions we find the word talavargin<sup>18</sup>. The word talliari is perhaps also akin to this (talâra), and means a watchman of the village, whose duty it is to watch crops in the daytime and assist the farmers to do so at night. His peculiar duty, however, is to ascertain the boundaries of each field and of each farmer's possession. In Gujarâtî, the word talâți <sup>19</sup> still refers to a patwâri.

Line.					Text.							r	
1.	ऋों स्वा	स्त संव	त् १२	०२ वर्षे	मायस्	हि <sup>20</sup>	१४ सो-				-		
							डलेस्वर <sup>21</sup>	र्भ	ोय—				
	<sup>22</sup> सोववलदेव्राज्ये चौलुक्यवंसोद्भव <sup>23</sup> —												
4.	पटराज्ञीश्रीसौभाग्यदेव्या त्र्याजाहरीसमा—												
5.	मे	•		•	. ₹	यार्थे	•						
6.							भवत्ता य	[:]	कोपि	रि-	_		
7.	ष्यति स				कुंभीप	गितन <sup>21</sup>	5						
8.	के यास्य	पतो <sup>26</sup>									•		
9.			•			तानि व	कलिकाल						
10.		- T.				न्नाह्मण							
11.				•		व्यारि	सीरपति	•			•		
12.	तलारस												
13.		. स्र	भी प्रा	तिष्ठिला				इ	ति ॥	श्री	11		

- 16 Prof. Monier Williams gives the meaning of it as a 'body-guard.'
- 17 Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. 21, p. 143.
- 18 Ep. Ind., vol. IV, pp. 256 and 258, n. 6; also vol. VI, p. 106, n. 5.
- 19 See Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 217, n. 8.
- 20 Read °शादि 21 Read °पूबर° 22 Read °गाँ° 23 Read °वंशाँ
- 24 Read °सहित: 25 Read °पाकनरके 26 Read यास्यति

#### FOLK-SONGS OF THE TULUVAS. By B. A. SALETORE, B.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.

I. Song of the Holeyas.

The following songs are sung by the Mundâla Holeyas of Udipi Taluk during their marriage ceremony:—

1. The Song in Tulu. Text.

Sandânânâ sânere. Sandânâ Sânere. Pani pani barasogu deshampunde. Pani pani barasogu deshampunde. Pani pani barasogu tattara beda. Pani pani barasogu tattara beda. Ittiri kârâl madimâla. Barabara banjidâye madimâye. Sandânogu baruvâla shankarimanâ. Nidânogu baruvâla nidânabombe. Sandânânâ Sânere. Tumbudunde ponnu Kalikandelo, Kattadande ponnu Nîrakandelo, Sandânânâ Sânere. Mundevu gundida, mudaleda sintema. Yî yencha battâ, Magâ, bâle bangâro? Kandâda kaditta Mandejida magurundu, Kaipetaro? Sandi bedå lingå, såri bedå. Kodi kodusara magâ suddi bedâ,

Sandânânâ Sânere: Sandânânâ Sânere.

#### Translation.

Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment, Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment. When it rains in drops, sprinkle the rice over the pair. When it rains in drops, sprinkle the rice over the pair. When it rains in drops, an umbrella is unnecessary. When it rains in drops, an umbrella is unnecessary. Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (Chorus). With feet like those of the Ittiri bird, does the bride come. With a pattering noise and a big stomach, does the bridegroom come. She comes for a sacred union, the bride. She comes slowly, she comes like a puppet doll. Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (Chorus). She carries a pitcher of toddy on her waist, She carries a pitcher of water on her fore-arm. Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (Chorus). In the ponds of the Screw-pine, with grief as terrible as a crocodile, How did you come, O dear, dear, golden child? Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (Chorus). On the edge of a field, the Madenji fish tumbles, Is it the Kaipetaru fish? Make no promise, O Man, nor wish for an evil turn;

(And) Speak not of the child of Yesterday, O Son, speak not. Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (Chorus).

#### 2. Text.

Le le le le le la Daitirimâle (Chorus). Daitirimâle, tânunchellyabâlenâ; Nerade kândelkondal, Daitirimâle; Tarekuduttu kattondala, Daitirimâle; Guddegalâ phovundala, Daitirimâle; Aluttalâ Battondala, Daitirimâle; Nîrala muttondala, Daitirimâle (Chorus). Ulâyi onjî sôtorogu, Daitirimâle, Tappu maipu pattondula, Daitirimâle. Pidayi onjî sôtorogu, Daitirimâle, Kunti maipu pattondula, Daitirimâle (Chorus). Nîradâ kandela patta (da), Daitirimâle, Nîradâde phovundalâ, Daitirimâle, Kaimone nedyandola, Daitirimâle, Kaimone nedyandola, Daitirimâle (Chorus). Aluttalâ battondala, Daitirimâle. Karakorayi nedyondala, Daitirimâle, Dikkela nîra konovundala, Daitirimâle. Tû andâla pottayela, Daitirimâle; Ațila mâltondala, Daitirimâle, Baidi binnerega balasondala, Daitirimâle, Tânalâ tindondala, Daitirimâle; Ullaya bêlega phovandela, Daitirimâle, Bele kâle tîrândola, Daitirimâle. Le le le le le la Daitirimàâege, Tânunchelya bâlena, Daitirimâle (Chorus).

#### Translation.

Le le le le le le la O Thou Daitirimâlegé (Chorus). (O Thou) Daitirimâle, who art a little child; Who hast heard fond nicknames from the morning, O Daitirimâle; Who hast tied thine hair after flapping it, O Daitirimâle; Who art ready to go to the hills, O Daitirimâle, (And) who hast returned a-crying, O Daitirimâle; (And) who hast washed with water (thine hands and feet), O Daitirimâle (Chorus) In one of the inner portions of the house, O Daitirimâle, Thou hast handled the wrong green-foliaged broom, O Daitirimâle. In one of the outer portions of the house, O Daitirimâle Thou hast handled a small worn-out broom, O Daitirimâle (Chorus). (O Thou) who art carrying a pot of water, O Daitirimâle, (Thou) who art going to the well, O Daitirimâle, Thou who art washing (thine) hands and face, O Daitirimâle, Who art washing thine hands and face, O Daitirimâle (Chorus). And who art returning a-crying, O Daitirimâle, Thou who art washing the earthen vessels with thine hands, O Daitirimale, Who art pouring water in the pot above the fire, O Daitirimâle.

(Thou) who art lighting the fire, O Daitirimâle,
(And) who art preparing the meal, O Daitirimâle;
Thou who art serving the guests who have come, O Daitirimâle,
And who after serving them, art eating the food, O Daitirimâle;
And who art, then, going to do the work of thy land-lord, O Daitirimâle,
After finishing all other work, O Daitirimâle.
Le le le le le lê lê lê O Thou Daitirimâle,
Thou who art a fond little child, O Daitirimâle (Chorus).

The following song is sung by the Mundâla Holeyas of Udipi Taluk during their marriage ceremony:—

3. The Song in Tulu.
Text.

Le le le le le la Tumbetirâmâ! Le le le le Tumbetirâmâ! Tumbenavolu kûṭandinâ, Tumbetirâmâ. Karandenavolu kâļigandinā, Tumbetirāmā. Nana yêra boroduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ? Nêliya mukhâri dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ ; Yeliya mukhâri dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ. Nana yêra baroduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ? Mûlya dikkala barodaya, Tumbetirâmâ. Yekkalada Aridakka, Tumbetirâmâ. Nana yêra barodayâ, Tumbetirâmâ? Kodada mânya dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ. Nana yêra baroduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ? Panjurli mânya dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ. Yekkalada aridakka, Tumbetirâmâ. Nana yêra baroduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ? Guliga mânya dikkalayâ, Tumbetirâmâ, Guliga mânya dikkalayâ, Tumbetirâmâ. Nana yêra baroduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ? Bajaldâya dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ. Nana yêra baroduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ? Pulyandaya dikkalayâ, Tumbetirâmâ Nana yêra barouduya, Tumbetirâmâ? Kachada anne batteneyâ, Tumbetirâmâ? Telikeda akkâ battalayâ, Tumbetirâmâ. Kedumburedakkâ battalayâ, Tumbetirâmâ. Nana yêra baroduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ? Kâla kadesundado, Tumbetirâmâ. Vele phophunduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ. Bêga Bêga ballayâ, Tumbetirâmâ. Le le le le le le la Tumbetirâmâ! Le le le le, Tumbetirâmâ!

Translation.

Le le le le le le lâ Tumbetirâmâ! Le le le le le Tumbetirâmâ! Gather the Tumbe flowers, O Tumbetirâmâ. Gather the Karande leaves, O Tumbetirâmâ. Who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ? The wife of the great mukhâri is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ; The wife of the small mukhâri is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ. Who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ?

The wife of the demon-priest is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ. Stretching your body, sprinkle the rice, O Tumbetirâmâ. And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ? The wife of the priest of the demon Kodadabbu is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ. And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ? The wife of the priest of the demon Panjurli is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ. Stretching your body, sprinkle the rice, O Tumbetirâmâ. And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ? The wife of the priest of the demon Guligâ is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ. And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ? The wife of Bâjaldâye (the Toddy-Server) is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ. And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ? The wife of Pulyandâye is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ. And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ? Has the indiscreet young brother come, O Tumbetirâmâ? The laughing sister is come, O Tumbetirâmâ. The delicate sister is come, O Tumbetirâmâ. And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ? It is getting late, O Tumbetirâmâ. Time is fleeing, O Tumbetirâmâ. Come soon, come soon, O Tumbetirâmâ. Le le le le le la Tumbetirâmâ! Le le le le Tumbetirâmâ!

The following song is sung by the Mundâla Holeyas of Udipi, when the bridegroom is being shaved:—

4. The Song in Tulu.

#### Text.

Le le le la kinni Madimâye! Le le le la kinni Madimâye! Tânunchelya bâlenâ, kinni Madimâye; Tânunchelya bâlenâ, kinni Madimâye; Nettereda puttiyena, kinni Madimâye, Nîrada balettenâ, kinni Madimâye. Bâlepobalmanna, kinni Madimâyege; Uddalâ phovundena, kinni Madimâye. Budditâ kaltondenâ, kinni Madimâye. Ullaya belega phovundena, kinni Madimâyege. Jâtipolikenâ, kinni Madimâyege. Le le le la kinni Madimâyege! Gadda mêse battondayâ, kinni Madimâyega, Poņņu sinte puttunduyâ, kinni Madimâyega. Ponnu tûvere phovundena, kinni Madimâye; Ponnu malla tûvundenâ, kinni Madimâye, Jâtipolikenâ, kinni Madimâyegâ. Landabanda maltondena, kinni Madimâye, Jâtinîti malpondena, kinni Madimâyege. Le le le la kinni Madimâyege! Tûrikorendenâ, kinni Madimâyege, Jâtinîtimaltondena, kinni Madimâye. Le le le la kinni Madimâye! Le le le la kinni Madimâye.

#### Translation.

Le le le la lâ (Oh) the young Bridegroom! Le le le la lâ (Oh) the young Bridegroom. A little beautiful child is he, the young Bridegroom! Born in blood was he, the young Bridegroom; He grew strong in waters, the young Bridegroom. He was a little child, the young Bridegroom; Now he has grown tall, the young Bridegroom. He has improved his wit, the young Bridegroom. He has gone to his land-lord's work, the young Bridegroom. He has got a gift from his caste, the young Bridegroom. Le le le le lâ (Oh) the young Bridegroom! He has got beard and whiskers, the young Bridegroom, And his heart is set on a woman, the young Bridegroom. He's gone to see his lass, the young Bridegroom; He has chosen a fitting mate, the young Bridegroom, Who is a gift from his caste, the young Bridegroom. He has bound himself, the young Bridegroom, To the welfare of his caste, the young Bridegroom; Le le le la (Oh) the young Bridegroom! Give the earthen-pot (of toddy) to the young Bridegroom, As a gift from his caste, (Oh) the young Bridegroom. Le le le lâ (Oh) the young Bridegroom! Le le le la (Oh) the young Bridegroom!

#### MISCELLANEA.

#### KATHĀ AND VŖTTAKA.

In the Trisastisalâkrpurusacarira 6. 2. 324 f., Hemacandra raises a question of fiction terminology. In a conversation between a minister and a dwarf, the minister said, "Tell us an interesting kathâ." The dwarf replied, "Shall I tell a kathâ or a vrttaka?" Questioned as to the difference between a kathâ and a vrttaka, the dwarf said, "A vrttaka is one's own adventures (carita); a kathâ is the adventures of men of former times."

It has long been evident that Râjaśekhara's definition (quoted by Bühler, ther das Leben des

Jaina Mônches Hemacandra, p. 5) of a caritra, as the biography of Tîrthankaras, Cakravartins and Rishis to the time of Aryarakşita, as distinguished from a prabandha, the biography of men of later times, was not observed in practice. Caritra is used for the biography of any one; e.g., Rauhineya caritra, which is the biography of a thief, Sálibhadraritar, the biography of a merchant.

It is difficult to say whether or not Hemacandra's distinction was actually observed. Does any one know of any *vrttakas* or autobiographical *caritras*?

HELEN M. JOHNSON.

#### BOOK-NOTICES.

HINDU POLITY. A constitutional history of India in Hindu Times; (two volumes in one). By K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A.; Butterworth and Co., Calcutta, 1924.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal of Patna needs no introduction to students of Indian history and antiquities. The pages of the Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society, to which he has contributed so many able and suggestive articles, would alone ensure public interest in any work from his pen. The present volume, which the author describes as mainly a commentary upon his paper, 'An Introduction to Hindu Polity,' published in the Modern Review in 1913, is a succinct and lucid summary of the ancient constitutional organizations of India, from

the Samiti and Sabha of Vedic times and the later Republics, Gana and Samgha, to the Monarchy and Imperial systems of a more definitely historic age. The various constitutional features of Ancient India are arranged and discussed within certain chronological limits, based upon the evidence supplied by Vedic, Classical, and Prakrit literature and by lithic and numismatic records, and cover the period from the Vedic age to A.D. 600, when Hindu constitutional traditions suffered an eclipse, lasting roughly till the middle of the seventeenth century. Within these limits the author unfolds the origin and characteristics of the assemblies of the Vedic Aryans; the Hindu Republics of 1000 B.C. to A.D. 600; the Janapada and the Paura

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assemblies of 600 B.C. to A.D. 600; Hindu kingship from the earliest age to A.D. 600; the Council of Ministers under Hindu monarchy from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 600; the judiciary from 700 B.C. to A.D. 600; the theory of taxation from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 600; and Hindu imperial systems from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 600. It will be apparent from this list of subjects that the book provides much interesting historical information and offers plenty of food for reflection.

Within the limits of a 'review' it is impossible to deal in detail with the contents of this erudite work, and I will therefore confine my remarks to a brief notice of a few points which aroused my particular interest. Among these is the suggestion that the Buddhist Samgha, the most vital feature of the Church founded by Gautama, was modelled upon and named after the political Samgha, which was synonymous with Gana, signifying a Republic. According to the author, these Hindu republics were administered by a deliberative body, composed of various classes of the population, and were styled ayudhajivin or śastropajivin—two somewhat obscure terms, of which Mr. Jayaswal suggests an explanation. In the Buddhist age the republican form of government was apparently flourishing; the literature of that period mentions at least seven republican states; and between them they must have provided plenty of constitutional material to serve as a pattern to the Buddha, when he address. ed himself to the task of organizing his ecclesia. The arrangements prevailing in the republic of the Lichchhavis are rightly treated in some detail, as the Lichchhavi State lasted from early days until the era of Gupta imperialism, and during practically the whole of that period occupied a position of great importance.

Mr. Jayaswal stoutly opposes the late Dr. Vincent Smith's view that these republican ganas were of Mongolian origin, and that the Lichchhavis themselves possessed Tibetan affinities. He points outthat Smith's view was based on the custom of exposure of the dead, as supposed to be illustrated by a passage in a Chinese legend, and secondly on the judicial procedure of the Lichchhavis, as described by Turnour. The Chinese legend is admittedly about a thousand years later in date than the period to which it purports to refer, while the description which it contains can be shown, on the analogy of passages in the Dharma Sastra and Sanskrit dramatic works, to be applicable to the ordinary Hindu smasana, and not to refer necessarily to Tibetan or Iranian burial customs. Similarly, the supposed evidence of Lichchhavi judicial procedure is stated to be illusory by the juxta-position of Turnour's description and the account of the stages of Tibetan criminal procedure given by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das. Mr. Jayaswal depends also upon a passage in the Mahâbhârata to establish his contention that

Lichchhavi criminal procedure was based on rules normally followed by Hindu Ganas or republican states. He likewise adduces evidence which suggests the probability of the Lichchhavis themselves being pure Hindu Kshatriyas, having no racial connection with Tibet. The same conclusion has been reached by Mr. Bimala C. Law in his Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India. It is stated in the preface that Dr. Vincent Smith was largely responsible for the inception of Mr. Jayaswal's work, and it is a matter of regret that he did not live to see its completion.

In the second part of his work, dealing with Hindu Monarchy, the author dissents quite as strongly from another statement in Smith's Early History of India to the effect that "the native law of India has always recognised agricultural land as crown property." Colebrooke's essay on Mimâmsâ, the dicta of Hindu lawyers like Nîlakantha, Mâdhava, and Katyâyana, the statements of accepted commentators, the Jataka, and copper-plate title-deeds of the Gupta period, are martialled together to prove that the ancient Hindu legal doctrine regarding proprietorship in land was the exact reverse of what it is stated to be by Dr. Smith in the abovequoted sentence. Mimâmsâ declares emphatically that the king has no property in the soil; and this is in consonance with the opinions of ancient constitutional writers, who decided that the king is in the position of a servant of the body politic, obtaining his wages in the shape of taxes, but possessing no proprietorship in the land. Mr. Jayaswal further asserts that the English translation of the śloka, on which Smith depended to re-inforce his view, contains a fundamental error, pati being rendered 'owner' instead of 'protector,' and the latter portion being wholly misconstrued. Whether Mr. Jayaswal's arguments can be successfully parried, is a question into which I cannot here enter.

In a chapter on 'Technical Hindu Constitutions' from 1000 B.C., the author touches upon the Râshṭrikas of Western India and appears to treat the Pettanikas or Petenikas of Asoka's inscriptions as a separate political entity, of which the rulers or leaders had contrived to obtain hereditary status. This view does not tally with that adopted by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar in his Carmichael Lectures for 1923. He states that Petenikas cannot be separated from Râshtrika and Bhoja, and that it is a qualifying word or adjective, signifying "one who is hereditary ruler of a rashtra or province." Mr. Jayaswal suggests that the Rashtrikas obtained their name from their political constitution-the Râshṭrika, which was purely republican in character, the administration being vested in a board of nonhereditary elected leaders: while the Pettanikas or 'hereditary leaders' followed a different form of constitution, Pettanika, described as aristocratic or oligarchic. While I do not feel competent to argue this point, I entertain considerable doubts about accepting Mr. Jayaswal's view in preference to that of Dr. Bhandarkar. If we can assume that the Râshtrikas of the Asokan inscriptions are the same people as the Mahârathis of the Nasik inscriptions, the view that the former were administrative heads of provinces, who contrived to exchange their original status as governors for that of hereditary chieftains, seems on the whole more acceptable than that now put forward by Mr. Jayaswal. It seems probable that the Mahârathis were connected with, and occupied in western India the same position as, the Mahasenapatis, who were at one time viceroys of the Andhra dynasty and subsequently assumed independence in Adoni and the eastern portion of the Andhra dominions. It seems difficult to believe that they or the Maharathis ever indulged in republican forms of government, though the habits and manners of the Marâthâs at the close of the eighteenth century, as recorded by Tone, lend colour to the view that social equality and camaraderie were once the guiding principles of their class. The aristocratic aloofness, which to-day divides the upper-class Marâthâ from his more humble kinsmen, the Kunbis and allied tribes and castes, was certainly not observable in 1796. On the whole, I should like to see Mr. Jayaswal's view subjected to further argument, before finally rejecting the opinion recorded on pages 32 and 33 of Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's Asoka.

On the subject of the coronation of Asoka, also, there is a conflict of opinion between Mr. Bhandarkar and the author of the present work. The former argues that there is no sound reason for assuming an interval of four years between Asoka's succession and coronation. Dr. V. A. Smith accepted the fact of the four years' interval in his Early History of India, and seemed to think that it signified a dispute about the succession. Mr. Jayaswal agrees that Asoka was not formally 'crowned' for four years after his accession, but ascribes the delay to the operation of the Hindu constitutional law, which forbade the coronation of a king before the completion of his twentyfourth year. By orthodox and sacred Hindu law the uncrowned period could not be recognized, and it is for this reason, states Mr. Jayaswal, that the Purânas do not count the pre-coronation years of Asoka's reign, while they include them in the total for the dynasty. This explanation strikes me as plausible.

Another arresting suggestion in this work relates to the supposed existence of the worship of Vasudeva prior to the date of Paṇini. The belief is based upon the interpretation of a sûtra of Paṇini, which Mr. Jayaswal believes to be erroneous. He asserts, in short, that the word bhakti can be shown from the context to have signified, not religious devotion, but political or constitutional allegiance. There are many other facts, suggestions and inferences

set forth in this work, which render it of first-rate importance to students of ancient Hindu institutions, ideals, and history. Other experts may dissent from some of the views propounded by the author, but their criticism cannot deprive the work of its value as a carefully documented retrospect of the growth of Hindu polity.

S. M. EDWARDES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 26. Two Statues of Pallava Kings and Five Pallava Inscriptions in a rock-cut temple at Mahabalipuram: by RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B. A., Government of India, Calcutta, 1926.

In this Memoir the Government Epigraphist gives a definite decision that the two statues in the temple of Adivaraha-Perumal are those of Mahêndravarman I, the originator of the rock-cut temples of South India, and of his son Narasimhavarman-Simhavishnu I, known to history as "Vâtâpikonda" and the foe of the Western Chalukya ruler, Vikramâditya I. On palæographical grounds he decides also that the label inscriptions on the sculptures belong to the reign of Parameśvaravarman I, the grandson of Mahendravarman I. From other inscriptions in the cave, when compared with a reference in the Tamil Periyapuranam and with the Tandalam inscription (Ep. Ind. VII. p. 25), he deduces the interesting fact that the word Kâdavesa (chief of the Kâdava) and its alternative forms, Kâthaka and Kâdakka, are synonyms of Pallava, and shows that the kings of the collateral line of Pallavas, descended from Bhîmavarman (younger brother of Simhavishnu I) were called Kâdavas and ruled over an outlying part of the Pallava dominions, simultaneously with the main Pallava dynasty. This outlying territory seems to have corresponded roughly with the modern districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool and Mysore State. In later times they claim to have ruled also over Kâñchî. It was from a Kâdava-Pallava that the Nolambas of the Kanarese country traced their origin. Presumably the word Kâdava is allied with the Dravidian word signifying "jungle," "wild"; and it would be interesting to know whence the collateral line of Pallavas obtained this designation.

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE AHAD NAMEH, Marker Literary Series for Persia, No. 1. Preface by G. K. NARIMAN. Published under the patronage of the Iran League, Bombay, 1925.

This little book is a truly remarkable production and if the subsequent publications of the Iran League are to be of the same calibre, that body will be of the greatest benefit to the Parsis of India. To quote the opening words in the Preface by that veteran scholar, Mr. G. K. Nariman: "Persia with its young and patriotic Moslems is awakened, and the latter have stretched the kindly hand of

fraternity to their Zoroastrian compatriots and the Parsis of India. The Indian Zoroastrians have been separated from the old country for centuries, but have never ceased casting a longing loving glance at the homeland of their origin and religion. Intermittently they carried on correspondence with their co-religionists in Yezd and Kerman. Persia is to-day subordinating every consideration to that of consolidation of the Iranian fraternity."

On these considerations Mr. Pestonji Dosabhoy Marker is planning to create a literature suitable to the requirements of young Iran, and this Literary Series is part of his scheme, of which one constituent is to build up in young Zoroastrians a desire for honest history. In pursuit of such history Mr. Nariman enquires into the causes of the decadence of the Zoroastrians, and his enquiry brings him to remarkable conclusions. It is not due to the action of the Arabs on their conquest of Persia, the decadence in fact dating from the days of Afghan ascendancy at a much later date. It is really due to the rending of the community by "mutual discussions and ruinous jealousies," a view, which when put forward by a Parsi and published in a serious Parsi educational "series," cannot but be arresting.

Mr. Nariman backs this up by stating that under many local governors after the Arab conquest "free practice of religion was accorded" in quite a number of treaties. The very book under review indeed "contains two charters reported to have been granted by the founder of Islam and his great-son-in-law, the pious fourth Khalifa, to the Zoroastrians, in which religious tolerance is particularly emphasised." Mr. Nariman says there are many others conceived in the same spirit.

The grants published in this book are not indeed. in their present form, of unquestioned authenticity, but even if spurious, there are dozens of others which are genuine. They unquestionably bear witness to the spirit of tolerance of the early Islamic conquerors. It was not until the Mongols came into power that the extermination of Zoroastrians commenced, when the great instrument of oppression was the jaziya or poll-tax. But even this was not oppressive in its inception, because it was a tax in return for exemption from military service. and thus in theory protected those subject to it from the designs of others than the rulers. It was the extortionate manner in which it was exacted by the officials who raised it that turned it into an instrument of torture and practical annihilation.

With the decadence of the Zoroastrians their literature largely disappeared, and as to this Mr. Nariman makes a remarkable statement: "the destruction of the Zoroastrian literature is due in part to the Turks, more to the Afghans, and most to neglect and sacerdotal arrogance which made a monopoly of the relations between God and man." Here we are provided with something to think over.

Now, however, says our author, "a new period of hope has dawned on united Iran," and in the Persia of to-day "the patriotic son of the soil is Irani first and Moslem, Christian, Jew or Zoroastrian in the second place." Mr. Nariman winds up his remarks by an examination of the legal aspect of the Zoroastrians in Islam, about which he has equally arresting and interesting things to say. One cannot help looking forward to further publications in this series.

R. C. TEMPLE.

#### NOTES AND QUERIES.

#### INSCRIPTIONS WANTED.

Can anybody tell me where the inscribed Copper-Plates and Stones mentioned below can be seen?

#### Copper-Plates.

- (1) Copper-Plates fastened together by a ring in two parcels of three each, found in 1788, while digging foundations in Thana Fort. They record a grant by the Silahara Chief Arikeshari;
- (2) About 1830, two Copper-Plates were found while digging a grave in Thana (whose grave?) and sent by Mr. Baille to the Hon: Mr. Elphinstone. They are dated A.D. 1272 and 1290, and record grants by Konkan Viceroys of the ninth Devgiri Yadav, Ramchandra Deo [1271-1308] whom Ala-ud-din Khilji defeated.

#### Stones.

(3) Land-Grant Stones were found about 1835, by Mr. Murphy, in Salsette. One inscribed

stone in the Collector's garden in Thana was brought from Vagheli (one mile west of Sopara, B.B. & C.I. Ry.). This stone was three feet eight inches long, one foot one inch broad, and seven inches thick. The Inscription contained fourteen lines.

B. F. GHARDA.

#### ENGLISH TOMBSTONES IN THANA.

"In the Churchyard, Thana, are the tombs of John Vaughan, dated 1780; of Charles Driffield, dated 1784; of Stephen Babington, dated 1822; of John Malsey (died 1785); and of George Page (died 18th Nov. 1794)."

Can any reader kindly let me know who thesepersons were? And what services they rendered in Thana or in India?

B. F. GHARDA.

- 473. After the mutiny of the crew of the Beckford Galley (See para. 477 below), the Purser, Andrew Somerville, managed to escape and make his way to Mayotta. There he found an old friend, the Purser of the Ruby, who was trying to save the Company's treasure which had been on board when she was wrecked. The Ruby (400 tons, 36 guns, 116 passengers and crew, Captain John Barber, Purser Benjamin Preston) was wrecked at Mayotta on the 14th September 1699 (Letters to Fort St. George, 1700, pp. 73—77). With the help of some faithful members of the crew, they seized a small pirate sloop, and on the 30th March sailed for Patta on the African Coast, where they arrived on the 14th April. Here all his companions were, as were all Englishmen who came here at this time (See para. 400 above), murdered, and the Arabs took booty to the amount of 62,000 dollars, besides goods. He was spared at the intercession of an Arab merchant named Singaree, but to save his life, was forced to submit to circumcision. He did not get free until about April 1701 (India Office, O.C. 8585).
- 474. In February 1700 seven sail of Arab vessels appeared off Vesava and took it from the Portuguese (Bom. Gaz., XXVI. i. 128). In the same year Arabs in the Persian Gulf took the Friendship, Captain William Morrice, of 100 tons, with a cargo worth £ 8,000.
- 475. On the 13th and 15th July 1701, John Wheeler Master, and John Cockcroft Supercargo of the English ship Diamond, wrote from Jeddah that their ship with a cargo worth more than Rs. 1,00,000 had been seized, at the instigation of Ibrahim, brother of Hussain Amadan of Surat, on the pretence that the Diamond was the pirate (See para. 463 above) which took Hussain Amadan's ship in 1698 (India Office, O.C. 8585-6; Madras Consultations 24th Jan. 1701-2). Thomas Pitt, in a letter dated 27th Nov. 1701 to Sir Thomas Gayer, mentions that, according to Gayer, Sir Nicholas Waite of the New Company, had told the Mughal Governor of Surat, that all the ships of the Old Company were pirates and had incited Hussain Amadan to write to his countrymen to seize the Diamond in reprisal (Letters from Fort St. George, 1700-1701, p. 79).

#### Anglo-Americans.

- 476. On the 1st January 1698-9 Amanat Khan, Faujdār of Surat, in consequence of the damage done by European pirates, placed guards upon the English, French and Dutch Factories (Bruce, III. 272). In February (See Dutch Records; Manucci, III. 488 n.) these three nations were forced to sign bonds to indemnify the native traders against future losses. More particularly, the Dutch undertook to protect trade in the Red Sea, the French in the Persian Gulf and the English on the southern coast of India (Bruce, III. 274).
- 477. In June 1698 the Beckford Galley (200 tons, 24 guns, 30 men, John Harris Master) sailed from the Thames to purchase slaves in Madagascar. Early in 1699 she arrived at Tollear Bay. The crew, having been overworked and badly fed, combining with some pirates ashore under one Ryder, who had once served with the Moors and had been left by a pirate at Port Dauphin, mutinied, seized the ship while Harris was ashore, and carried her to Ascension. One account (India Office, O.C. 6804) says that they chose Evan Jones as their Captain; another (Owners to Council of Trade and Plantations, 7th May 1700, Cal. State Papers, Col.) says that they chose Ryder. I do not know what became of Harris, but the Purser, Andrew Somerville, managed to make his way to Mayotta (See para. 473 above).
- 478. The crew of the *Pelican*, deprived of any share in the booty of the *Great Mahomet* (See para. 463 above), had still their fortunes to make. They accordingly set out from St. Mary's alone and took a number of Moor ships, among which was the *Dolphin*, to which, the *Pelican* being no longer seaworthy, they transferred themselves (Johnson, II. 384). The *Dolphin* arrived at St. Mary's early in 1699. There they found Samuel Burgess in the *Margaret* (Johnson,

II. 383 calls her the Pembroke), owned by Frederick Phillips of New York, which had arrived in January (Culliford's Deposition). Burgess took up some twenty passengers, including the Captain of the Pelican and Dirk Chivers. Later on he deposed on oath (Ind. Off., O.C. 6802) that he believed they had some eight or nine thousand pounds between them and he supposed that they had obtained it by piracy. They paid one hundred dollars a head (all which, he says, went to Mr. Phillips) and provided their own provisions. From St. Mary's he went in April to St. Augustine's, and whilst there he saw the Peter Brigantine (George Riveley Master) taken on the 7th September by an English pirate, Evan Jones, in the Beckford Galley (200 tons, 20 guns and French built), now renamed the Tollier Galley. Riveley, poor man, had been captured a short time before by a French pirate, a Monsieur Devisie (?), Captain of a ship of 18 guns and 65 men, and had been ordered to take his vessel to St. Augustine's (Ind. Off., O.C. 6804). Apparently Burgess gave him a passage to the Cape. The Margaret arrived at Cape Town on the 18th December and there, to his disgust, Burgess found the Loyal Merchant (Captain Matthew Lowth). Though, or perhaps because, the latter was flying the King's Jack and Pennant, Burgess did not salute her, but crept under the guns of the Dutch Fort. Captain Lowth, who held a commission to take pirates, forced Burgess and his white passengers to come on board him and put them in irons. On the 20th the Vine (Captain Thomas Warren) also came in with 14 passengers of the same kind, including the notorious Culliford. Captain Warren was a relative of Commodore Warren, who had sent him in command of the Vine with orders to meet him at Mascarenhas (Bourbon) or St. Mary's. Not meeting him at either place, Captain Warren returned to the Cape. Presumably the pirates to whom he gave passage wished to surrender to the Commodore. Lowth tried to take them, but the Dutch Governor protested vehemently and even sent men on board the Vine to prevent Lowth from seizing her. Lowth thought it wiser not to persist, but sailed for Bombay with the prisoners whom he had already got, 21 in number, including Chivers, and delivered them on shore on the 5th July, much to the disgust of Sir John Gayer, as this parading of English prisoners would only confirm the conviction of the natives that all the pirates were English, and the Mughal Governor of Surat would expect that the English would deliver up to him not only the pirates but all that Lowth had taken in the Margaret (Log of Loyal Merchant; Letters from Bombay, 10th February 1699-1700 and 20th September 1700; Anderson, pp. 307-8). Lowth had taken on the Margaret gold and negroes worth £6,000 (Bom. Gaz., XXVI. i. 120). Leibbrandt (Précis, p. 17) says that there were 120 slaves on the Margaret when she arrived at the Cape. Captain Warren took Culliford to St. Helena, whence he was sent to England. Later he deposed (23rd December 1700 H. C. A. 1-15) that Culliford had on the 8th September 1699 at St. Mary's persuaded 17 other pirates to surrender under the Proclamation. This may have been taken as a point in his favour, though the date of the surrender was later than the limit fixed by the Proclamation. Culliford was tried on the 9th May 1701 (the same day as Kidd) for the piratical seizure of the Great Mahomet and pronounced guilty, but was respited before judgment (Brit. Mus. 515/194/1. 2) and was pardoned on the 16th April 1702 (Cal. State Papers, Domestic). He seems to have been a mean scoundrel, quite ready to betray his old companions. In a Deposition already referred to and made on the 17th June 1702, he said that Samuel Burgess had written to him in prison (the Marshalsea) begging him to say that he did not know him. According to Johnson (II. 268 B) Burgess was taken to England and tried and condemned in London, partly on the evidence of Culliford. He was however pardoned (21st August 1702 H.C.A. 1-16) by Queen Anne on the intercession of the Bishops of London and Canterbury (sic). He came again to Madagascar in the Neptune (Captain Miller) and persuaded the pirate Halsey to seize her (See para. 508 below). When Halsey died, he left his money in the charge of Burgess, but the latter was poisoned by the natives, who, apparently, had a greater fondness for justice than the reverend Bishops.

479. When the Act of Grace was issued in December 1698 (see para. 464 above) Commodore Warren was ordered to take a squadron of King's ships out to Madagascar. Accordingly he started from England (Bruce, III. 264), in January 1698-9 with the Anglesea (Captain Littleton), Harwich (Commodore Warren), Hastings (Captain White) and Lizard (Captain Ramsey), and news of his coming so far preceded his arrival, that when Burgess left St. Mary's, the narrow mouth of the harbour was blocked by the Mocha and Pelican (i.e., the Dolphin under Captain Inless) lying broadside on to the entrance and determined to sink rather than surrender to any King's ship. Another pirate, the German Mary from New England (100 tons, William Mayes Commander), was present also and the Carlisle (Captain Breholt), as well as a French pirate, ? Captain Devisie (Ind. Off., O. C. 6809). When at last Warren did arrive in Madagascar he did nothing of importance, and died on the 12th November 1699, leaving the command of the squadron to Captain James Littleton. The latter was probably under instructions to use whatever leniency was possible to persuade the pirates to surrender without fighting, and there is certainly no reason to accept Hamilton's statement (I. 17) that he took bribes from the pirates to let them go, for that he meant fighting when it was necessary is shown by the fact that Breholt of the Carlisle hoisted the bloody flag and burned his ship in St. Augustine's Bay (H. C. A. 1-16, Deposition of Archibald Dunbar), and Captain Samuel Inless of the Dolphin (Johnson II. 385) did the same rather than surrender. These two instances show that the pirates did not expect to escape if they fell into his hands. Unfortunately he was not able to pursue them ashore, and so was forced to leave those who would not surrender (See para. 489 below) to plot and seize fresh occasions of mischief. He returned to England in 1701, but the Harwich had been sent under Captain Cock to deal with the pirates in the Straits of Malacca and the China Seas and was wrecked at Amoy, partly by bad seamanship and partly by treach-Twenty marines and sailors of the Harwich were taken to Madras by ery (Hamilton II. 257). Captain Edward Harrison of the Gosfright, and, as there was a lack of Europeans, entertained in the Company's service (Madras Consultations, 20th January 1700-1). I have not found any detailed references to European pirates in the China Seas about this time, but in the Log of the Macclesfield (John Hurle Commander), under date 27th August 1699, it is stated that when she anchored off the Island of St. John, about 20 leagues from Macao, the Portuguese were very inquisitive as to her character, having lost four ships by English pirates. Two of their officials had lost 70,000 dollars in a ship taken in 1697 (Ind. Off. Marine Records). On the 11th November 1699 the London (George Matthew Commander) reported at the Cape that a certain pirate. having lost his ship in China, had with a small vessel taken a Portuguese ship of 50 guns coming from Macao, but had been wrecked on the coast of Java, where 12 of the pirates had been arrested and sent to Batavia (Leibbrandt, Précis p. 16). It seems likely that the pirate referred to must have been John Ireland (See paras. 446 and 486.) On the 11th June 1701 the Madras Government gave a commission to Captain William Redhead (of the frigate Advice, 150 tons, 16 guns and about 50 men, English) to attack and destroy pirates in the Straits of Malacca and on the Coast of China and, except in the presence of King's ships, to fly the King's Jack and Pennant (Madras Consultation, 11th June 1701).

480. Appended to a letter, dated H. M. S. Margate, Nevis Road, 13th May 1700, from Captain Robert Billingsley (Captains' Letters, Public Record Office) is a deed signed Abraham Samuels, Rex, King of Port Dolphin, Madagascar, 31st October 1699, with an octagonal seal bearing the Lamb and Cross as in the badge of the Templars. Robert Drury tells (Adventures, p. 83) a curious story of a King Samuel at Port Dolphin (Fort Dauphin) as follows:—Some French settlers at Port Dolphin on leaving the place, carried off with them the heir of the native Prince, an outrage which the natives resented so strongly that they would not allow any French ships to come there. Some years later a French Captain, being forced by bad weather to enter the harbour, pretended that he had been sent as an ambassador to seek for a reconciliation. Whilst the French sailors were one day bathing on the beach, the Queen, who was

watching them out of curiosity, thought she recognised in one of them, who was of a darker complexion and different appearance to the others, her long lost son. The Captain, delighted with this accident, urged the youth to play the part, which he agreed to do with alacrity and with so much earnestness and conviction that when, in 1700, the sailors of a French ship ventured to make fun of his supposed royalty, he drove them away and ever after showed the greatest hostility to the French nation, though he was perfectly willing to trade with other Europeans. Drury's story would be hardly credible without corroboration, but such corroboration actually exists. From a list of the crew of the John and Rebecca (Captain John Hore) it appears that the Captain's Quartermaster was named Abraham Samuells (India Office, O. C. 6535). By pirate law he was the natural successor on the death of the Captain. Captain Hore died before the 25th August 1698 (Deposition of Samuel Perkins, Home Misc. XXXVI. 346). On the 3rd July 1699 the Dutch yacht Tamboer (Captain J. Coin) arrived at Fort Dauphin in the course of a cruise to enquire after the Ridderschap, which was reported to have been wrecked in Madagascar and plundered by pirates in 1694. Captain Coin found that the head of the Europeans at Fort Dauphin was a half breed from Martinique who had come out as Quartermaster to Captain Orr (evidently Hore) of the John and Rebecca. Captain Orr had died after taking his prize to St. Mary's and had been succeeded by Samuells, who took his ship about 22 months before Coin's arrival to Fort Dauphin, where she was wrecked, but the King's daughter, whilst he was bathing, thought she recognised some marks on his body which showed him to be a son whom she had borne to a Frenchman and whom the father had taken away with him when he left Madagascar. Taking advantage of this fortuitous recognition and finding himself supported by a strong party amongst the natives, he kept some twenty of his crew as a bodyguard, set himself up as King and made war on the native King Demarung, whom he declared to be only his younger brother. He now however professed himself tired of the life and begged Captain Coin to afford him means of escape. Coin, on the other hand, having been warned that Samuells intended to surprise his ship, as he had done the ship Jacob (Captain Francis), which he had caused to be run ashore and whose crew he had murdered, made off in the night (Leibbrandt, Rambles, p. 160). On the 8th December 1706 a Dutch ship arrived at Fort Dauphin and found it in ruins. There were several native Kings in the vicinity, the most powerful of whom was one Dimaressive the successor of King Samuells (Leibbrandt, Précis, p. 113). This looks as if Samuells was either dead or had run away.

481. About this time a French pirate, Captain Merrino, having taken a rich Surat ship, carried her to Mascarenhas "a general rendezvous for pirates" and settled there. (Letter from Captain George Wesley, 7th November 1703, State Trials, XIV. 1302).

#### Malabarese.

482. On the 26th March 1701 the Bombay Council wrote to the Court:—"The Shivajis [Marathas] are in reality friends to none, but as pirates and rovers take all vessels they can overpower" (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 133).

#### Arabians.

- 483. On the 24th September and 16th October 1701, Governor Pitt wrote from Madras to Commodore John Brabourne at Anjengo that in the previous year Muscat Arabs had taken four ships from the Bombay Coast, including the *Friendship*, an English vessel commanded by Captain Morrice, and had made an attempt to intercept the Mocha fleet (*Brit. Mus., Addl. MSS.* 22843). They detained Captain Morrice and his crew as slaves and refused to accept any ransom. This was in reprisal, they said, for the outrages committed by English pirates.
- 484. In January 1704 off Surat, occurred a fight between seven Portuguese and seven Arab vessels, in which the latter were defeated, but managed to escape. (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 130).

485. Charles Lockyer (Trade in India, p. 209), who was at Muscat on the 12th May 1705, says that one Murvil, Master of a Country ship (from Calcutta to Gombroon), was taken off Cape Jasques, though he carried an English pass and they had no reason to think him an enemy 100. The Governor of Muscat asserted that Murvil was the first to fire on a boat which had been sent to enquire whether she was really English, as his ship was flying English colours. The English at Bombay made no claim for compensation. Lockyer also says (p. 207) that the Muscat colours were red (See para. 470 above), displayed in streamers and pennants at every yardarm, masthead and other remarkable parts of the ship. They were at open war with the Danes and the Portuguese and did not scruple to make prize of small English vessels. Hitherto they had not touched the Dutch. In the port were 14 men-of-war, one carrying 70 guns, and the smallest 20.

#### Anglo-Americans.

- 486. On the 17th July 1700 the Council of Fort St. David wrote to Madras:—"We send your Honours upon this ship John Ireland and Thomas Williamson, the two so notorious pirates, who were brought us in the Danes ship from Acheen in irons in December last, though we do not know who consigned them to us." Ireland is mentioned in Kidd's Instructions, (See para. 446 above) but I do not know anything more about him.
- 487. On the 21st October 1700 the English and Dutch Presidents at Surat were forced to give bonds to the Mughal Government, promising that if any country ships were taken by European pirates, they would capture the latter and make good the losses which they had inflicted, the Dutch for ships between Surat and Mocha and Jeddah, the English for ships between Surat and the Malabar and Coromandel coasts (Ind. Off., O. C. 6620).
- 488. In January 1701, under orders from the Mughal, the Governor of Surat arrested Sir John Gayer and the members of the English Council and did not release them for a month. They remained in a modified confinement until Jan. 1703 (Bomb. Gaz. I.100; XXVI. i. 122, 124; Madras Consultations 8th May 1701). In the Madras Consultations of the 6th March 1701-2 it is stated that before the order for release was granted by the Mughal, the English paid 2,82,000 rupees as compensation for alleged piratical attacks, at the same time, the Dutch were mulcted to the extent of 4,56,000 rupees.
- 489. Early in the same year the *Discovery* (Captain John Evans) being at anchor in St. Augustine's Bay, the Chief Mate having been sent ashore, was seized by the pirates living there. They threatened to hang him unless half the ship's cargo was paid as a ransom. Captain Evans refused and sailed away. Coming back soon after, the mate and his boat's crew were brought on board by the natives in a canoe. The natives said that there were more than 500 European pirates in Madagascar and that Captain Littleton had taken away a number of them who had surrendered under the Act of Grace (*Ind. Off., O. C.* 8590; See para. 479 above).
- 490. In April 1701 the Speaker, an English slaver, 4 or 500 tons, Captain Thomas Eastlake (See Depos. of John, Onely 20th August 1702. H. C. A. 1-16) was seized at Massalegie in Madagascar by pirates who came aboard on a boat which the Speaker had sent ashore. They gave the following certificate (Ind. Off., O. C., 8567) to the Captain:—

"These are to certify all Governors, Captains or whom else it may concern that the ship Speaker was taken by us whose names are under written, and considering their misfortune have given them, that is to say the said ship's company, a vessel to transport them to what

<sup>100</sup> This ship was the *Gracedieu*, a rich ship. The Captain was James Murvell (Miles, p. 233). Hamilton (I. 63) suggests that its capture was due to pusillanimity.

place they shall think fit. Given under our hands the 18th day of April 1700 in the River Massalegie, Madagascar.

George Booth. John Appowen.

The mark of + Cornelius George." The vessel given them was a small French ship. Poor Eastlake, to whose foolish selfconfidence the loss of his vessel was due, died on his way to India. The pirates put 150 men on board the Speaker, a fact which shows how large must have been the piratical community in the Island (Letters from Madras, Thomas Pitt to Sir Thomas Gayer, 23rd August 1701).

491. Johnson (II. 259-67) gives an account of one Captain Cornelius, an Irishman, formerly Quartermaster to the American pirate Lewis of the Morning Star. When leaving the west coast of Africa, off the Cape he met Commodore Littleton (in the Lizard) and two other men-of-war. This must have been in 1701, the year of Littleton's return to England. Cornelius went to the Persian Gulf, where he fought two Portuguese, one of 70 the other of 25 guns, but did little damage to trade. Returning to Madagascar, he died there and was buried with much ceremony.

492. Bruce (III. 357) says that it was in 1701 that the Company's ships received Commissions to take pirates. I presume he means that it now became customary for all the Company's ships, as earlier instances have been mentioned already.

Anglo-American Causes of Piracy in the East.

493. In 1701 there was published a pamphlet entitled Piracy Destroyed, which gives the following account of the origin of European piracy in the Eastern Seas :-- "They began this barbarous trade shortly after the late private war the East India Company had with the Moors [1686-1690, concluded by the Farman granted to the Company, 4th April 1690], for the news of the rich booties their ships seized stirred up the old Buccaneering gang (who found that it was more difficult now to rob the Spaniards than formerly, and that the trade in the West Indies was better protected) to direct their course to the East. And their success answering their expectation, their numbers daily increased by the news of the rich booties they had taken and reposed at Madagascar; and during the late war this was so successful, and undisturbed pirating rung so in the ears of those that with small success were privateering against the French that whole companies [i.e., crews] both from England and our American colonies flocked thither. Those who went from England either had a commission to suppress the enemies of the nation or went in merchant ships and, mutinying against their officers, ran away with the ship, or else such who touched at Madagascar for refreshment or traffic, whose ships have been either sold, taken or cast away, and then being destitute of an immediate opportunity of getting home, turned pirates. They who went from our American colonies were either old Buccaneers or privateers who had commissions from the Governors, or such as went to trade with the pirates at Madagascar, who, being debauched with their bad company, joined them."

494. Besides the reasons already mentioned for sailors turning pirates, the author of this pamphlet gives:—(1) Resentment at being torn from their families by the press-gang and the eruel treatment which they received when so carried off, as well as the sufferings endured by their families owing to the irregularity of their payment. (2) Insufficient and bad food on board ship in both the naval and mercantile marines. (3) Cruel treatment on board. On private ships at this time, the Captains had absolutely despotic power, which was sometimes grossly abused. John Pike in his account of the voyage (1704) of the Rochester Interloper (Sloane MS. 24931, f. 229) mentions a very cruel beating given to James Fowler, an Irishman, for drunkenness by Captain Francis Stanes. Pike says that in the King's ships the severest punishment for such a slight offence was 15 blows and that on East India (i.e. Company's) ships offenders were formally tried and all punishments inflicted were entered in the Consultations (i.e. the Log) and signed by the principal officers. A curious, but not uncommon,

practice was to fix the number of the lashes not by the nature of the crime but by the number of men on board, e.g. "I gave him 78 blows [for insubordination and abusive language to officers] being the number of people on board with an inch rope. He deserved a great deal more but being the first man I had whipt the voyage and hoping 'twould be a warning I favoured him" (Log of the Queen, John Martin Commander, 9th August, 1718). (4) The small share of the seamen in prize money. The proportions were first fixed by law under Queen Anne in June 1702 and then, in the Navy, only three-eighths of the prize-money went to the petty officers and ordinary seamen,101 whereas on a pirate ship the Captain himself had only a double share as against the single share of the ordinary pirate. (5) The insensibility of the ordinary seamen to the sufferings of men belonging to races which they despised. "Some of the old hardened pirates said they looked on it as little or no sin to take what they could from such heathen as the Moors and Indians were " (See para. 184 above.) (6) The high pay offered in the Colonies to, and the competition for, the services of deserters from the English ships (rendered necessary by the laws prescribing the proportion of Englishmen required in the crews of ships to entitle them to full privilege of trade between English ports). This rendered the seamen "at last so ungovernable that nothing will serve them but going where they shall all be equal or master by turns. 102 (7) The want of hospitals for the sick and pensions for the disabled and aged.

495. With so many reasons why they should become pirates, the general fidelity of English sailors to their employers would appear to have been absolutely quixotic if, besides their fear of the law and love of home and family, there had not been some countervailing material advantages in fidelity. Robert Park (The art of sea-fighting, 1706, p. 127) says that the material reason why they fought so valiantly against privateers and pirates was that, if they defended themselves successfully, they were certain of their wages, which amounted to about £30 in a twelve month voyage and also of their venture, which amounted to about £15 and, though they were not entitled to any pension, they almost always received a gratuity from their employers on such occasions. But, if the ship was taken, they invariably lost their clothes as well as any money in their possession. They therefore knew exactly what they were fighting for. On the other hand, the privateer or pirate very seldom knew what booty to expect in a ship he was about to attack, and the double share of booty which was given to the wounded was so uncertain a quantity as to be little inducement to fight any ship which made a show of spirited resistance; hence the apparent cowardice and readiness to break off an engagement exhibited by these gentry on several occasions. Further, says Park, the chances of making good the defence when the system of fighting at close quarters was in vogue were very great. Ships, as then built, were really fortresses, and when the crews, in presence of superior numbers, retired to their close quarters (i.e. the strongly barricaded forecastle and Great Cabin), they could be overcome only by heavy gunfire or desperate hand-to-hand fighting. Thus, says Park, a ship worth £8,000 and carrying 60 men, could easily be defended against a privateer or pirate of 40 guns and 200 men.

#### Anglo-Americans.

496. Johnson (II. 124) says that Booth was assisted in the capture of the Speaker (See para. 490 above) by Captain Thomas White of Plymouth. When White was Captain of the merchantman Marygold, he was taken by French pirates, but managed to get ashore at St. Augustine's. There he was forced to go on board a pirate ship commanded by William Read. Read dying was succeeded by Captain James, who returned to Madagascar.

<sup>101</sup> When a prize was taken by a single ship of war the booty was divided as follows:—Admiralty one-eighth, Captain three-eighths, Officers one-eighth, Petty Officers and Crew three-eighths.

<sup>102 &</sup>quot;I once knew a Buccanearing Pirate vessel, whose crew were upwards of 70 men, who in one voyage had so often changed, set up and pulled down their Captains and other officers, that above seven and forty of the ship's Company had, at several times, been in office of one kind or another, and, among the rest, they had in particular had thirteen captains" (Defoe, Account of John Gard, 1725, p. iii).

Here his crew attached themselves to Booth, who had treacherously taken a French slaver commanded by a Captain Fourgette. Booth presently sailed to Zanzibar, where he was treacherously killed by the Governor's guard during a visit (Johnson, II. 129). It is said that he was "a Bristol man, a notable, stout, stirring man, who pretended to be a near relation of Sir William Booth, formerly one of the Admirals" (Ind. Off., O.C. 7621).

- 497. Booth was succeeded by John Bowen, a Bermudian, a man of respectable parentage and once captain of a merchantman. Having been taken by a French pirate he was forced to join them as Navigator (Johnson II. 271). Bowen went from Mozambique to the Indian coast and, off St. John's, took a Surat ship and, later, on the Malabar coast he took the Borneo (Bengal to Surat, Captain John Conaway) on the 28th October 1701. Captain Conaway says (Ind. Off., O.C. 8592) that the Speaker was a ship of 500 tons, mounting 40 guns and 2 patereroes (Sp. pedrero), and carrying 200 men, Dutch, French and English. Edward Martin says that Bowen's men were "all young and brisk" and that he also carried 30 or 40 lascars (Ind. Off., O.C. 8594). The Master of the Speaker was Samuel Rower, and John North was the Captain's Quartermaster. Bowen sold the Borneo, ship and cargo, for Rs. 40,000 in three shares, one to a native merchant of Callequilon, one to a native merchant of Porca (Purakkadu) and one to Malpa (Malappan) the Dutch broker (or Factor) of Calicut. He set Captain Conaway and some of his crew adrift in a boat on the 18th November, and they were three nights and two days before they got to Cochin. The mate, Charles Delafosse, the boatswain and two other men he forced to join him (State Trials, XIV. 1302; Johnson, II. 49). On the 11th November under English colours Bowen tried to surprise the Nathaniel (Captain Charles Hill), in which attempt he failed, though he carried off a boat's crew of her people whom he had inveigled aboard. Bowen's people told their prisoners that they had sworn to go on spoiling the Company's trade until they could get a pardon, the last (that of December 1698) being a sham, for "body, goods and all misdemeanours, murders &c. for which they have been guilty of in England or elsewhere." Edward Martin, one of the men trepanned from the Nathaniel, deposed that whilst he was on board they traded very freely with the Dutch ships with which they met, the Dutch pretending that they did not know them to be pirates. With one of these ships they traded to the value of £ 500 (Ind. Off., O.C., 8594).
- 498. On the 16th February 1702 Father du Tachard wrote from Pondicherry that the French ship Princesse, touching at Johanna in August 1701, had found on the Isle of Comoro (or Angasie) two Englishmen who had been there for two years. They said that they had been wrecked at Mayotta, one in an English Company's ship (? the Ruby) three years before, the other had been in an English "flibustier" from Boston. All but three men out of the two crews had been murdered and one had since died. The Princesse arrived at Surat in September and found that English pirates had just carried off two large vessels, and that, as the native merchants held English, French and Dutch all responsible, matters were very uncomfortable. They left Surat on the 20th October 1701. Soon after, off Tevenepatam, 10 leagues from Calicut, they met the Pontchartrain (Captain du Bosc) who had been chased by an English pirate of forty guns off Cape Comorin, but had frightened her off by her evident determination to defend herself vigorously. The good father himself, after having left the Princesse, narrowly escaped capture by an English pirate sloop near Cochin (Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses, II. 318, 320).
- 499. On the 27th August 1702 one John Davis, formerly surgeon of the *Madras* frigate and later Surgeon at York Fort (Bencoolen), having been dismissed for misconduct, made up a small party and carried off the sloop *Expedition* (Sumatra Factory Records, vol. 5). He sold part of her cargo of pepper at Achin and carried her to Madras. Apparently he was not punished (Dr. G. Crawford, *Indian Medical Service*, I. 35).

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#### PAPERS ON HAND :-

Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters, by the late S. Charles Hill (Supplement).

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Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the *Indian Antiquary*.

08 e.

## STEPHEN MEREDYTH EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

WITH the greatest regret I have to announce the death of Mr. S. M. Edwardes. a joint Editor of this Journal, on New Year's Day. He had been seriously ill for about a fortnight, but rallied and was expected to recover only shortly before he suddenly died. Mr. Edwardes was not only a great standby to the Indian Antiquary-always working hard and most efficiently-but was a remarkable man in many ways. He was a son of the Reverend Stephen Edwardes, a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and was sent to Eton and thence to Christchurch, Oxford, whence he passed the examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1894, proceeding in due course to the Bombay Presidency. There he did much notable work, producing invaluable papers and books on the town and island of Bombay-reviving the public knowledge of both to a greater degree than any other contemporary writer. In 1901 he compiled the Bombay Census volume, and in 1906 and 1910 three volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer additional to the thirty-four put together under the splendid editorship of another friend now gone by-Sir James Campbell. These labours made him specially acquainted with the Western Presidency and its capital, and to them he added two fine books, the Rise of Bombay and the Byways of Bombay, becoming thus the greatest authority of his time on that famous city. Meanwhile in 1904 the Government appointed him a special collector under the Bombay Improvement Trust Act.

Edwardes showed himself at a very early period of his life to be a man of courage and decision, and his literary and official work gave him an intimate knowledge of the western capital of India: so when Lord Sydenham chose him in 1910 to be Commissioner of the Police thereof, his choice was more than justified. Very soon afterwards the King and Queen visited Bombay on their way to the Delhi Coronation Durbar and on Edwardes fell the difficult duty of making the necessary Police arrangements during their stay in that Presidency town. So well was this performed that he was created a C.V.O., an honour which was followed by a well-deserved C.S.I. in 1915.

His work as Commissioner of Police was so highly appreciated—he effected several reforms—that a marble bust of him was set up in the central police office to commemorate it. Later on he wrote an account of the Bombay Police as an institution, a volume that was reviewed in this Journal in March 1925. In April 1916 he was selected by Lord Willingdon for the Municipal Commissionership of the city he knew so well. So far then his twenty years' career in India as a civil servant had been unusually brilliant, but after two years in this last office he was compelled to resign the service before his time by ill-health of a kind that would have daunted most men.

Edwardes was, however, a man of exceptionable courage, and faced the situation with quiet unassuming determination, for he had a wife and family to support on only a proportionate pension. As soon as he was able he sought work and became secretary to the Indo-British Association, under Lord Sydenham, to oppose the reforms advocated by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. This office brought on him many attacks from those who favoured the reforms—all the more virulent because of the offices he had held while in India. But Edwardes continued his work nevertheless as long as Mr. Montagu remained Secretary of State for India. Meanwhile in 1921 he was chosen to represent India at the Geneva Conference on Traffic in Women and Children.

In all this Edwardes acted as a public official, but he was besides a born researcher, becoming President of the Anthropological Society of Bombay and a constant contributor to its Journal. For the Clarendon Press (Oxford) he reviewed Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, and more recently Dr. Vincent Smith's Early History of India, a work in which is much more of Edwardes's own research than appears in the wording of the text thereof. He also produced quite lately a study of the Mogul period in Babur, Diarist and Despot, out of the wonderful self-revealing diaries of the founder of the Mogul Imperial Dynasty. This was a result of the researches he was carrying on with Professor Garrett of the Government College, Lahore, into the records of the Mogul Emperors. He further brought out memoirs of prominent personages of the Bombay Presidency—Sir Dinshaw Petit, the first Baronet, Sir Ramchhodlal Chhodlal of Ahmadabad, and Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, the Parsi savant.

In 1923 he joined me as Joint Editor of the Indian Antiquary, and did a wonderful amount of work for it, especially so when his trying ill-health is considered. In the few years of his connection with this Journal he wrote reviews of books and articles, besides taking an active share in its general conduct. And to crown the labours of an ever active life he became Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society in succession to Miss Ella Sykes about six months ago. I have in consequence known him well, and I found him always learned, always willing to work and always unassuming—a fine specimen of an Englishman facing exceptional difficulties of health with a calm unflinching courage.

## A HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTION.

BY CH. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL, M.A., M.F., M.R.A.S.

Provenance.—This inscription stone was noticed by me in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, in 1921. I no sooner saw it than I began to trace its provenance. Not being satisfied with the statement, which seemed impossible to me on the very face of it, that it was picked up by Colonel Jacob 1 from the vicinity of the Tombs or Chattris of the former Raos of Cutch, not far from the Resident's office, I wrote to Mr. N. M. Bilimoria, the retired Superintendent of the Cutch Bhuj Residency Office to let me know definitely how the stone along with others came to Bhuj. He replied in a letter, dated 11th December 1923, that they were brought from Aden by Colonel H. F. Jacob of the Indian Army, who was for a long time at Aden and was for some time Political Agent for Cutch, and that under the Colonel's instructions the stone inscriptions were sent to the Prince of Wales Museum in 1911. On further inquiry Mr. Bilimoria confirmed his statement given above. So Mr. (now Dr.) Bhandarkar's suspicions were rightly founded 2 and the provenance of this inscription stone has been determined to be Aden or a place near it in South Arabia.

The Inscription.—1. The language of the Inscription is what may be called Himyaritic, though Sabaean and South Arabic are also names given to it.

This stone measures on the face of it  $9\frac{1}{2}$  by 9" with a thickness of  $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The left-hand bottom corner has been broken off; otherwise the epigraph is quite complete and clear.

2. I read it from left to right and find the inscription as below:-

Both the lines are quite legible. Some doubt however is attached to the two strokes I I

in the first line and the form  $\otimes$  in the second and perhaps also to . I shall take them individually.

- (a) II. The shape of these two strokes is almost always used as a mark of separation between two words, to mark the beginning of the latter and end of the former between which the mark interposes. The place these two strokes occupy here, i.e., in the beginning of the epigraph, seems to be quite extraordinary. We do not know a letter corresponding to them. If we suppose that their tops were joined the letter will be n=1 in Hebrew B and the first line could be read then as Bombay, which is as strange as it is unsatisfactory. Again there is no ground for joining the two letters, for the engraver seems to know his art quite well. Then what is the solution? I propose to take each stroke by itself which stands for one. We know that the Himyarites wrote one, two and three in the form of I, II and III like the Romans and the Assyrians. So I believe that these strokes stand for II = 2 = Hebrew 2.
- (b)  $\otimes$  This form of letter is also unknown. We know that  $O = \xi = 'a$  sometimes = 1 = w = 1, and that  $\times$  stands for n = 0 = 1. Then what does it stand for? I suggest that it is a combination of two letters  $\times$  placed inside O. The question arises why  $\times$  was not separately placed? Myanswer is that "In Muhammadan Numismatics and epigraphy, especially where artistic arrangement is to be observed, clerical accuracy is often sacrificed for the sake of symmetry and ornamentation". What is true of Muhammadan Epigraphy is also true of Himyaritic. In the first line two strokes stand for I and I and make two. Here there are two letters, one being inside the other. The skill of calligraphy is to be seen here. If  $\times$  had been written in the end of the first line there would have been no

Archæological Survey Report, Western Circle, 1916, p. 3.
 JASB., vol. XVIII, p. 37, of the Num. Supplement.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 1917, p. 50.

symmetry. If written in the beginning of the second line the mark of demarcation ought to have been placed between  $\times$  and O and here too symmetry would have been lost. By placing  $\times$  inside O the symmetry has been kept with the II of first line and the sign of separation has been done away with. So to me it seems  $\otimes$  stands for  $\times$  /O or  $\times$ /D, both O and O standing for  $\circ$  =  $\circ$  =  $\circ$ .

As an example of symmetry see six lines each consisting of eight letters in the second half of lines 5-10, p. 200, Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Tomus II, Fasciculus Tertius, and also p. 97, I.A., vol. XIV (1885). Other inscriptions also show that in these Himyaritic inscriptions some sort of symmetry is often kept, e.g., if there are eleven letters in one line other lines also contain as far as possible the same number vide p. 222 of Corpus quoted above.

(c) أن in the second line perhaps also requires an explanation. It is aleph الف (Hebrew R), the only difficulty about it being that its upper waving stroke touches the right hand vertical stroke of  $\sqcap$  in the first line.

3. With this explanation I would transcribe the Himyaritic characters in the usual way in Hebrew and then into Arabic to which they are more allied.

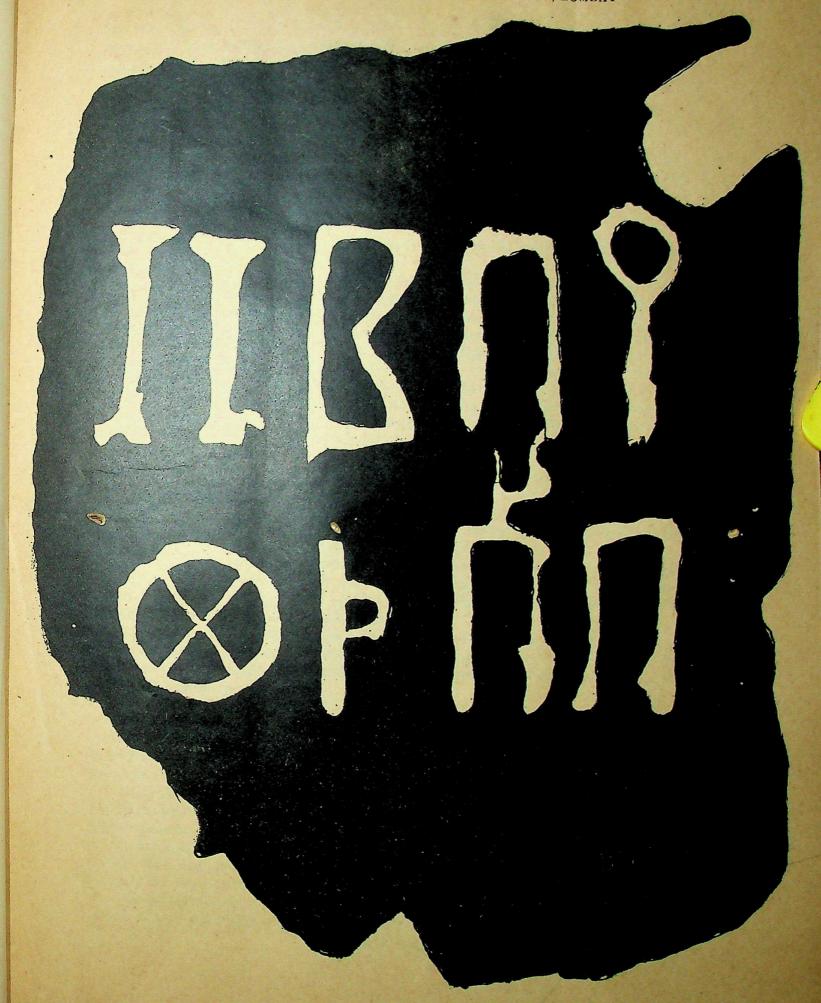
Translation: -House No. 2 (dedicated to) Wadd Pater.

Hence the inscription means: The House No. 2 dedicated to God or Father Wadd. The word ab was used by the Arabs as an honorific title. It has been used in the Quran (11, 127) for Abraham and his two sons and has also a meaning signifying the feeder. It has been specially found accompanying Wadd in the Himyaritic inscriptions (see C.I.S., II, pp. 385-87).

Wadd was a god worshipped by the Arabs, who often wore talismans bearing the name Wadd. The word itself is derived from wudd which means love. It was opposed to Nakruh, the god of hatred. It was "a certain idol which pertained to the people of Noah and then to Kelb—or a certain good man who lived between Adam and Noah, and of whom, after his death, was made an image, which, after a long time, became an object of worship "4. Its name is mentioned in the Quran, vide ante, vol. LXXI, 22 and 23. The idol has been described by some to be "the figure of a tall man wearing one loin cloth with another cloth over him, a sword hanging round his neck, with a bow and a quiver, in front a lance with a flag attached to it," but the figure that we have got in the Museum is that of a man wearing a close

<sup>4</sup> Lane's Lexicon. 5 Arzul Quran, vol. II (1918), p. 428.

A HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTION
PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM OF WESTERN INDIA, BOMBAY



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar fitting cap with a long tassel and a cloth round the loins just touching the knees. His garment resembles the kilt of the Highlander in the form of pleats it displays.

The inscription over it I read as follows? The follows?

supplying  $\Xi$  before  $\Phi$  of the word. The first word thus becomes 7.  $\Phi$   $\Xi$  which means a "form, an appearance, external state or condition, state with respect to apparel and the like or garb," and the inscription means "the image of Father Wadd."

## SVETAMBARA JAINA ICONOGRAPHY.

BY MISS. HELEN M. JOHNSON.

THERE has long been need of a Svetâmbara corollary to the valuable article by Burgess on 'Digambara Jaina Iconography.' 1

Burgess gives the Śvetâmbara variants only as detailed by Hemacandra in the Abhi-dhânacintâmani, which gives merely the names of the Yakṣas and Yakṣinîs, the śâsanadevatâs of the Tîrthañkaras. These attendant divinities came into existence at the founding of the congregation (tîrtha) by the Tîrthañkaras when they attained kevalajñâna. In the Triṣaṣti-śalâkâpuruṣacaritra Hemacandra gives a detailed description of each śâsanadevatâ. His account differs so much from the Digambara account, as reported by Burgess, that the images of the one sect would be quite unrecognizable from the description of the other's. These images play quite an important part in Jaina iconography, not only on their own account, but because they help to identify the statues of the Jinas. Hemacandra gives the name, colour, vâhana, number of hands with the object in each, and any unusual feature, of each śâsanadevatâ.

The references in the following are all to Hemacandra's Trişaştiśalâkâpuruşacaritra, published at Bhavnagar.

1. Rsabha: 1. 3. 683. The Yaksa is named Gomukha. He is gold-color, and has an elephant as a vâhana. He has four arms. One right hand is in the varada-position, the other holds a rosary. The left hands hold a citron and a noose.

The Yakṣiṇî is named Apraticakrâ, though Hemacandra himself calls her Cakreśvarî in the Abhidhânacintâmaṇi, 44 (B. and R. ed.). She is gold-color, seated on a garuḍa. She has eight arms. One right hand is in varada; the others hold an arrow, discus and noose. The left hands hold a bow, thunderbolt, discus and goad.

2. Ajita: 2. 3. 842. The Yaksa is named Mahâyakṣa. He is dark (śyâma), has an elephant as vâhana, has four faces and eight arms. Of the right hands, one is in varada; the others hold a hammer, rosary and noose. One left hand is in abhayada-position; the others hold a citron, goad and spear.

The Yakṣiṇî is named Ajitabalâ. She is gold-color, seated on an iron seat. One right hand is in *varada*, and the other holds a noose. The left hands hold a citron and goad.

3. Sambhava: 3. 1.385. The Yakṣa is named Trimukha. He is dark, three-eyed, has three faces and six arms. His vâhana is a peacock. Two of his right hands hold an ichneumon and mace; the other is in abhayada. His left hands hold a citron, wreath and rosary.

The Yakṣiṇî is Duritârî. She is fair (gauravarṇā), with a ram for a vâhana. One right hand is in varada, and the second holds a rosary. One left hand is in abhayada, and the other holds a serpent.

4. Abhinanda: 3.2.157. The Yakṣa's name is Yakṣeśvara (Abhidhana°, 41, Yakṣanâ-yaka). He is dark, and has an elephant for a vâhana. His two right hands hold a citron and rosary. The two left hands hold an ichneumon and goad.

The Yakṣiṇî's name is Kalikâ. She is dark, and seated on a lotus. One right hand is in varada, and the other holds a noose. The two left hands hold a snake and a goad.

5. Sumati: 3. 3. 246. The Yaksa is named Tumburu. His color is white, and his vahana is a garuda. One right hand is in varada, and the other holds a spear. The left hands hold a mace and noose.

The Yakşinî is Mahâkâlî. She is gold-color, and has a lotus as a *vâhana*. One right hand is in *varada*, and the second holds a noose. The left hands hold a citron and goad.

6. Padmaprabhu: 3. 4. 180. Kusuma is the name of the Yaksa. He is blue, and a deer is his vâhana. One right hand is in abhayada, and one holds a fruit. His left hands hold an ichneumon and rosary.

The Yakṣiṇî is named Acyutâ (Abhidhâna°, 44, Śyâma). She is dark, and her vâhana is a man. One right hand is in varada, the second holds a noose. One left hand holds a bow, and the other is in abhayada.

7. Supårśva: 3. 5. 110. His Yakṣa is named Mâtañga. His color is blue, and his vahana is an elephant. One right hand holds a bilva (its fruit?), and the other a noose.

His Yakṣiṇî is named Śântâ. She is gold-color and her vâhana is an elephant. One right hand is in varada, the other holds a rosary. One left hand holds a trident, the other is in abhayada.

8. Candraprabha: 3. 6. 108. Vijaya is the Yakṣa's name. His color is green, and his vāhana is a haṅsa. He has only two arms. In the right hand he holds a discus, and in the left a hammer.

The Yakṣiṇi's name is Bhṛkuṭi. Her color is yellow, and her vâhana is a haṅsa (marâla). In her right hands she holds a sword and a hammer. In her left hands she has a tablet and an axe.

9. Suvidhi: 3.7.138. The Yakṣa's name is Ajita. His color is white, and he has a tortoise for a vâhana. His right hands hold a citron and a rosary. His left hands hold an ichneumon and a spear.

Sutârâ is the Yakṣiṇî. She is fair, with a bull as a vâhana. One right hand is in varada, the second has a rosary. The left hands have a water-pot and goad.

10. Śîtala: 3.8.111. His Yakṣa is named Brahmâ. He is white, is three-eyed, has four faces, and is seated on a lotus. He has eight arms. Three right hands hold a citron, hammer and noose; the fourth is in abhayada. The left hands hold an ichneumon, mace, goad and rosary.

The Yakṣiṇî, Aśokâ, is bean-colour. Her vâhana is a cloud. One right hand is in varada, the second has a noose. Her left hands hold a fruit and goad.

11. Śreyânsa: 4.1.784. The Yakṣa is Îśvara (Abhidhâna°. 42, Yakṣeṭ), with a bull for a vâhana. He is three-eyed, and his color is white. In his two right hands are a citron and mace. In his two left hands are an ichneumon and a rosary.

The Yakṣiṇî is Mânavî. She is fair, and has a lion as vâhana. One of her right hands is in varada, and the other holds a hammer. An axe and a goad are in her left hands.

12. Vâsupûjya: 4. 2. 286. The Yakşa's name is Kumâra. He is white, with a hansa-vâhana. A citron and arrow are held in his right hands; an ichneumon and bow in his left.

Candrâ, the Yakṣiṇî, is dark and her vâhana is a horse. One right hand is in varada, the other has a spear. A flower and a mace are held in her left hands.

13. Vimala: 4.3.178. The name of his Yakṣa is Ṣaṇmukha. He is white, his vâhana is a peacock, and he has twelve arms. His six right hands hold a fruit, discus, sword, noose, and rosary. Five of his left hands hold an ichneumon, discus, bow, tablet and goad; the sixth is in abhayada.

Viditâ, the Yakşinî, is a yellowish-green color. She is seated on a lotus. She holds an arrow and noose in her right hands; and a bow and a snake in her left.

14. Ananta: 4. 4. 200. Pâtâla, the Yakṣa, is red. His vâhana is a dolphin (makara). He has three faces and six arms. In his right hands he holds a lotus, sword and noose. In the left ones he has an ichneumon, tablet and rosary.

Añkuśâ, the Yakṣiṇî, is fair. Her vâhana is a lotus. A sword and a noose are held in the right hands; a tablet and goad in the left.

15. Dharma: 4.5.197. His Yakṣa, Kinnara, has three faces and six arms. His color is dark-red, and his vāhana is a tortoise. Two right hands hold a citron and a club; the third is in abhaya. In the left he has an ichneumon, lotus and rosary.

His Yakşinî is named Kandarpâ. She is fair, and has a fish as a vâhana. She holds a blue lotus and a goad in her right hands. In one left hand she has a lotus; the other is in abhayada.

16. Sânti: 5.5.373. His Yakṣa, Garuḍa, has the head of a boar. His color is black and his vâhana is an elephant. In his right hands there are a citron and a lotus; in his left an ichneumon and a rosary.

Nirvânî is the name of his Yakşinî. She is fair, and is seated on a lotus. In her right hands she has a blue lotus and a book; a water-jar and a lotus in her left.

17. Kunthu: 6. 1. 116. Gandharva is black. His vâhana is the hansa. One right hand is in varada, the other holds a noose. In his left hands he has a citron and goad.

Balâ, his Yakṣiṇî, is fair, with a peacock as vâhana. In her right hands she holds a citron and trident; in her left she has a weapon (muṣanḍhî) and a lotus.

18. Ara: 6.2.97. His Yakşa is named Yakşendra (Abhidhâna°, 43, Yakşet). He is dark, three-eyed, has six faces and twelve arms. His vâhana is a conch. Five of his right hands hold a citron, arrow, sword, hammer, and noose; the sixth is in abhayada. In his left hands he has an ichneumon, bow, shield, trident, goad and rosary.

Dhârinî, the Yakşinî, is seated on a lotus. She is blue. In her right hands she holds a citron and blue lotus; in her left a lotus and rosary.

19. Malli: 6. 6. 251. The Yakşa, Kubera, is rainbow-colored. The elephant is his vâhana. He has four faces and eight arms. One right hand is in varada, two hold an axe and a trident, and the fourth is in abhayada. His left hands have a citron, spear, hammer and rosary.

Vairotyâ is the name of the Yakṣiṇî (Abhidhâna°, 45, Dharaṇapriyâ). Her color is black, and she is seated on a lotus. One right hand is in varada, and the other holds a lotus. A citron and spear are in the left hands.

20. Munisuvrata: 6.7.194. Varuṇa, the Yakṣa, is white, three-eyed, four-faced, with matted hair. His vâhana is a bull. He has eight arms. In the four right hands he has a citron, mace, arrow and spear. In the four left there are an ichneumon, rosary, bow and axe.

Naradattâ, the Yakṣiṇî, is fair, seated on a throne. One right hand is in varada, the other holds a rosary. She has a citron and a trident in the left hands.

21. Nami: 7.11.98. Bhṛkuti, the Yakṣa, is gold-colored, three-eyed, and four-faced. His vāhana is a bull. He has eight arms. Three right hands hold a citron, spear and hammer; the fourth is in abhayada. The four left hands hold an ichneumon, axe, thunderbolt and rosary.

Gândhârî, the Yakṣiṇî, is white, with a haisa as a vâhana. One right hand is in varada, and the other holds a sword. Both of her left hands hold citrons.

22. Nemi: 8. 9. 383. Gomedha is his Yakşa, dark, three-faced. He has a man as a vâhana. Of his six hands the three right ones hold a citron, axe, and discus; the three left ones hold an ichneumon, trident and spear.

The female divinity (here called a Kuşmandî) is named Ambikâ. Her color is golden her vâhana is a lion. In her right hands she holds a cluster of mangoes and a noose; in her left hands she has a child and a goad.

23. Pârśva: 9.3.362. The Yakṣa, Pârśvayakṣa, is dark. He has the head of an elephant, and has a serpent's hood for an umbrella. A tortoise is his vâhana. He has a citron and serpent in his right hands; an ichneumon and serpent in his left ones.

The Yakṣiṇî, Padmâvatî, is gold-color. Her vâhana is a kurkuṭa-serpent. She has a lotus and a noose in her right hands; and a fruit and a goad in her left.

24. Mahâvîra: 10. 5. 11. Mâtañga is the name of his Yakṣa. He is black, and has an elephant as a vâhana. He has only two arms. In his right hand he has a citron; and in his left an ichneumon.

Siddhâyikâ, the Yakṣiṇî, is green. Her vâhana is a lion. Her right hands hold a citron and lute. One left hand holds a book; the other is in abhayada.

From these descriptions it is evident that the Svetâmbara tradition in regard to the Sâsanadevatâs differs from the Digambara not only in the details of name, cognizance and objects held, but that there is a great divergence in the attitude of the figures. The Śvetâmbaras allow much more variety and the conception of the proper attitude has not become so stereotyped. In Burgess's plates all the figures but one have the front right hand in that position so universal in Indian art—with the palm exposed and the fingers pointing upwards. This Burgess calls the varada-hasta. But there seems to be some confusion of terminology here. This same position of the hands is the one usually called abhaya-hasta.<sup>2</sup> But this cannot be dismissed as a mere confusion of terms by Burgess, for whenever varada-hasta occurs in Hemacandra's text, it is always in the case of a right hand. There is no such uniformity as with the Digambaras. The varada-hasta occurs only in seventeen instances, as compared with forty-seven. The abhaya-hasta occurs fifteen times, and may be on either side. Apparently then, the Jain use of these two terms is just the opposite of the Buddhist and the Hindu; or, that in the case of the Śvetâmbaras, at least, the very ordinary right hand position, usually called abhaya-hasta may also be on the left side.

On another point Hemacandra shows an interesting variation. He uses the words  $v\hat{a}hana$ , ratha and  $y\hat{a}na$  indiscriminately and with about equal frequency for the vehicle of the divinities. In eight cases, however, he uses  $\hat{a}sana$ , which is open to several interpretations. I think the idea of posture can be eliminated here. As a very conspicuous characteristic of Hemacandra's style is the substitution of some unusual word for a very common one, it seems possible that  $\hat{a}sana$  might be merely the equivalent of  $v\hat{a}hana$ ; but perhaps the most obvious interpretation is that the conventionalized seats or pedestals are meant. In five cases the  $padm\hat{a}sana$  (ambuja, kamala) occurs, also the  $bhadn\hat{a}sana$ ,  $loh\hat{a}sana$  and  $garud\hat{a}sana$ . I have found no instance of a conventionalized  $garud\hat{a}sana$ , though a  $k\hat{u}rm\hat{a}sana$  and  $makar\hat{a}sana$  occur.

These conventionalized seats could, of course, be used as cognizances, as in Burgess, plate I, fig. 2, without implying that the image would be mounted on them, but two examples, lohâsanastha (No. 2), and bhadrâsadasthita (No. 20), and the use of padmârûḍha (No. 13) indicate that Hemacandra thought of these divinities as placed on these pedestals.

As always, Hemacandra makes use of words hitherto quoted only from lexicons: musandhî, 6. 1. 119, 'a kind of weapon', and kurkuṭoraga, 9. 3. 364, 'a kind of snake'. The Kuṣmāṇdas, 8. 9. 385 (No. 22), with the Jains are a division of the Vyantaras, as are also the Yakṣas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Foucher, L'Art Greco-bouddhique de Gandhdra, 2, pt. 1, p. 326 f.; and Gopinatha, Elements of Hindu Iconography, I, p. 14. The definitions here and references to illustrations do not correspond, but throughout the text abhaya-hasta is used for this position.

<sup>8</sup> Gopinatha, E.H.I., I, p. 19 ff.

# THE DATE OF ASOKA'S ROCK EDICTS. By M. H. GOPAL, M.A.

In his recent book on Asoka<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University supports<sup>2</sup> Mr. Harit Krishna Deb's view, expressed in his Asoka's Dhammalipis, that at least Rock Edicts3 II and XIII must be later than Pillar Edict VII dated in the 27th regnal year, because their contents are not mentioned in PE VII, which is a résumé of Asoka's work; to quote Dr. Bhandarkar's words, "the carrying out of philanthrophic works (RE II) and the propagation of Dhamma (RE XIII) are such important things that Asoka would most certainly have made mention of them in PE VII, if he had heard, when it was engraved, that they had met with some measure of success in those foreign countries. The omission is signifi cant and shows that RE II and XIII could not have been promulgated prior to PE VII, that is, the 27th regnal year."

Dr. Bhandarkar goes a step further and remarks that all the RE, including the MRE, are in date later than PE VII. We shall, however, discuss this view later on.

There are also a few other scholars, who hold the same view as Mr. Deb and for the same reasons. But on a closer examination we find that this contention fails to stand criticism. True, the absence of any reference to foreign missions is so significant that it requires some explanation; and such an explanation may perhaps be found in the fact that by about the 27th regnal year, when PE VII was issued, the foreign missions had been abandoned.

However this may be, Messrs. Deb, Bhandarkar and their school appear to have overlooked a very remarkable short passage in RE II, which is almost reproduced both in language and contents in PE VII. RE II says: 4

"Roots and fruits wherever they are not found have been imported and planted. On the roads wells have been caused to be dug and trees caused to be planted for the enjoyment of man and beast.

PE VII 5 says:

"On the roads have I planted the banyan trees. They will offer shade to man and beast. I have grown mango orchards. I have caused wells to be dug at every eight I have made many waiting-sheds at different places for the enjoyment of man and beast."

This shows that PE VII, as a mere résumé of Asoka's acts, must be later than RE II. For this philanthropic work of Asoka is mentioned nowhere in the PE.

Moreover the very position of the edicts (RE II and XIII) goes against Mr. Deb's view. At Shahbazgarhi<sup>6</sup> "the larger portion of the record containing all the inscriptions except the 12th is engraved on both the eastern and western faces of a mass of trap rock," while at Mansera "the first twelve edicts have been found incised on two rocks" and the last two are missing. In the Kalsi group the edicts are in order on a single boulder, though "towards the bottom, beginning with the 10th edict, the letters increase in size." The inscription at Girnar consists of two main divisions separated by a line drawn from the top to the bottom of the rock. The first five edicts are to the left, while the next seven, from 6 to 12, are to the right. "The 13th edict is placed below and on its right is the 14th edict." At Dhauli "the Asoka inscriptions are arranged in three parallel vertical columns, of which the Fourteen Rock Edicts occupy the whole of the middle column and one-half of the right column."

Thus we find that in all these places RE II at least is found along with the others on the same rock and in a regular order following the first edict and being followed by the third.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 319. <sup>6</sup> The quotations are all from Bhandarkar's Asoka, pp. 250-4.

<sup>1</sup> Asoka, by D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., published by the Calcutta University in 1925.

<sup>3</sup> In this article RE stands for Rock Edicts; PE, for Pillar Edicts; MRE, for Minor Rock Edicts. 4 Bhandarkar's Asoka, p. 276.

If RE II was, as Mr. Deb says, later than PE VII, then it could not have followed the first and been followed by the third edict; on the other hand it ought to have been on a separate rock or at least apart from the rest as a supplement to them. As this is not the case, we shall have to suppose, if Mr. Deb's theory is accepted, that, while the Rock Edicts were being engraved, Asoka had left between RE I and III just enough space for the Second Edict, and then filled in the edict later on. The absurdity of such supposition is evident on the very face of it.

The same argument applies mutatis mutandis to RE XIII.

Thus the simple fact that RE II and XIII are found along with the other Rock Edicts in a certain definite order, shows that they could not have been later than the other Rock Edicts and that at least the first edict was followed by the second, the second by the third and so on.

Dr. Bhandarkar avoids this difficulty by saying that all the Rock Edicts are later than PE VII. "We are, therefore," he writes, "compelled to infer that RE II and XIII, in fact the whole set of the 14 Rock Edicts, came to be engraved after the Seven Pillar Edicts were incised . . . This shows that all his RE, whether they are the 14 RE or the MRE, must have been engraved when the work of inscribing the seven PE came to an end." The basis for this view has been that in PE VII Asoka refers to Dhammalipis as having been ordered to be inscribed on stone pillars and slabs, and not on parvatas or rocks, and also that PE VII, which sums up Asoka's measures for the promotion of the Dhamma, does not mention the works of charity and the missionary efforts found in RE II and XIII.

We have discussed before how, though the omission in PE VII of the missionary efforts mentioned in RE II and XIII remains to be explained satisfactorily, there has been definite mention of works of charity in PE VII, while the position of RE II and, to a lesser extent, of RE XIII has shown us that all the Rock Edicts must be nearly of one date, or at least that RE II cannot be later than RE III and IV.

We have some specific references in the edicts thems? Ives as to when they were engrave or issued. And yet Dr. Bhandarkar remarks 8 "It is true that no less than four different dates are found mentioned in this series (RE IV, V, VIII and XIII), but it is nowhere stated that this whole set of Dhammalipis, or any component part thereof, was inscribed in any particular year. They are dates of the different events alluded to in the different parts of this series and not of the actual engraving."

In all there are five dates mentioned in the RE, and of these the one mentioned in RE III has unfortunately escaped Dr. Bhandarkar's notice. This date is very important for our purpose. Equally unfortunate has been the learned professor's statement that we find nowhere the particular year of inscribing any part of the Dhammalipis. For there is at least one date in RE IV, which tells us when that edict was inscribed or written.

In RE III Asoka says 9 "When I had been consecrated twelve years this order was issued (by me) . . . "This means that, whenever the edict might have been actually engraved, the order at least was issued in the 13th regnal year. The edict as such—its form, language and contents—apart from its existence on stone, existed in the 13th regnal year. And as we do not find any reference anywhere else to when the order was incised, we may safely take the words "this order was issued" as denoting the engraving of the edict on the rocks.

Further in RE IV we find "This was caused to be written by king Priyadarsin, Beloved of the Gods, when he was consecrated twelve years." Here it is obvious that the edict was engraved in the 13th regnal year, as there is definite mention of the date. In spite of this, Dr. Bhandarkar says that we do not find any date of the actual engraving, and that all the

Asoka, p. 268. 8 Asoka, p. 266.

<sup>9</sup> The extracts from the edicts quoted in these pages are from the English translation of the edicts given at the end of Dr. Bhandarkar's Asoka,

dates mentioned in the edicts are dates of the different events alluded to. The dates of events are to be found in RE V, VIII and XIII, but those in RE III and IV refer to the edicts and not to events.

Again in the Sixth Pillar Edict Asoka says: "Since I was crowned twelve years, I have caused Dhammalipis to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, so that giving up that (conduct), the officers might nurture this and that growth of Dhamma." This reference to the edicts cannot be to the PE because they are definitely known to belong to the 26th and 27th regnal years. What other edicts can this refer to but the RE, of which the third and the fourth definitely mention that they were issued or written after the twelfth year and before the thirteenth regnal year was over? The first four RE at least cannot be later than the 13th regnal year.

One small point must be noted. RE IV says that it was written, and not engraved as PE II and VII record. But as PE I, III and VI, of which the dates are settled, use the word "written," we may safely ignore the difference between "written" and "engraved."

From another side we find that the RE are earlier than PE VII and the PE as a whole. These are some institutions and acts of Asoka which are mentioned in PE VII, but which are found only in the RE and not in the other PE, for instance, Dharma Mahamatras whose creation was a very important act of Asoka. In Asoka's eyes this institution was so important that he devoted the whole of RE V to describing their functions, in addition to referring to them in other edicts. Likewise we find no mention of almsgiving in PE, but we find it mentioned in PE VII and RE V, VIII and XI. There are a few more such instances which show that PE VII recapitulates some ideas and institutions to be found exclusively in the Rock Edicts, which, therefore, must be prior to PE VII.

Thus we are forced to conclude that at least the first four Rock Edicts belong to the 13th regnal year and the first two may be a little earlier, while the other Rock Edicts are certainly not later than the Pillar Edicts, particularly the 7th; and it is most probable that RE to XIV belong to the 14th regnal year.

Coming to the Minor Rock Edicts, we find that it is not correct to place them, as Dr. Bhandarkar does, after the PE. For in MRE I we find this passage: "The Beloved of the Gods saith: 'It is more than two years and a half that I was lay-worshipper but did not exert myself strenuously. It is a year, indeed more than a year, that I have lived with the Sangha and have exerted myself. . . .'" This indicates that the Edict was engraved about four years after Asoka became a Buddhist, i.e., a little more than a year after he entered the Sangha or became a monk. RE XIII tells us that directly after the conquest of Kalinga, which event happened in the 9th regnal year, began Asoka's zealous protection of the Dhamma. That is to say, Asoka became a Buddhist about three years before the Kalinga war, i.e., about the 6th regnal year, and entered the Sangha just after the conquest, and issued the Minor Rock Edict a little more than a year later, about the 10th regnal year and not the 13th, as V. A. Smith and others hold. For if we accept Dr. Smith's view, Asoka became a Buddhist after the Kalinga conquest and a zealous one nearly three years later. But this contradicts the more reliable statement in RE XIII that Asoka's zealous protection of the law began directly after the conquest. Therefore the MRE must belong to the 10th regnal year.

Even if we accept Dr. Smith's view, the MRE fall in the 13th year and not after the PE. If we follow Dr. Bhandarkar and place the MRE about the 27th or 28th regnal year, it means that Asoka was converted to Buddhism in the 23rd or 24th regnal year. But RE XIII distinctly tells us that Asoka's zealous protection, longing for and teaching of the Dhamma began after the conquest of Kalinga in the 9th regnal year. Therefore we cannot place the MRE after the PE. Their real date must be somewhere about the 10th regnal year.

# VEDIC STUDIES. BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

(Continued from vol. LV, page 234.)

1, 124, 4: úpo adarši šundhyúvo ná váksho nodhů' ivůvír akrta priyů'ni | admasán ná sasató bodháyanti šašvattamů'gât púnar eyúshînům ||

"The breast (that is, the upper body) of Ushas has come to view like that of a resplendent (young) woman; she has made manifest her own (greatness) like nodhas: waking the sleepers like the hot; she has come again, the most frequent comer of those that come again". After priyâṇi, own, I supply the word mahimah after 7,75, 1: vy ùshâ' âvo divijâ' rtênâvishkrṇvânâ' mahimâ'nam â'gât. The same word, or, if a neuter noun be deemed necessary, the word mahitvam or mahitvanam, it seems to me, should be supplied also in 4, 4, 5: âvísh kṛṇushva daivyâny agne (daivyâni=daivyâni mahitvâni; daivyâni vîryâni; Sâyaṇa supplies tejâmsi) and 2,23,14: âvís tát kṛshva yád ásat ta ukthyàm (yat=yat mahitvam; yad vîryam; Sâyaṇa has yad vîryam). Nodhas still remains an obscure word and its meaning is unknown.

Priya means 'own 'in the following passages also: TS. 5, 1, 5, 2: chándânsi khálu vâ' agnêh priyâ' tanû'h | priyáyaivaínam tanúvâ páridadhâti "the chandânsi, indeed, are the own body (self) of Agni; he covers him with his own body (self)"; ibid., 5, 1, 6, 2: eshâ' vâ' agnêh priyâ' tanû'r yád ajâ' priyáyaivaínam tanúvâ sansijati "this, namely, the she-goat, is verily the own body (self) of Agni; he unites him with his own body (self) "; ibid., 5, 7, 3, 4: eshâ' khálu vâ' agnêh priyâ' tanû'r yád vaisvânaráh | priyâ'yâm evaínam tanúvâm prátishthâpayati "this, namely, Vaisvânara, is verily Agni's own body; he establishes him in his own body "(compare vaisvânara iti vâ agneh priyam dhâma "Vaisvânara is Agni's own body" in Tâṇḍya Br. 14, 2, 3; and Ait. Br. 3, 8, 6-7); TS. 5, 3, 10, 3: etád vâ' agnéh priyám dhâ' ma yád ghṛtám priyéṇaivaínam dhâ'mnâ sámardhayati "This, namely, butter, is verily the own form of Agni; he makes him thrive with his own form"; KS. 20, 1: agner vâ eshâ vaisvânarasya priyâ tanûr yat sikatâh "This, namely, sand is verily the own body of Agni"; ibid., 21, 3: priyayaivainam tanvâ samardhayati "He makes him thrive with his own body (form)".

Likewise, it means 'own 'in VS. 2, 17: agnel priyam pâtho' pîtam "Go to the own abode of Agni ''; in VS. 8, 50: agnel, indrasya, viśveshâm devânâm, priyam pâtho 'pîhi "Go to the own abode of Agni, Indra, Viśve Devâh" (compare svam pâtho apîtha 'go to your own abode' in ÂŚS. 1, 11, 8); and AV. 2, 34, 2: pramuñcánto bhúvanasya rêto gâtúm dhatta yájamânâya devâh' | upâ'kṛtaṃ śáśamânaṃ yád ásthât priyáṃ devâ' nâm ápy etu pâ'thaḥ "Do ye, releasing the seed of being, show the way to the sacrificer, O gods; what, brought hither and immolated, stood up, living, let it go to the own abode of the gods, (compare TS. 3, 1, 4, 3: upâ'kṛtaṃ śáśamânáṃ yád ásthâj jîváṃ devâ'nâm ápy-etu pâ'thaḥ and TS. 5, 1, 11, 4: áśvo ghṛténa tmányâ sámakta úpa devâ'n ṛtuśáḥ pâ'tha etu)." And similarly priya means 'own ' in TS. 1, 5, 3, 2-3: sapta te agne samídhaḥ saptá jihvâḥ saptá ṛ'shayaḥ saptá dhâ'ma priyâ'ṇi and in ibid., 1, 5, 4, 4: sapta sapta vai saptadhâgneḥ priyâs tanuvaḥ.

In the same way there can be no doubt that priya generally means 'own' in the expression priyam dhâma which occurs fairly frequently in the Yajus-Samhitâs and Brâhmanas and is interpreted by Böhtlingk and Roth (s.v. dhâma) as 'gewohnte Heimath, Lieblingsstätte, Lieblingssache, Liebhaberei, Lieblings-name; -preise, -person' and by Geldner (Glossar, s.v. dhâma) as '.das Liebe Wesen, die liebe Persönlichkeit, Lieblingsname, die liebe Person,' etc.; thus:

Kaush. Up. 3, 1: Pratardano ha daivodâsir indrasya priyam dhâmopajagâma yuddhena paurushena ca | tam hendra uvâca pratardana varam te dadânî ti ||

"Pratardana, son of Divodâsa, went to Indra's own abode by means of battle and valour. Indra said to him, 'Pratardana, I grant thee a boon.'" Indrasya priyam dhâma here does not mean 'Freundschaft, Gunst, Liebe' of Indra (as Geldner would have it) or 'gewohnte Heimath'.

of Indra (PW), but 'Indra's own abode', the domain that he rules over and that is known as Indraloka or svarga in later literature which Pratardana won through his valour in battle (see Macdonnell in Vedic Index, s.v. Pratardana). The allusion here is to the well-known belief of the Indian writers that those who die in battle fighting valiantly go to heaven; compare Manu, 7,89 : âhaveshu mitho' nyonyım jighâmsanto mahîkshitah | yudhyamânâh param śaktyâ svargam yânty aparânmukhâl, and Kauṭilya's Arthaśâstra, 10, 3 (p. 365): vedeshv apy anuśrûyate—samâpta-dakshinânâm yajñânâm avabhrtheshu sâ te gatir yâ śûrânâm iti . . . . yan yajñasanghais tapasa ca viprah svaryaishinah patracayas ca yanti kshanena tan apy apiyânti śûrâh prânân suyuddheshu parityajantah.

Ait. Br. 6, 20, 9-10: etena vai vasishtha indrasya priyam dhâmopâgacchat | sa paramam lokam ajayat | upendrasya priyam dhâma (Aufrecht's edition reads lokam here which is

incorrect) gacchati jayati paramam lokam ya cvam veda ||

"By means of this (sûkta; hymn of praise), verily, Vasishtha attained the own abode of Indra, he won the highest world; he who knows this goes to Indra's own abode, wins the highest world."

And similarly, in ibid., 5, 2, 5: etena vai gṛtsamada indrasya priyam dhâmopâgacchat; 5, 2, 12 : gayah plâtah visveshâm devânâm priyam dhâmopâgacchat ; 1, 21, 6 : etâbhir hâśvinoh kakshîvân priyam dhâmopâgacchat; TS. 5, 2, 1, 6: etena vai vatsaprîr bhâlandano''gneh priyam dhâmâvârunddha; ibid. 5,2,3,4: etena vai viśvâmitro'gneh priyam dhâmâvârunddha; and in ibid., 5, 3, 11, 3, I take priya in the sense of 'own' and dhâma in the sense of 'abode.' With regard to the latter word, the meaning of 'Persönlichkeit, Wesen, Form', suggested by Geldner is however not unsuitable in these passages which can be translated as "By means of this (hymn of praise) Grtsamada attained verily the own personality of Indra ", etc.; for, in similar passages in later literature that describe the virtue of hymns of praise (stotra) or of mantras, we read not only that the author of the hymn of praise and the others that made use of the stotra or mantra in question (compare upa agnel, indrasya, devânâm, priyam dhâma gacchati ya evam veda in the above passages) attain the world of the particular deity (sâyujyam gacchati, salokatâm âpnoti) that is addressed by the stotra or mantra, but also that they become such deity itself (sarûpatâm âpnoti). Compare for instance, Lalitâsahasranâmastotra (Nirnaya-sâgara ed., v. 289 ff.): pratimāsam paurņamāsyām ebhir nāmashasrakaih | rātrau yaś cakrarājasthām arcayet paradevatâm || sa eva lalitârûpas tadrûpû lalitâ svayam | na tayor vidyate bhedo bhedakṛt pûpakṛd bhavet || ; Avyaktopanishat, Kh. 7: ya imâm vidyâm adhîte . . . . dehânte tamasah param dhâma prâpnuyât | yatra virâţ nṛṣimho'vabhâsate . . . . tatsvarûpa-dhyânaparâ munaya âkalpânte tasminn eva lîyante; Tirpurâtâpinî Upanishad, 4: om namaś śivâyeti yajushamantropasako rudratvan prapnoti; and Ramarahasyopanishat, Ch. 5: ramamantrânâm kṛtapuraścarano râmacandro bhavati.

Priya means 'own' in the other passages too given in PW. Thus, VS. 1, 31: dhâma nâmâsi priyam devânâm "Thou art the gods' own form and name"; ibid., 2, 6: priyena dhâmnâ priyam sada âsîda "Sit in thy own seat in thy own form"; priyâ dhâmâni and priyâ pâthâmsi in VS. 21, 46 ff. mean 'own abodes, own domains'; Sata. Br. 3, 4, 2, 5: te devâ jushtâs tanûh priyânî dhâmâni sârdham samavadadire "The gods took together portions from their own selves, from their own powers"; ibid., 10, 1, 3, 11: etad dhâsya priyam dhâma yad yavishtha īti "This is indeed his own name, that of 'youngest'"; and ibid. 2, 3, 4, 24: âhutayo vâ asya priyam dhâma "The oblations are indeed the own essence of him"; priyenaivainam dhâmnâ samardhayati samsparśayati, pratyeti, etc.) "With his own body (or form, or nature, etc.) he makes him

The word sva, which, like nitya, primarily means 'own', seems likewise to be used in the sense of priya in some passages. Instances of such usage are:

2, 5, 7: sváh svá' ya dhá' yase kṛṇutâ' m ṛtvíg ṛtvíjam stómam yajnám câ'd áram vanémâ rarimâ' vayám || "May the beloved (Agni), the priest, for the sake of dear food, make ready the (human) priest; may he then control the praise and sacrifice; we have offered (oblations)". The sense of this verse is obscure and 1,31,3 where the words dhâyase, vanoshi and mantram occur, scarcely helps here. But sva seems to mean 'dear, beloved' here; compare the passages given above helps here. But sva seems to mean 'dear, beloved' here; compare 10,112,4: priyébhir yâhi priyám where Agni is called 'dear'. Regarding svam dhâyah compare 10,112,4: priyébhir yâhi priyám where Agni is called 'dear'. Regarding svam dhâyah compare 10,112,4: priyébhir yâhi priyám where Agni is called 'dear'. Compare also 1,58,2: â' svám ádma yuvámâno ajárah... ataséshu tishṭhasi where too perhaps sva means 'dear'.

3,31,21: ádedishta vṛtrahâ' gópatir gâ' antáḥ kṛshṇâ'n arushaír dhâ'mabhir gât | prá sûnṛ'tâ diśámâna ṛténa dúraś ca víśvâ avṛṇod á pa svâ'ḥ ||

"The destroyer of Vrtra, the lord of cows, has given cows; with his bright troops he penetrated into the dark ones. Bestowing riches rightly, he has opened all the dear doors." To interpret the last pâda as 'he has opened all his own doors 'hardly yields any sense; I therefore take svâh here as equivalent to priyâh. Compare 1, 142, 6: pâvakâ' śah puruspr'ho dvâ' ro devî'r hiranyáyîh, here as equivalent to priyâh. Compare 1, 142, 6: pâvakâ' śah puruspr'ho dvâ' ro devî'r hiranyáyîh, here as equivalent to wéatî'r vi śrayantâm and 10, 70, 2: vi śrayadhvam . . . . uśatî'r dvâ' rah where the doors are called 'much-beloved, dear'. The 'dear' doors are, evidently, those that give access to the chamber or other receptacle that contains wealth (compare, râyo durah in 1, 68, 10: vi râyá aurnod dúrah purukshúh); and the epithet 'dear' seems to be transferred to the doors from the wealth which as we know is often described in the RV. as being ferred to the doors from the wealth which as we know is often described in the rewith.

10, 120, 8: imâ' bráhma bṛháddivo vivakt-'t'ndrâya śûshám agriyáḥ svarshâ'ḥ | mahô gotrásya kshayati svarâ'jo dúraś ca víśvâ avṛṇod á pa svâ'ḥ ||

"These mighty hymns Brhaddiva speaks out for Indra. He, the foremost, the winner of light, is the lord of the mighty and independent stone; he has opened all the dear doors". By the 'mighty and independent stone' is here meant the Vajra or thunderbolt of Indra with which he opens the doors of the receptacle containing riches and which is elsewhere called adri, parvata and aśman: compare 4, 22, 1: yō (sc. indrah) áśmânam śávasâ bibhrad éti; 6, 22, 6: adri, parvata and aśman: dcyutâ cid vi litâ' svojo rujáh; and 1, 51, 3: saséna cid vimadâ'-manojúvâ svatavah párvatena | ácyutâ cid vi litâ' svojo rujáh; and 1, 51, 3: saséna cid vimadâ'-yâvaho vásv âjâ'v ádrim vâvasânásya nartáyan. The epithet svarâj, 'independent,' indicates perhaps that the Vajra is irresistible and overcomes all.

8, 70, 11 : anyávratam ámânusham áyajvânam ádevayum | áva sváh sákhâ dudhuvîta párvatah sughnâ' ya dásyum párvatah ||

"May the dear friend Parvata shake off him who follows another's ordinance, who is not human, who does not offer sacrifices, who is impious; and may Parvata (shake off) the Dasyu for swift death (?)".

3, 31, 10: saṃpáśyamânâ amadann abhí sváṃ páyaḥ pratnásya rétaso dúghânâḥ | ví ródasî atapad ghósha eshâṃ jâté nishṭhâl m ádadhur góshu vîrâl n ||

"Seeing and milking the milk of the old one's semen, they (the Augirases) gladdened the dear (Indra). Their shout warmed the two worlds; they placed him the foremost in what is born (that is, in the creation); they placed heroes amidst the kine (or, in the kine)". I understand this verse as referring to the winning of the sun which also is one of the exploits of Indra in association with the Augirases; see Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, pp. 61 and 143. The 'old one,' pratna, is Dyaus or Heaven and his 'seed,' retah, is the sun; compare 8, 6, 30;

d'd ît pratnásya rétaso jyótish paśyanti vâsarám; 1, 100, 3: divô ná yásya rétaso dúghânâh; 5, 17, 3: divô ná yásya rétasâ brhác chécanty arcáyah; and 10, 37, 1: divás putrá' ya sû' ryâya śamsata. The second pâda therefore means, 'making the sun appear'. In the first pâda, the word svam has been interpreted by Geldner (Kommentar, p. 51), following Sâyaṇa, as svakîyam godhanam and the verb abhi amadan in the sense of 'rejoicing' (Glossar; sich freuen iber). The combination abhi mad is however met with in another verse of the RV, namely, in 1, 51, I abhi tyáṃ mesháṃ puruhûtám rgmíyam in'draṃ gâ'rbhir madata where it has the sense, not of 'rejoicing' but of 'gladdening'. I believe that this is the sense here also, and that amadann abhi svam means 'they gladdened the dear (Indra),' that is to say, that they praised him; compare 1, 62, 5: gṛṇânó áṅgirobhir dasma ví var ushásâ sû'ryeṇa gôbhir ándhaḥ. Compare also 1, 142, 4; 5, 5, 3; 8, 50, 3; and 8, 98, 4 where the epithet priya is used of Indra. In the last pâda, the expression 'they placed heroes in the kine (or, amidst the kine)' is not very intelligible to me; Oldenberg (RV. Noten 1, p. 241) suggests that it means that 'they exerted themselves in such a way that the heroes were no more cut off from the possession of cows.'

AV. 6, 83, 4: vîhí svâ'm á'hutim jushânó mánasâ svâ'hâ mánasâ yád idám juhómi | "Consume the dear oblation, enjoying with the mind, hail, as now I make oblation with the mind."

AV. 3, 19, 3: nîcaíh padyantâm ádhare bhavantu yê nah sûrím maghávânam pṛtanyâ'n | kshiṇâ'mi bráhmaṇâmítrân ún nayâmi svâ'n ahám ||

"Downward let them fall, let them become inferior, who may fight against our liberal patron. With my incantation, I destroy the enemies; I raise those that are dear (to me)." Though the interpretation of  $sv\hat{a}n$  as '(my) own people' is not unsuited here, the contrast between amitrân and  $sv\hat{a}n$  shows that the latter word has here the sense of 'those that are dear to me; those whom I like; friends.'

AV. 7, 77, 5: taptó vâm gharmó nakshatu sváhotá prá vâm adhvaryúś caratu páyasvân | mádhor dugdhásyâśvinâ tanâ' yâ vîtám pâtám páyasa usríyâyâh ||

"The gharma is heated for you; let the dear hote approach; let the adhvaryu, rich in milk, move forward. Eat ye, O Aśvins, of this milked sweet; drink ye of this cow's milk." The word tanâyâh is obscure and I have followed Ludwig here in translating it as 'this.' Regarding svahotâ, compare what has been said above under nityahotâ. Compare also 7, 73, 2: ny ù priyô mánushah sâdi hôtâ nâ' satyâ yô yá jate vándate ca | aśnîtám mádhvo aśvinâ upâká â' vâm voce vidátheshu 'práyasvân where the expressions priyo hotâ, aśnîtam madhvo aśvinâ, and prayasvân are parallel to svahotâ, madhor aśvinâ vîtam, and prayasvân (for, this is the correct reading, found, as is noted by Whitney in his Translation, in the Kauśika-Sûtra and the Vaitâna-Sûtra and also in Sâyaṇa's commentary, and not payasvân) in the above verse.

10, 21, 1: â' gním ná svávrktibhir hítáram tvá vrnímahe | yajñá' ya stírnábarhishe ví vo madé śírám pâvakúśocisham vívakshase ||

"As Agni, we, with pleasingly-cut (hymns of praise), choose thee hotr for the sacrifice where the barhis is spread—thee that art burning and that hast clear light." Compare priyâ tashtâni, pleasingly-cut, pleasingly-fashioned (limbs) in 10, 86, 5 and the verses 1, 130, 6; 5, 2, 11; 5, 29, 15; 5, 73, 10; etc., which speak of hymns being 'cut' or 'fashioned' into shape. Concerning the refrain, vi vo made . . . vivakshase, which is not here translated, see Oldenberg, RV. Noten II, p. 221 and the literature referred to therein.

8, 32, 20 ;: píba svádhainavânâm utá yps túgrye sácâ | utá' yám indra yás táva ||

"Drink of these (Somas that are mixed) with pleasing milk; and what is with Tugrya and that which is here, O Indra, are thine." Svadhainavânâm is equivalent to priyadhainavânâm: the reference is to the milk which is added to the Soma juice. Compare 9, 101, 8: sâm u priyâ' anûshata gâ'vo mâdâya ghṛ'shvayaḥ | sâmâsaḥ kṛṇvate patháḥ pâvamânâsa îndavaḥ; compare also 9, 32, 5: abhí gâ'vo anûshata yôshâ jârâm iva priyâm; 9, 1, 9: abhî mam ághnyâ utâ śrîṇânti dhenâvaḥ śiśum | sômam îndrâya pâ'tave; 9, 9, 1: pári priyâ' divâs kavîr vâyâmsi naptyòr hitâḥ | suvânô yâti kavîkratuḥ.

VS. 22, 19: ihá dhṛ'tir ihá svádhṛtiḥ svâ'hâ | "Here steadiness; here pleasing steadiness, hail."

In the above translations, I have assumed that the words svavrkti, svadhainava and svadhrti have really the word sva as a component, in which case priyavrkti, priyadhainava and priyadhiti are the best equivalents for them. I do not however feel certain that this assumption is correct; or rather, I feel inclined to believe that the word sva is not really a component of these words at all. We know that in Sanskrit there exist a number of words beginning really with su- but having a variant form beginning with sva-. As examples of such, I may cite the following from PW-svagupta, svagrhîtanâman, svadhâ, svadhita, svadhiti, svastha, svabrahmanyâ, svabhadrâ, svavâsinî, and svarâshtra (proper name of a people), svapura (name of a town), svabhûmi (proper name), and svarenu (proper name) all which have also forms beginning with su-instead of sya-. The word sujana occurs in the form svajana in Ind. Spr. (II), 6672, svajana-durjanayoh, and it is remarked in PW 'nicht selten werden svajana und sujana mit einander verwechselt.' Similarly, the PW gives references to passages where the word svaprakâśa has the meaning 'clear,' that is, of suprakâśa. In the RV itself, we have the form svadhâ, nectar, instead of sudhâ and the form svayaśastaram in 8, 60, 11 where the SV reads suyaśastaram. I am inclined to think that the words svavrkti, svadhainava, and svadhrti also belong to this class and that they are but variants of the words suvrkti, sudhainava and sudhrti. Of these latter, the word suvrkti occurs frequently in the RV. It is derived from the root rc in PW but I believe that it really comes from the root vrj 'to cut '(compare the word vrkta-barhis) and that the meaning is 'well-cut, well-fashioned'; see what has been said above under 10, 21, 1. I would therefore translate the passages 10, 21, 1; 8, 32, 20; and VS. 22, 19 as follows: "As Agni, we with well-fashioned (hymns) choose thee hotr for the sacrifice, etc."; "Drink of these Somas that are well mixed with good milk, etc."; and "Here steadiness; here good steadiness, hail!" With regard to the VS passage, the commentator Uvata, I may here observe, has paraphrased svadhrti by sâdhu-dhrti which seems to show that he too regarded it as a variant of sudhrti.

Wackernagel, in his Attindische Grammatik II, § 33b (p. 81), refers to the frequentlyexpressed opinion, the best exposition of which is by Zubaty in KZ, 31, p. 52ff., that su-in compounds has, in addition to itself, an ablaut form sva-, and says that so far as the Vedic language (altindisch) is concerned, the examples adduced, namely, svadhâ-sudhâ, svadhitisudhiti, and svadhita-sudhita are too few in number to justify such opinion being held with regard to it. The number of examples, however, is not, as he thinks, restricted to the three mentioned here; for we have already met with two more examples above—svavrkti-suvrkti, svayaśastara-suyaśastara and we shall meet with some more presently. And, secondly, the statement that 'su- has in addition to itself an ablaut form sva- in compounds' gives but a partial and incorrect representation of the real fact, namely, that in Sanskrit, and in the Vedic language also, there occur a certain number of words beginning with su- that have got variant forms beginning with sva- or alternatively, that there occur a certain number of words beginning with sva- that have got variant forms beginning with su-. This does not mean that the first word in all such compounds is in reality su and that the form beginning with sva- is a variant of this; for there occur some compounds in which the first word is really sva and in whose case the form beginning with su- is a variant of such original form with sva-. Compare

Tait. Up. 2, 7: asad vû idam agra ûsît | tato vai sad ajûyata | tad ûtmûnan svayam akuruta | tasmût tat sukrtam ucyata iti; the word sukrta here stands distinctly for svakrta and is thus a variant of it; compare Sankara's bhashya thereon: sukrtam svayam-kartrucyate and Sankarananda's scholium, sukrtam svårthe 'yam soh prayojah | svena samskıtavat svakrtam. Compare also Mund. Up. 1, 2, 1 : esha vah panthâh sukrtasya loke (Śankara: sukrtasya svayam nirvartitasya karmano loke); ibid., 1, 2, 6: esha vah punyah sukrto brahmalokah and also ibid., 1, 2, 10: nakasya prshthe te sukrte 'nubhûtvû imam lokam hînataram vû visanti where too in all probability sukrtah=svakrtah: and Katha Up. 1, 3, 1: rtam pibantau sukrtasya loke châyâm pravishtau parame parârdhe where Sankara has explained sukrtasya as svayam krtasya karmanah. It must therefore be understood that in the case of compounds that occur in two forms, one beginning with su- and the other with sva-, the real original form may be either the one beginning with su- or the one beginning with sva-. And as a corollary, it has also to be admitted that in the case of compounds that occur in one form only, either beginning with su- or beginning with sva-, it is possible that such form beginning with su- or sva- may not be the real original form of the word at all, but only a variant of the real original form beginning with sva- or su- as the case may be.

In other words, when we meet with compounds beginning with su- or sva-, it is desirable to investigate first if such compound occurs in both forms or in one form only. In the latter case, one should further find out which of the two words, su and sva, gives the better meaning for the compound in connection with the passage where it occurs and determine accordingly the original form of the word and its meaning and also whether the word occurs in the given passage in its original form or in a variant form. The same thing has to be done in the former case also; but if, as sometimes happens, both the words su and sva are found to give the better meaning, each in its own context, one should postulate two original forms, beginning with su and sva respectively, and interpret the words accordingly: if, on the other hand, one only of the two words, su and sva, is found to give a good meaning (or the better meaning) in all the passages (where the compound occurs in either form), one should postulate one original form (beginning with su- or sva- as the case may be) and regard the other form (beginning with sva- or su- as the case may be) as a variant of it and interpret the passages accordingly.

The bearing of the foregoing remarks may perhaps be better understood from a consideration of some compounds beginning with sva- and su-. The words svakshatra-sukshatra both occur in the RV.; and the originality of the form svakshatra is proved by the occurrence of the , parallel word priyakshatra; see above. One has therefore to consider if the word sukshatra, in the passages where it occurs, gives a better meaning when one regards it as occurring in its original form and therefore interprets it as 'having excellent dominion' (sobhanam kshatram yasya) or when it is regarded as a variant of the word svakshatra and therefore interpreted as 'whose is dominion' (svam kshatram yasya), that is, 'ruling over others; sovereign.' Considering that the word sukshatra is used almost exclusively as an epithet of various gods, and that in their case, the meaning 'sovereign; ruling over others' is more appropriate and forceful than that of 'having excellent dominion,' I feel inclined to give preference to the latter of the above meanings and thus to regard sukshatra as a variant of the original form svakshatra, which, too, be it noted, is used almost exclusively as an epithet of various gods. On the other hand, in the case of the words suscandra-svascandra both occurring in the RV., I consider that the interpretation 'well-shining' is, in every passage, to be preferred to that of 'shining of itself,' 'self-shining'; and I therefore regard svaścandra in 1,52,9, the only passage where it occurs, as equivalent to suscandra and as meaning 'well-shining'. As regards the words suhotr (RV)—svahotr (AV), the occurrence of the word nityahotr (see above) seems to show that the latter form (in AV. 7, 77, 5) is original and should be interpreted in the same way as nityahotr, while the juxtaposition of the word svadhvara in 8, 103, 12: yáh suhótá svadhvaráh seems to show that here the interpretation "good hot?" gives the better meaning. I therefore

regard both words as being in their original forms. Of the pair svayaśastara, 'renowned of one's self'(RV)-suyaśastara 'having much renown' (SV), it is obvious that the latter is the better meaning. I believe therefore that svayaśastara in the RV is a variant of suyaśastara and means the same as that word, and likewise that the word svayasas occurring frequently in the RV, is a variant of, and has the same meaning as, suyaśas. Similarly, of the pair sugopa (having a good protector; well-protected)—svagopa (protected by one's self; self-protected), both occurring in the RV, the former meaning seems to be obviously better than the latter; and I therefore think it preferable to interpret svagopa in 10, 31, 10, (the only passage where the word occurs): vyáthir avyathi h krnuta svágopá, as 'well-protected' and to regard it as a variant of the word sugopa; while, of the pair suyuj ('well-yoked') -svayuj ('yoking itself; yoked of its own self') both occurring in the RV, it is equally obvious that the latter meaning suits the context better than the former, which is, when compared with it, a weak and colourless epithet. I therefore look upon the word suyuj (in the RV. passages where it occurs) as a variant of, and having the same meaning as, svayuj. Compare the epithet manoyuj, which, like suyuj, is applied to hymns, horses, and chariots; and compare specially 1, 121, 12: tvám indra náryo yô'n ávo nr'n tíshthû vâ'tasya suyújo váhishthûn | yám te kûvyá uśánû mandínam đấ' d vrtrahánam pâ'ryam tataksha vájram with 1, 51, 10 tákshad yát ta usánâ sáhasâ sáho ví ródasî majmánâ badhate sávah | â' tvâ vâ'tasya nrmano manoyúja â' pû'ryamânam avahann abhi śrávah and 5, 31, 10: vá tasya yuktá n suyújaś cid áśvân with 4, 48, 4: váhantu tvá manoyújo yuktâ' so navaii'r náva vâ'yo . . . . where the word suyuj in the former pair of verses is obviously parallel to the word manayuj in the latter pair thus indicating clearly that suyuj is equivalent to svayuj. Compare also the verse 3,58,3: suyúgbhir ásvaih suvr'ta ráthena dásrav imám srnutam ślokam ádreh with the verse 5, 75, 6: â' vâm narâ manoyújo 'śvâsah prushitápsavah | váyo vahantu pîtoye sahá sumnébhir aśvina and with the verse 1, 119, 4: yuvám bhujyum bhurá manam vibhir gatám sváyuktibhir niváhanta pitr'bhya d' and note that the epithets suyuj, manoyuj and svayukti are parallelly applied to the bird-horses of the Asvins indicating that they express the same idea. The horses (birds) of Vâyu (Vâta) and of the Aśvins yoke themselves to the charjet when their masters think 5 of setting forth in it, and are hence manoyujah as well as svayujah.

This is not however the occasion for investigating exhaustively the nature and meaning of all the Vedic compounds beginning with sva- and su-. The foregoing observations will, I believe, have shown the necessity of such an investigation; and I therefore close this digression and return to our subject.

Sva has the sense of priya in the derivative svadhâ also which in the instrumental case, means not only 'according to one's own nature or wont' but also 'willingly, with gladness, with pleasure', nach eigenem Gefallen, gern, aus eigener Lust (Grassmann), Neigung (Geldner, Glossar).

Like nitya and sva, the word nija, too, means primarily 'own'; and like these two words, it too seems to have the meaning priya in the following passage: AV. 3, 5, 2: máyi kshatrám parṇamaṇe máyi dhârayatâd rayím | ahám râshṭrásyâbhìvargé nijó bhûyâsam uttamáh || "In me maintain dominion, parṇa amulet, in me maintain wealth; may I, in the sphere of (my) kingdom, be beloved, supreme".

Jushta, like priya, originally means 'pleasing, agreeable, dear' and like priya, has, seemingly, the meaning 'own' in the following passages:

Sata. Br. 3, 4, 2, 5: te devâ jushţâs tanûḥ priyâni dhâmâni sârdham samavadadire | This passage has already been cited above (see p. 31) and explained as "The gods put

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> According to another conception, these horses yoke themselves to the chariot when their masters express their intention of setting forth in it in words; they are hence also called vacoyujah. They are thus at the same time manoyujah or vacoyujah and svayujah.

together portions from their own selves, from their own powers". Note the parallelism of the word jushtâh with the word priyâni that follows:

1, 33, 2: úpéd ahám dhanadá'm ápratítam júshtám ná éyenő vasatím patámi | indram namasyánn upamébhir arkair yáh stotr'bhyo hávyo asti yá'man ||

'I fly (for protection), like the hawk to its own nest, to the giver of wealth, the irresistible, adoring with the best chants Indra who in battle is to be invoked by his praisers " Jushta vasatih is here equivalent to sva vasatih: compare 1, 25, 4: párá hí me vímanyavah pátanti vásyäishtaye | váyo ná vasatí'r úpa; 9, 71, 6: śyenó ná yonim sádanam . . . . eshati

4, 29, 3 : śravâ' yéd asya kárna vajayádhyai júshtam ánu prá díśam mandayádhyai | udvavrshano ra'dhase túvishman káran na indrah sutirtha' bhayam ca

"To quicken his years for hearing; to make him find pleasure in (our) own direction; may Indra the mighty, showering gifts, make for us good crossings and safety". The expression to make him find pleasure in our own direction', means, probably, to make him find pleasure with us, in our sacrifice'; compare 8, 12, 17: yád vâ śakra parâváti samudré ádhi mándase | asmâ'-kam ít suté raṇâ sám índubhih. The 'good crossings' desired are no doubt across evils, duritâ, and enemies, dvishah. Instead of pra díśam, I read pradiśam: see Oldenberg, Veda-forschung, p. 110.

1, 182, 6: ávaviddham taugryám apsv àntár anârambhané támasi práviddham | cátasro nâ'vo jáṭhalasya júshṭâ úd aśvíbhyâm ishitâ'ḥ pârayanti ||

"The four own ships of Jathala impelled by the Aśvins, bring over safely the son of Tugra who was abandoned in the midst of the waters and who was stuck in bottomless darkness". I take jathala here as a proper name: the person referred to is perhaps the same as the Jathara mentioned in 1, 112, 17, in a hymn likewise addressed to the Aśvins. The four ships that brought over Tugra's son to safety are perhaps the same as the four birds that are said to have carried him in 8, 74, 14: mâ'm catvâ'ra âśávaḥ śávishthasya dravitnávaḥ | suráthâso abhí práyo vákshan váyo ná túgryam.

Likewise, jushta seems to have this meaning of 'own' in the formula amushmai tvâ jushtam prokshâmi (nirvapâmi, etc.; see Concordance); the meaning seems to be "I sprinkle thee that art the own (portion) of such-and-such."

Similarly, the word vâma also, meaning primarily 'dear, pleasing', etc., seems to have the meaning 'own' in the following passages:

10, 140, 3 : û'rjo napâj jâtavedaḥ suśastíbhir mándasva dhîtíbhir hitáḥ |
tvé íshaḥ sám dadhur bhû'rivarpasaś citrótayo vâmájâtâḥ ||

"O Jâtavedas son of vigour, rejoice thou, beneficent, with the hymns containing fine praises. They put in you manifold nourishments, they whose help is wonderful, who are born of own self". Vâmajâtâh here, like priyajâta in 8, 71, 2 above, seems to be equivalent to svajâtâh.

T.S. 1, 5, 1, 1: devâsurâḥ saṃyattâ âsan | te devâ vijayam upayanto 'gnau vâmaṃ vasu saṃ nyadadhata | idam u no bhavishyati | yadi no jeshyantîti |

"The gods and asuras prepared to fight. The gods, setting out for the battle, deposited their own wealth with Agni (thinking), 'this will be ours in case they vanquish us'".

Tait. Br. 1, 1, 2,8: yaḥ purâ bhadraḥ san pâpîyân syât | sa punarvasvor agnim ddadhîta | punar evainaṃ vâmaṃ vasâpâvartate | bhadro bhavati |

"He who having been formerly prosperous (literally, splendid or glorious) is now worse off, should establish the fires in Punarvasu (nakshatra). (His) own glory (i.e., wealth) will again come back to him and he will become glorious (prosperous)". Vâmam vasu here seems clearly to be equivalent to svakîyam vasu.

In the case of these words also, priya, sva, jushta and vâma, I have to repeat the observation made above with regard to nitya—namely, that in some passages, either of the meanings, 'dear' and 'own', is suitable, and that, though in the translations given above, I have chosen in such instances what seemed to me the better of the two, a combination of the two meanings would perhaps better represent the idea which the poet had in his mind when he used these words.

The use of the word nitya in the sense of 'dear' (priya) is not confined to Vedic literature but is occasionally met with in later literature also. Thus, it is said in the Mahâbhârata (1,169, 14) of Ghaṭotkaca—

anuraktaś ca tân âsît pâṇḍavân sa Ghaṭotkacaḥ | teshâṃ ca dayito nityam âtmanityo babhûva ha ||

"That Ghatotkaca loved the sons of Pându and he was always dear to them, as dear as their own self". Nitya in âtmanitya signifies, it seems to me, 'dear' and the word âtmanitya means therefore 'dear as the âtmâ or own self' and not 'im Selbst haftend, an's Herz gewachsen' as suggested in the PW. (s.v.); for the word nitya has no connection with 'haften' or 'wachsen.'

Similarly it is not unlikely that the word nitya at the end of some compounds (like aranya-nitya, dharma-nitya, tapo-nitya, satya-nitya, adhyâtmajñâna-nityatvam in Bh. Gîtâ 13, 11) has the signification 'dear'. In Bh. Gîtâ, 13, 11 especially (adhyâtmajñânanityatvam tattvajñânârthadarśanam | etaj jñânam iti proktam . . . ) the words etaj jñânam in the third pâda make it very probable that nitya here means 'dear'.

(To be continued.)

### MISCELLANEA.

## A CONTEMPORARY CONTEMPTUOUS CRITICISM OF MANUCCI'S STORIA DO MOGOR.

In the outgoing Letter Books of Thomas Pitt, preserved in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 22842-22850) appears a copy of a letter (No. 18 of MS. 22844) from Pitt, then Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, to Thomas Woolley, secretary to the E. I. Co. in England, dated Fort St. George, 17 October 1701. Woolley had evidently heard of Manucci's work and had asked for details. Pitt replied as follows:

"In yours of the 4th of July concerning Senr. Manuches history, 'tis true he liv'd many years with Shallum [Shâh 'Alam] the Mogulls eldest Son, in which time without doubt was capable of makeing many observations, but I beleive 'tis soe Ordinaryly connected that 'tis hardly worth reading. When I came here first, he was in disgrace with our Government, and to drawn [sic] himselfe from it, his Book he had some time agoe dedicated it to the French King; the copy of it in Portuguez I will

endeavour to get and send you; but when all is done, I believe 'tis no better than Tom Thum.''1

In Mr. Irvine's introduction to his monumental edition of Manucci's MS. he states (p. xix) that Catrou, who pirated Manucci's work, admitted that he obtained the MS. from M. Deslandes, a Pondicherry official, who had brought it to Europe in 1701 or 1702.

Later, in his Note on Boureau-Deslandes Mr. Irvine shows (p. lxxxv) that Deslandes left Pondicherry in February and reached France in August 1701.

Manucci's MS. must have been seen and read by Europeans in Fort St. George before its transmission to France, and some among their number must have had a higher opinion of its contents than Thomas Pitt, for otherwise his correspondent would not have troubled to enquire about it.

In any case the extract is valuable as it gives the earliest notice of the Storia so far discovered.

L. M. ANSTEY.

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<sup>1</sup> Pitt means that the work will be found to be of insignificant value.

#### BOOK-NOTICES.

Mosul and its Minorities, by H. C. Luke, 1925. London, Martin Hopkinson and Co., Ltd.

This book gives an account of two journeys in the Near and Middle East made in 1908 and 1924, especially to Mosul, with the object of helping "to make the singularly interesting peoples" inhabiting the area round about Mosul "better known to English readers." Mr. Luke has thoroughly succeeded in his object, as he writes with the pen of a ready writer, and the information he supplies is that of a scholar well versed in his subject. To those whose work lies in India and who would learn something historically of the populations that have dwelt in modern 'Irâq, i.e., Mesopotamia, for centuries under Moslem-Turkish rule, and have had in the past so many dealings with India in one form or another, the book is an invaluable guide.

It is lightly written, but it is never flippant, and the statements in it, historical and other, are of extraordinary accuracy. It deals briefly with the way from Palestine to Mosul, the site of Niniveh, and then with Mosul as it now is and as it has been in the past. The entrancing stories of the religions of the region, chiefly minor varieties of Christianity-Nestorians, Monophysites and equally interesting others,-of the people of the Assyrian Mar Shimun, the youthful hereditary patriarch of an ancient sect, now studying at Oxford, and of Prester John, are all dealt with in a rapid but masterly manner. Then follows a most valuable chapter on the Yezidis or devil-worshippers, part of which has already appeared in this Journal (vol. LIV, pp. 94-98). And finally we are treated to an illuminating summary of the history of Baghdad and Palmyra (Tadmor) on the "return journey."

Personally, I have read this book from cover to cover with absorbing interest, and have found it, as an old student of the matters with which it is concerned, not only informing, but accurately informing. The one point which I should be inclined to discuss with the author is the character he gives to Timur the Lame-the Tamerlane the Terrible of European scholarship. He is evidently a bugbear to Mr. Luke, but whether he was really as bad as he is generally painted I have long doubted. Sir Lucas King's untimely death on 23th August 1925, has deprived us of the account of Timur on which he was engaged-an account which, let us hope, would have given the world a fair picture of him. He was a ruthless conqueror at times, no doubt, but he was also a highly cultivated man and a scholar, and it is this mixed character-half hereditary savage and half hereditary man of learningwhich one would like to see developed and balanced.

The story of the early Christian Church and its schisms, resulting in cleavages into Nestorians and Monophysites, with their further divisions into Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, and Gregorian Armenians and finally into Uniates-Chaldeans, Syrians, Assyrians-is told with admirable clearness. But I cannot deal with them here, and will say no more than that the brief chapters containing the story are filled with a mass of facts, such as only a mature scholar could have put together in so concise a form. Passing on to the old and vexed question of Prester John, Mr. Luke discusses it with scholarly notices of many a great Oriental name and many a story of the East, and I would remark that the chapter on that old Will-o'-th'-Wisp of Eastern history should be of special interest to the St. Thomas Christians of South India and to the students of their creed and its history.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE SIDDHANTAS AND THE INDIAN CALENDAR, by R. SEWELL. Government of India, Calcutta, 1924, (Reprinted from the *Epigraphica Indica*.) 28×21 cm.; pp. xvii, 609; £1-2s.-6d.

The names of R. Schram; H. G. Jacobi, F. Kielhorn and J. F. Fleet give a lustre to the subject of Indian Chronology, which is ordinarily considered a dull and difficult affair; and the devotion of these scholars to the task with which they burdened themselves, and their skill in unravelling the intricacies of this very technical subject earn our gratitude and admiration. But these scholars by no means exhausted the subject of Indian chronology. and they have been followed by others equally altruistic and equally deserving of our gratitude. Among this second generation of scientific chronologists the names of R. Sewell and L. D. S. Pillai 1 are noteworthy, and their works now form our standard reference books on the subject. Mr. Sewell has already published three quarto volumes and he hints at further fields to explore. The enormous labour and skill entailed in his vast work compels our admiration.

The demand for special chronological tables for India arose from the sad discovery of numerous forgeries in ancient inscriptions, and in deeds produced in the Law Courts of India; and the enormous labour involved in the preparation of these tables is due to the complicated system, or rather sets of systems, of calculating and recording dates in different parts of India and at different periods.

The Hindu solar year is scientific in theory, but the neglect of precession has made it artificial; the use of a so-called luni-solar year introduces the problem of intercalation; the use of a theoretical lunar day (the *tithi*) adds further complications; and these fundamental difficulties are greatly increased by the employment of various initial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Other notable Indian chronologists are—T. Warren, 1825; J. Prinsep, 1834; J. B. Jervis, 1843; Sir A. Cunningham, 1883; S. B. Dikshit, 1887, etc.; F. K. Ginzel, 1906.

times for the year, for the month and for the day; and further still by the practice of forming calendars by calculations based upon the teachings of different Siddhântas, pre-eminent among which are the Sûrya, Arya, Brahma and Śiromaṇi.

Schram and Jacobi provide us with what may be termed general results, while Messrs. Sewell and Pillai give us detailed tables according to the various systems in vogue. Schram reduces the date to Julian days, and for ordinary verification his method is simple and effective. His original tables for India occupy five pages only. Jacobi employs the acargana, or sum of days from the beginning of the Kali-yuga, and his general tables occupy some dozen pages. Sewell gives for each year certain elements from which the details of the calendar can be calculated, and his tables fill three quarto volumes. Pillai now gives information for each day (in eight large volumes). He indeed states that any attempt to enable the historian or epigraphist to be his own computor of tithis and nakshatras seems predestined to failure, and that the only solution is a day to day ephemeris. The draw-back to this plan is the size, number and cost (£6-10s.) of the volumes involved, and Schram's or Jacobi's few pages, or, say, Ginzel's two volumes (for all countries) may be preferred; or, for India itself, the volumes of Mr. Sewell.

Mr. Sewell's present volume is the third of a series, consisting of (1)-The Indian Calendar, 1896, which gives detailed information based upon the Sûrya Siddhanta for every year from A.D. 300 to A.D. 1900, also a table of initial days of Muhammadan years from A.H. I to A.H. 1245 (A.D. 1900), Schram's useful tables for eclipses of the Sun in India, and certain subsidiary tables; (2) Indian Chronography, 1912, which is an extension of the former volume with working examples; (3) the present volume which gives general tables based upon the Siddhanta Siromani (A.D. 1100-1900), the First Arya Siddhanta 'True system' (A.D. 900-1800) and 'Mean system' (A.D. 500-1400), Brahma Siddhanta 'True system' (A.D. 600-1200) and 'Mean system' (A.D. 600-1400); also tables relating to the cycle of Jupiter, and Fleet's tables for finding the mean place of Saturn,

together with many elucidatory notes and subsidiary tables.

The historian and epigraphist will probably be more interested in the general tables, which give year by year the main eras, the Jovian Samvatsara, intercalated and suppressed months, the European dates of the beginnings of the solar and luni-solar years, etc. These general tables occupy 330 pages, or rather more than half the volume. They are generally exactly the same for some seven columns, but differ occasionally in the record of the intercalated months, and more often in the times of the commencement of the year.

The following table (shown below) 2 illustrates the type of variation between the tables based upon the several Siddhântas. Of the explanatory portion of the volume the student will find the preface of considerable interest, and he will find it profitable to work through the examples on pages 237 to 247.

One special feature of the present volume is its supposed greater accuracy than former publications -"since the figures are given with four decimal places instead as previously in whole numbers, and so give us planetary positions to a quarter of a second whether in space or time." Mr. Sewell goes even farther than this, e.g., on page 56 we find a value 2° 8′ 18.828200553," and there are many other similar examples. Accuracy to a hundred millionth of a second might delight certain astronomers if it were attainable! But in dealing with physical quantities it is a sound maxim to keep the calculations to the same order of accuracy as the observations on which they are based; and although it might be stated with justification that Hindu astronomy is not based upon observation, yet no useful object can be obtained by such artificial methods. There are misprints, and the volume used for review has the pages bound up in incorrect order; but such blemishes are difficult to avoid in a technical work printed at a Government Press in India.

These may be termed the minor defects of an extremely valuable work.

G. R. KAYE.

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500. From Malabar Bowen sailed towards Madagascar but was wrecked on St. Thomas's Reef, off the Island of Mauritius. He was kindly received by the Dutch, who assisted him in turning his longboat into a sloop, in which he transhipped his crew to Maritan in Madagascar. Here, early in 1702 (Johnson, II. 51) they surprised two ships belonging to the Scottish South African and East India Company. These were the Speedy Return (Captain Robert Drummond) and the Content Brigantine (Captain Stewart), which had left Scotland in May 1701. The two Captains were put ashore at St. Mary's and were afterwards murdered by the natives. About the same time another gang of pirates who had settled at St. Augustine's surprised and seized the Prosperous (Captain Hilliard) and made one Thomas Howard their Captain. Howard, originally a London lighterman, had been Quartermaster to a pirate, Captain James, on the coast of Virginia (Johnson, II. 247), probably the Captain John James who flew Every's Mughal flag when he fought H.M.S. Essex, Captain John Aldred, in Linhaven Bay in July 1699 (Col. Off. Records, 323-3 No. 37, 1. See para. 415 above). On the coast of Guinea, James took large Portuguese ship, to which a part of his crew transferred themselves, they renaming her the Alexander. They were wrecked on the coast of Madagascar and there surprised the Prosperous. The latter then went to St. Mary's and the crew were well received by Ort van Tyle, but hearing that he (? his brother) had caused the death of some pirates they tried to kill him, and he escaped only by the help of the natives.

Mayotta they took the *Pembroke*, Captain Weoley (Johnson, II. 64). <sup>103</sup> It is not clear what colours they flew on this occasion. Weoley says that at first he thought it was the King's Jack, but he does not say what it actually was (*Madras Consultations*, 31st May 1703). Later they sailed towards India, and in August, off Surat or St. John's, took a Surat ship with treasure amounting to 88,000 pieces of eight, and at the mouth of Surat River Howard took another belonging to Abdul Gafur with treasure valued at Rs. 1,68,000. The latter they set adrift without anchor or cable off Daman, the other they carried to Rajapore. News of these disasters arrived at Surat on the 31st, and the Governor threw the English and Dutch Presidents into prison and inflicted a heavy fine. But English and Dutch ships threatened the port; the prisoners were released on the 5th March 1704, the Governor was dismissed by the Mughal and the Allies' demands were conceded (Manucci, III. 488 n.; Bruce, III. 543).

502. If they knew of these results of their actions, Bowen's men must have been amused and gratified, for they had certainly succeeded in spoiling the Company's trade (See para. 497 above). Bowen and Howard sold their booty to Coge (Khwaja) Commodo (See para. 510 below), an old friend of Every and Kidd, burned both of their own ships and transferred the united crews to the Surat ship, which they renamed the Defiance. She carried 56 guns, and they kept by force 70 of her lascars. They themselves numbered "164 fighting men, of which part are 43 English, the better part of the company French, the rest Negroes, Dutch, &c. nations that cries 'yaw' [? Scandinavians]." Johnson, II. 63, mentions "Danes and Swedes" (State Trials, XIV. 1286, 1302). After a time Bowen and Howard came to Mascarenhas, where Bowen intended to retire from piracy, but dying, "was buried in the highway, for the priest would not allow him holy ground as he was a heretic." His Quartermaster Nathaniel (? John) North was chosen to succeed him and returned with Howard to Madagascar, where Bowen's crew dispersed and North lived for some time amongst the natives, enjoying very great respect from them, until later (c. 1707) he went aboard Captain Halsey as Quartermaster (Johnson, II, 406). Howard went to India and married a native wife, whose relativeskilled him for ill-treating her (Johnson, II. 250).

<sup>103</sup> On this occasion they took out necessaries to the value of about 4-500 pagodas and then let her go. She arrived at Madras and was sent with a fresh cargo to Surat, but on the way was again captured by the same pirates and relieved of goods to the value of 600 pagodas. Letter from T. Pitt, Madras, 2 Jan. 1703-4.

503. In 1703 the Severn (Captain Charles Richards) and the Scarborough (Captain Foulis), two men-of-war, were, at the Company's request, sent under Captain Richards (Johnson, II. 260, calls him Commodore) who had been in the Company's service (Bruce III. 493) to Madagascar to visit St. Mary's, Antongil Bay, Assada Bay, Mohilla and Johanna, after which they were to proceed to Mocha and convoy the Mocha fleet to Surat, where Captain Richards was to consult the Governor regarding the suppression of the pirates (Bruce, III. 493, Johnson, II. 260). On the 15th November 1703 the Scarborough sent boats ashore at St. Mary's to surprise the pirates living there. On the 19th they returned with two prisoners, John Pro, 104 a Hollander, and David Wallin, a Welshman. On the 23rd, answering a flag of truce, they found it belonged to one Arthur Gardiner, who, having been many years a-pirating, had settled at Marinho, and wanted permission to supply them with provisions (Log of the Scarborough. Sloane MSS. 3674).

504. The Rochester Interloper visited Johanna on the 9th June 1704. In the Log we are told that the capital was called Chusan Town or Johanna Town and the Governor was "Myohazeerie Hoosainee." He complained that a certain Captain Phards (of an English man-of-war) had promised to assist them in an attack upon the pira al Mohillans, but had not supported them properly so that the attack had been unsuccessfi. He said that Captain Richards, finding that the people of Johanna intended to carry their complaints to England, committed suicide and was buried in the Bay (John Pike, Voyage of the Rochester Interloper, Captain Francis Stanes, 360 tons, 28 guns and 64 men, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 24931). As a matter of fact, in February 1703-4, the boats of the Severn and Scarborough did assist the men of Johanna in an attack on Mohilla, but were repulsed with a loss of 22 English and 300 Johannans (Masters' Logs, No. 280). Pike says that the people of Johanna were so fond of the English and so determined to imitate them in every way that when their King, Sultan Halliman, died, they resolved that, like the English, they would be governed by a Queen, and elected his widow to take his place. She accordingly took a husband "who is not a King." Pike adds that a valley near the capital was known as Brown's Garden, 105 so named aft a ship-surgeon who had cured a number of their chief men, whilst his ship was in the harbour. The garden was given him in recognition of his services and, as he refused to settle in the island, was free to all Englishmen who came there and no payment was ever asked for the oranges, lemons and cocoanuts which grew in it. Johnson (I. 122) ascribes the friendship of the Johannans for the English to the assistance given them about 1704 by Captain Henry Cornwall against a piratical attack of the Mohillans. Cornwall himself (Observations, p. 12) says that the Johannans were very bold and warlike, always quarrelling with the Mohillans. Also that visitors to Johanna behoved to be very careful, as Johanna was much frequented by pirates who came there for intelligence regarding the strength and destination of other ships. He calls the Capital Demani.

505. Captain Richards died on the 23rd March 1703-4 and Captain Foulis on the 20th April 1704 (Charnock, Biographia Navalis). The two ships apparently continued their journey to India, for John Leeds (Travels) writes that on the 26th November 1704, he, then master of the Calicut Muncheo (manchua, a sea-going trading vessel), was pressed by Captain Robert Harland of H.M.S. Severn at Calicut, with his boatswain Thomas Brown, they being the only two white men on board. Pike says (f. 106 b) that when he was in India the commanders of English men-of-war impressed any Englishmen whom they found on country ships. As these men were probably the most enterprising of the sailors who had come out on the European

<sup>104</sup> In 1711 Capt.-Woodes Rogers was informed at the Cape that the Dutch used to send yearly to Madagascar for slaves as the Hottentots were too lazy to work. (Cruising Voyage, p. 419).

<sup>105</sup> Mentioned in a letter of the Court of Committees to the Sultan of Johanna, dated 26 Dec. 1676 (Letter Book, v. 394), and under date 20-23 May 1683 in the Log of the Herbert, Henry Udall, Commander (Marine Records, India Office).

ships, it can be imagined that their impressment must have excited a dangerous indignation in the hearts of men like Leeds.

### Malabarese.

506. In 1703 Hamilton visited Tellicherry on the Malabar coast. About twelve miles south of the town is "Burgara [Badagara] a sea-port in the dominions of Ballanore [Valunnavar or Ruler] Burgarie, a formidable Prince. 108 This Prince and his predecessor have been Lords of the Sea time out of mind, and all trading vessels between Cape Comorin and Damaan were obliged to carry his passports. Those of one mast paid for their passes eight shillings yearly and those with three paid about sixteen." The Portuguese disputed his pretensions and therefore were at constant war with him. "He keeps some light galleys that row and sail very well, which cruise along the coast from October to May and make prize of all who have not his passes." When Hamilton objected to the damage which he did to trade, he replied that "he was no enemy to trade but only vindicated his sovereignty of those seas before mentioned, and that our King has invested with the like sovereignty not only on his own coasts but on those of France, Ho and and Denmark [an allusion I suppose to the English claim to the Honour of the Flag] and could have no greater right than he had, only he [i.e., the King of England] was in a bette condition to oblige the transgressors of his laws to obedience than he was: however he would maintain his claim and right the best way he could, and whoever lost their ships or vessels for contempt of his authority might blame their own obstinacy or folly " (Hamilton I. 298).

507. On the 24th February 1705 the Westmoreland (Captain Thomas Gallon) had a short engagement off Vingurla with Maratha pirates. He says that they flew a short blewish pendant over their red flag (Ind. Off. Marine Records). As a matter of fact Sivaji's naval flag seems to have been white (Fryer II. 2), so the red flag may have been either the Moor ensign or the usual signal of attack. Gallon refers to the pirates as 'Rogues.' It will be remembered that Edward Terry (See para. 230 above) did the same in 1616, and so does Defoe in his New Nyage round the World (II. 32, pub. 1725). So also Defoe writes of men "going a-roguing" instead of "a-pirating."

## Anglo-Americans.

508. In the year 1704 the Scotch ship Neptune (Captain James Miller) was taken in Madagascar by the pirate Halsey at the instigation of Samuel Burgess (See para. 478 above; Johnson II. 116 and 268 b). Hamilton (I. 17) says that the Neptune was laden with strong ale and brandy and that the pirates, falling to a carouse, five hundred of them died of their excesses. This did not deter a number of Miller's men from joining the pirates. According to Johnson, the Neptune was taken by Halsey after his capture of the Essex in 1707 and Hamilton is possibly wrong in his date, for it was only on the 7th November 1704 that Captain John Halsey received a privateer's Commission for the Charles Brigantine from Governor Cranstone of Rhode Island. On the other hand, Johnson (II. 110) says that Halsey picked up at St. Augustine's a number of men who had been wrecked in the Degrave in 1700. This appears rather a long time for their stay there. The Charles Brigantine had been a privateer under the command of Captain Daniel Plowman. Plowman was murdered by his lieutenant, John Welch, who having committed piracy on some Portuguese vessels, returned to Boston, where he was arrested and hanged, the Charles being recommissioned under Halsey. The piratical career of the Neptune was short. One David Williams was elected Captain and soon after (Johnson, II. 118, says the year after Halsey's death) she was wrecked. Williams fitted up a sloop in which he came to Methelege (Massalege), where going ashore he was killed by the natives (Johnson, II. 262).

<sup>106</sup> Apparently the Raja of Kadattanad (between the Mahé and Kotta Rivers), whose Commander was one of the Marakkars of Kottakal (Innes, Mal. Gaz. 433. See para. 536 below).

#### French.

509. Manucci (IV, 169) says that in 1705 a certain Monsieur Delaval, resident at Juncalam (Junkceylon, belonging to Siam) had with two of his countrymen, Messieurs Masson and de Roubal, turned pirates, to the great terror of the merchants.

## Anglo-Americans.

510. In 1705 Captain Thomas Green of the Worcester, who had arrived in Scotland in July 1704 (Johnson, II. 52) was hanged for piracy. His ship had been seized by the Scottish, African and East India Company in reprisal for the seizure of the Annandale in England by the English East India Company (See Petition of the Scots East India and African Company, 1705). Some of his men had talked in a mysterious way of their doings in the East and particular references to the Speedy Return (Captain Thomas Drummond), which ship had totally disappeared, led to the conclusion that he had taken her and had inde away with the crew. He was arrested and tried and, though the evidence against hill was neither trustworthy nor conclusive, the people of Edinburgh were in such a state of irritation against the English, owing to the failure of the Darien Company and the dispearance of some of the ships of the Scottish African and East India Company (founder in 1695) to which the Speedy Return belonged, that he and some of his crew were conviced and hanged on this charge. It is perfectly certain that he was not responsible for the loss of the Speedy Return, for we have seen (para. 500 above) that she was taken by John Fowen, nor for the death of Captain Drummond, who was killed by the natives of Madegascar (Drury's Adventures, p. 305), but that some of his acts were piratical there can be little doubt, for one of the witnesses in the trial (Antonio Fernando, Cook's mate on the Worcester) said that a certain one of the ships which he attacked flew English colours, i.e. white, red and black, like those which he flew himself (possibly Fernando, being a Portuguese mistook dark blue for black, a not uncommon mistake at sea. See para. 553 below), and said that he had taken such a ship, mur dered the crew and sold the ship to Coge Commodo (See para. 502 above), whilst another of his crew (John Roberts) deposed that he had been accessory to the cutting off of the heads of some men at Sacrifice Island, betwixt Tellicherry and Calicut, and others (Reynolds and Linstead) said "that their Prayers even on Sunday were dropped after they passed the Cape of Good Hope, the Supercargo having told Mr. May [the Surgeon], who commonly acted the Clerk's part, that they would leave their religion behind them and take it up when they came back " (Flying Post, 17-19 May, 1705).107 Captain Hamilton met the Worcester at Calicut in 1703. Green, when in drink, personally told him that he had traded with the pirates in Madagascar and Mascarenhas, and it was commonly reported at the time that he had plundered some Moor ships and had sunk a sloop with ten or twelve Englishmen on board her off Coiloan. Hamilton sums up the case in a way with which probably every one will agree :-- "Whether Captain Green and Mr. Mather [Chief Mate] had justice impartially allowed them in their process and sentence I know not. I have heard of as great innocents condemned to death as they were" (New Account, I. 317-19; State Trials, XIV. 1199-1323).

511. Hamilton's comments are the more interesting for the fact that in 1705 complaints were made at Bombay against "Captain Alexander Hamilton, Master of the Vinta Gurra," for seizing at Johor some goods on a junk belonging to the native merchants of Canton (Bombay Cons. 27th May 1705). He himself (II. 159, 234) says that he did this in reprisal for their false dealing and that the Sultan highly approved of his action, only wondering

at his moderation in not having taken all the goods and having sold the crew and other people on board as slaves. On the 1st Feb. 1706-7 Capt. Richard Collins of the Sloop Calcutta reported at Madras that he had been plundered off Negrais by a pirate brigantine (50 Europeans, 16 guns) commanded by one Jones, who came originally from New England and had completed his crew at Madagascar. The pirates had some of them, returned to Madagascar, but the rest had gone to Achin to waylay the China, and a Manilla ship belonging to the Armenians (Madras Public Proceedings, 1 Feb. 1706-7.)

## Malays.

- 512. That the seas of the Malay Archipelago were now full of pirates is shown by the caution which British ships were forced to exercise. Captain Martin Gardiner of the Seaford, sailing from Bata is to China, records on the 26th June 1701:—"Sent my boats to two small junks, taking them to be China junks, but they were boats belonging to Banca, believed to be Rovers, having a terall brass pattereroes and many men on board" and the Commander of the Loyal Cook, saying from Amoy to Malacca, records on the 21st April 1702, "Saw three great boats which we judged to be Rogues. We made a cleare ship and lay by but they would not speak with a course of the supposed them to be bound for Malacca."
- 513. In 1705 the Nutch East India Company, in order to check piracy in the Malay Archipelago, fixed the number of the crew and passengers allowed to be carried on native vessels (Parl. Papers, 1851, AVI. i. 65; Temminek II. 227).
- 514. In June 1707 the Banjareens made a desperate attack on the English ships Carleton, Blenheim, Squirrel and the Hawke man-of-war (?), lying in Banjar River, and burned the ship Limpo and the English Factory ashore, in revenge for an affront offered to the Malay Chief Gusta Ganton in attempting to arrest him for the murder of the Chinese Shabandar. It was this attack which caused the English to abandon their settlement in Borneo. The Commander of the Carleton (Captain Robert Phillips) was killed in the fight. (Ind. Off., Marine Records.)

#### Arabians.

- 515. Arab reprisals for European piracy have already been mentioned in 1701 (See para. 483 above) and in 1705 (See para. 485 above). Some of their vessels carried 40 to 50 guns (Low, I. 90). Encouraged by their early successes, the Muscat Arabs aimed at a more extended sphere of action, and in 1707 obtained permission from the King of Pegu to build ships in his country. Their vessels were to be found and did much damage in all the seas round India from the Madras coast to the Persian Gulf. The Shah of Persia applied to the Bombay Government for assistance and the Marathas organized a fleet to hold them in check. (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 81-2; Low, I. 90; Bruce, III. 649).
- 516. In 1708 the Shah proposed to the Bombay Government a joint attack on the Arab and Malabar pirates (Bomb. Gaz. XIII. 482).

### Malabarese.

- 517. On the 12th February 1706, a Maratha fleet, under their Admiral Nilla Purbu, took the English ship Monsoon (Bengal to Surat—Captain Wilcox) off Anjediva and carried her into Bed Cove. Nine days later she was cut out by the Portuguese and taken to Goa, where the Viceroy declared her a lawful prize and refused to restore her to the English (Letter from T. Pitt, 11th Sept. 1707; Bombay Quarterly Review, III. 66; Low I. 93.)108
- <sup>108</sup> According to French Law in 1681, vessels retaken from pirates were restored to the owners on payment of one-third of the value (*Justice*, 370).

- 518. The Maratha fleet organised for protection against the Arabs was composed of sixty vessels under an officer independent of Angria and was supposed to operate between Bombay and Goa. It devoted its spare time to piracy on its own account. At the same time Kanhoji Angria possessed a considerable fleet occupied with piracy only (Bruce, III. 649; Low, I. 90; Bomb. Gaz. I. ii. 81-2; Bomb. Sel. xxiv. 169). In 1706 the Marathas and Angrians took three English ships, one of them, the Diamond (Madras to Surat and Persia, Captain Whistler, who died of wounds received in the fight), carrying twelve guns and 26 Europeans, with a cargo worth nearly two lakhs of rupees—the Madras merchants lost 30,000 pagodas in her (Letter from T. Pitt, 11th September 1707, B. M. Add. MSS., 22850). They also took a Bombay manchua, some Portuguese vessels and a Dutch hoy with a crew of 26 Dutchmen (Letter from Sir John Gayer, Surat 1st March 1706-7). The last mentioned is, I suppose, the Dutch "Hooker" of which mention is made in the Bombay consultations of the 21st January 1706-7. Twenty-one Dutchmen had arrived, being all that remained alive of her crew when she was taken by an Angrian fleet of two grabs and even gallivats. She was carrying provisions to the Dutch garrison at Surat.
- 519. On the 23rd October 1707 the English frigates Oley and Ham reported at the Cape that they, together with a Company's ship of 44 guns and two galleots, had fought a whole day's fight with 21 Malabar pirate vessels which had taken to two galleots. On the 27th the Araby Merchant reported that she had had many fights with the Malabarese (Leibbrandt, Précis, p. 139).

# Anglo-Americans.

- Penruddock) of Madras, a Calicut ship of 400 tons (in which his men got a booty of £200 a man, but missed finding 50,000 sequins hidden in milk jars in the stall where a cow was kept for the old Moor supercargo), a small Portuguese ship and the Ketch Forgiveness (Captain Benjamin Stacey. Letter from Sir John Gayer, Surat 1st March 1706-7; Hedges' Diary, Poly 144, III. 107). Johnson says (II. 136-7) that amongst the passengers on the Forgiveness were two small children, who wept bitterly at the loss of their whole fortune, viz. some 500 dollars, a silver mug and two silver spoons. White harangued his men, saying how cruel it was to rob innocent children, upon which not only was all restored to them, but a collection was made among the pirates and 100 dollars were added to it, whilst a present was also made to Captain Stacey and his officers. White took the Dorothy to St. Mary's where he joined Halsey as a private man. (7th Nov. 1704. See para. 508 above.)
- Newfoundland. Instead he sailed to Madagascar, where he took on board some of the crew of the Degrave East Indiaman, Captain William Young, which was wrecked there in 1701.<sup>109</sup> It was his intention to attack only Moor ships, but after a temporary deposition by his crew, he consented to make prey of ships of all nations. In the Red Sea he took the Buffalo (Captain Buckley) from Bengal and soon after a sloop (Captain Collins), with the deck planks of which the pirates repaired their own brigantine. Then he sailed to the Straits of Malacca, where he met and was chased by the Albemarle (Captain Beavis) from China. Halsey was probably the pirate who was reported to have taken off Negrais two ships from Bengal to Achin (Letter from T. Pitt. 5th Feb. 1706-7, B. M. Add. MSS. 22850). Returning via Mascarenhas, where they were supplied with all necessaries by the Governor, to Madagascar, at Hopeful Point near St. Mary's, they found the Dorothy and Captain White and his men, some 90 to 100, settled amongst the natives. Some of them, amongst whom

<sup>109</sup> According to Robert Drury, she passed the Downs. 17th Feb, 1701 and arrived at Madras in June of the same year.

was White, joined them. Halsey now sailed for the Red sea and learned from a Moor grab, which he took, that there were four English ships near Mocha. These ships left Mocha on the 7th August 1707. They were the Bombay Merchant (or frigate, Captain Samuel Jago 45 Europeans and 18 guns) which had been sent out by the Court of Managers to Mocha in the belief that she, being a good sailer, would be of use in freeing the coast from the Sanganians and other petty robbers that attacked small vessels trading with Bombay (Bombay Cons. 22nd August 1707); the Eagle or Rising Eagle (Captain Chamberlayne, 25 Europeans. and 14 guns); the Essex, Captain Thomas Punt, who in 1703 astonished the Dutch broker at Rajapore by refusing to earn an honest penny by carrying off a ship to the pirate Bowen, "telling him, now he was not ashamed to show his face, but should he be guilty of so base an oction he must never see the face of his countrymen again, which made the gentleman change his countenance" (Letter from George Weoley, State Trials, xiv. 1302. She had 12 Europeans on board and carried 10 guns); the Mary (Captain Cornwall, 10 Europeans and 8 guns); and the Unity (Captain Greenhaugh, 20 Europeans and 12 guns). Besides these Europeans they called about 120 lascars. 110 The next day they met Halsey in the Charles Brigantine. One a unt says that she had only 50 men, and from 4 to 6 guns, another and more probable of 90 men and 10 guns. Johnson says (II. 114) that Jago, attempting to board Halsey, his ip was raked by a shot, which, apparently so frightened him that he left his companions their fate and made off for Bombay, where he arrived on the 22nd August. He said nothing of his cowardly flight. On the 28th October his ship was blown up in a fight with a Sivaji vessel. Ten of his men were killed, but he and the rest of the crew got safely to Bombay (Bomb. Coxs. 11th November.) On the 9th December the Council received a letter, dated 26th September from Madras, telling of his misbehaviour. By this time he had been placed in command of the India Frigate, but on the 1st June 1708 he was allowed to resign and go home on the Auran zeb (ibid., 1st June 1708). After the flight of the Bombay Merchant, Halsey attacked the Eagle which brought to, to receive him, trusting Capt. Jugo would return to her support. She made a good defence, but the guns of the Charles killed or wounded all the officers in the poop. 111 Even so, and after she had surrendered, the mate in command of the men stationed in the forecastle continued to fire on the boarders and killed some of them before he could be convinced that further resistance was useless. Some wished to put him to death, but he, being an Irishman, the Irish and Scotch amongst Halsey's crew insisted on his life being spared. From the prisoners on the Eagle, Halsey learned that the Essex was the richest of the three remaining ships, having come from Jeddah. He therefore allowed the Mary and Unity to escape and went after her. Punt prepared to fight, but as Halsey came up he hoisted the bloody flag as a signal of 'No Quarter,' which so frightened the passengers that they forced Punt to surrender without fighting. From the Eagle Halsey took £10,000 and from the Essex £40,000 (between 30 and 40 chests of silver). He then took some of the officers and Sir John Bennett on board the Charles, and having disabled the Essex, made for Calicut (R. Adams to Surat. Tellicherry 17th September 1707. Surat Records, vol. 101). Captain Cornwall arrived in Madras 7th September 1707. The Europeans of that town had lost 200,000 pagodas by this mishap, for the treasure on the Mary had been sent on board the Essex for security (T. Pitt to J. Dolben, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 22850, ff. 49-50). Soon after, Halsey, meeting the Harriott, again tried the effect of the bloody flag (" with a bloody flag at topmast head") but, after exchanging two or three broadsides "turned tayle, when our ship chased his till night." (Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> None of these five ships was large, being between 100 and 200 tons. Their total force was 112 Europeans, 120 lascars and 62 guns (Letter from T. Pitt, Madras, 12th Sept. 1707. B. M. Add. MSS, 22.850.

<sup>111</sup> Capt. Chamberlayne, his Chief Mate and three or four more were killed. Of pirates 7 were killed and as many wounded. Thos. Pitt to Elihu Yale. Madras, 3 Oct. 1707. B. M. Add. MSS. 22,860, f. 71.

f. 92). The pirates, of course, were not over eager to run any great risks ween they were gorged with booty. From Calicut Halsey went to Madagascar, where he traced for necessaries with the Greyhound, which had been sent by the Governor of Madras to buy back the plunder of the Essex and with the Scotch ship Neptune (Captain James Miller. See para. 508 above). Johnson says that the Company's representatives on the Greyhound incited the pirates to take the Neptune, which, in their eyes, was an Interloper. They bettered this advice and took the Greyhound also, but subsequently released that ship (Johnson, II. 110-116). Halsey apparently died soon after these events. Johnson (II. 117) writes: -- "He fell ill of a fever, died and was buried with great solemnity and ceremony; the rayers of the Church of England were read over him, colours were flying and his sword and tollaid on his coffin, which was covered with a ship's Jack : as many minute guns fired as was years old viz. forty-six, and three English, one French volley of small arms: he was by in his person, courteous to all his prisoners, lived beloved and died regretted by his own people. His grave was made in a garden of water-melons and fenced in with palisades to profint his being rooted up by wild hogs, of which there are plenty in those parts." Possibly the religious and ceremonious funeral was due to Captain Thomas White, who, according to Johnson (II. 138) died in Madagascar, very penitent for the wicked life he had been fired to lead. By will he left his money to a companion (who faithfully observed his instance) for the benefit of his son by a native woman of the country, who was to be sent to England "to be brought up in the Christian religion in the hopes he might live a better man than his father."

522. Many of Halsey's crew settled in Madagascar and some were still to be found there in 1719, for when the St. George (Captain Samuel Lewis) as at St. Mary's, her Log (23rd July 1719) tells us that two Europeans, John Guernsey and Ad Nick of Dover came on board to see the Captain. "These I kept on board two nights and entertained them plentifully with liquor, in hopes to sound what might be gathered from them. They faithfully promised me provisions speedily, but I found their tempers much alike (with a downcast eye, not able to look me in the face) very cautious of what they spoke till almost drunk, then they lay themselves open and tell of their loose way of living, bragging in their villainy as braves. They acknowledge of their being in the brigantine [i.e. the Charles] that took Chamberlayne, and at the plundering of three Moor ships and bringing away a fourth, which lay sunk in their harbour. This they call the Fair Chance, and they wanted but one hit more and then to go home, for they were aweary of their course of life. Their number was now reduced to 17 with about 10 or 12 Mustees and free negroes. That they live separate on the other side upon the Main, some 20 or 30 miles asunder, each having a town to himself and not less than five or six hundred negroes, their vassalls, ready to serve 'em upon any expedition. They do not appear to be in any wise concerned for their former ill actions, only in relation to Sir John Bennett, whom they acknowledged they had not used well in taking his goods and money from him after a fair agreement. 112 Thus freely they would talk when warm with liquor, but always cautious when sober. I likewise askt 'em why they did not accept the King's pardon [1718] and go home in time. They told me that they believed it was a sham and would not trust to any unless they had the Great Seal to it. Such impudence and ignorance possest them." Another pirate, a Frenchman named Pierre Jerran told Captain Lewis (Log, 22nd July) "that he and all his company had been on the Account (as they call'd it) but now designed to live honest and steal slaves to sell to such ships as came to trade with them."

Probably this refers to their seizure of the goods etc., on the *Greyhound* after they had been repurchased by the Company's agents, etc., as has just been mentioned. Sir John Bennet's name occurs in the 1714 "List of sea-faring men," not constant inhabitants of Madras (*Love's Vestiges of Old Madras*, II. 208, note 5).

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- 5. In citing the titles of books, give the title in full where it first occurs. In subsequent citations the work may be referred to by the significant words of the titles; but abbreviations which may not be at once understood are to be avoided, and, above all, entire uniformity should be observed throughout the articles. Where some conventional system of citation is in general use, as in the case of the Vedas and the Brahmanic literature, the established custom of scholars should be followed. Titles of books will be printed in Italies ; titles of articles in periodicals, in quotation marks, with the name of the periodical in Italics. But the well-established method of abbreviating the titles of the Journals of the five principal Oriental Societies (J.A., JAOS: JASB., JRAS., ZDMG.) should be adhered to.
- 6. It is desirable, for reasons of economy as well as good typography, that footnotes be kept within moderate limits. References to footnotes should be made by brief series of natural numbers (say from 1 to 10), not by stars, daggers, etc. As to the method of inserting footnotes in the copy; good usage differs. A way convenient for author and editor and printer is to insert the note, with a wider left-hand margin than that used for the text, beginning the note on the line next after the line of text to which it refers, the text itself being resumed on the line next after the ending of the note. But if the note is an after-thought, or if it is long, it is well to interpolate it on a fresh sheet as a rider.
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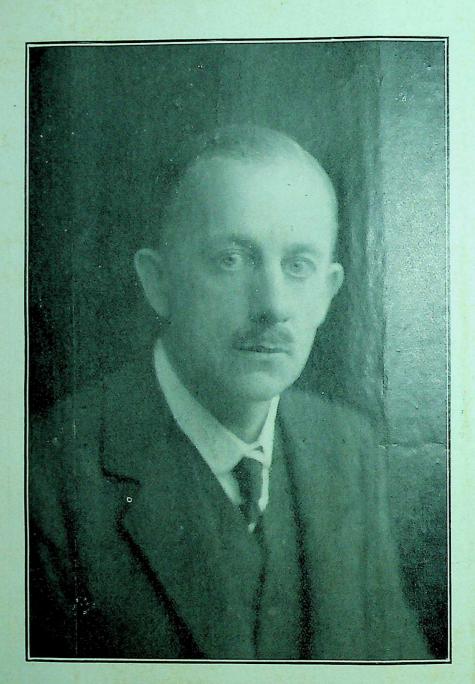
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and notices of change of address, to the SUPERINTENDENT.

Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the Indian Antiquary.



The Indian Antiquary.



STEPHEN MEREDYTH EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

#### 4

## STEPHEN MEREDYTH EDWARDES, C.S.L. C.V.O.

By THE EDITORS

With this number we publish a photograph of our late colleague, Mr. S. M. Edwardes, and take the opportunity of adding to the obituary notice in last month's same a few lines sent us by an old friend of his and fellow official in the Indian Civil Service. He writes: "I would draw attention to his amazing powers of work. When doing his very difficult Census of Pombay Town and Island in 1901, he managed to write the whole of the first of Bombay in his spare time. It was published as one of the volumes of the Census, and was later re-is ued in book form with illustrations. I would also like to mention his specially valuable with in coonertion with the Muharram. By putting a stop to the tabut procession he broads to as and the regrettable disturbances that usually accompanied that celebration in Bombay City."

## LAND'S ANECDORA SYRIACA ON THE SYRIANS OF MALASAR

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN BY THE REVO. H. HOSTEN

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Nestorian writing, resembling that of MS. No. 1312. 17 p

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The Syriac text contains about 120 lines, and from Land's acceptance of the 21, etc., one must conclude that they are verses. The date of the contains about be carlier than 1737, since May Cabriel, who died in 1737, is mentioned.

At pp. 179-184 we find a number of notes by Land. Omitting a continuous and the peculiarities of the Syriac writing, we translate the remainder the continuous closely as possible.

(Page 123.) Of the things which happened to the Syrians (on the Malater (wort) and their history. (MS. vol., Lugal Batav. Or. 1213.)

(se. 1.) In the year 22 to Our Lord Jesus Christ the lord Thomas came ato India and landed at Mailopur. Here he preached the Gospel to many, whom he made his disciples and baptized in the name of the Pather and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Next he set out and went to Malabar. where he arrived at Moljokare. He preached also to the people of this country and set up to the Lord an altar, for the service of which he added two presby ters. From there he went to Kutkajel, where he built a church, as he also did at Irapeli.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The partialn Syriac type have been kindly transliterated for me by Mr. T. K. Joseph of Trivandrum, Weyers' Orientalium, T. L. (Leydon, 1840, p. 322 eqq.), has a careful description of Codex 1312. Cf. Lend's Ancodeta Striaca at p. 1, p. 1.

The Indian Antiquery.

STEPHEN MEREDYTH EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN BY THE REVD. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

[From Anecdota Syriaca. Collegit, edidit, explicavit J. P. N. Land, theologiae doctor. Tomus primus, Lugduni Batavorum, E. J. Brill, MCCCCLXII (sic for MDCCCLXII). 1

Our document, a short history of the Syrians of the Malabar Coast, comes from the Leyden Academy Library, and was published by Land, not only for the style, but also for the sake of the names and of the subject, as a specimen of the work done in this line by Indians, none of which had yet appeared. Cf. p. ix.

The MS., numbered 1213, consists of two leaves of European paper, measuring 120 × 28·30 centimetres, written on both pages, and containing a "Summary of the history of the Syrians on the Malabar Coast." Written by Matthew, a Jacobite priest, it deals with the history of the Syrians from the time of the Apostle St. Thomas up to the beginning of the 18th century.

The title of the Syriac MS. is: Al Gedes'e Dagedās' Le Suriyoye U Tase Isahūn Dehōlēn, which means: "Of what happened to the Syrians and their history."

Nestorian writing, resembling that of MS. No. 1212. Cf. p. 7.

Land did not publish the Syriac text of MS. 1213, for want of proper type. Cf. p. 179. In Plate B, No. 12, he gives a specimen of the writing by reproducing the title above. At pp. 123-127, we have a Latin translation of the text, which we translate into English below. I take it that the Latin translation is by Land, although his correcting some mistakes of spelling and translation at pp. 180-184 would make one conclude the contrary. But see his note about San Pablo at p. 184.

The Syriac text contains about 120 lines, and from Land's marginal references to vs. 11, 21, etc., one must conclude that they are verses. The date of the document must be earlier than 1737, since Mar Gabriel, who died in 1737, is mentioned as alive.

At pp. 179-184 we find a number of notes by Land. Omitting a short initial discussion on the peculiarities of the Syriac writing, we translate the remainder from the Latin as closely as possible.

(Page 123.) Of the things which happened to the Syrians (on the Malabar Coast) and their history. (MS. vol., Lugd. Batav. Or. 1213.)

(vs. 1.) In the year 52 of Our Lord Jesus Christ the lord Thomas<sup>2</sup> came into India and landed at Mailopur.<sup>3</sup> Here he preached the Gospel to many, whom he made his disciples and baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Next he set out and went to Malabar, where he arrived at Moljokare.<sup>4</sup> He preached also to the people of this country and set up to the Lord an altar, for the service of which he added two presbyters. From there he went to Kutkajel,<sup>5</sup> where he built a church, as he also did at Irapeli,<sup>6</sup>

The parts in Syriac type have been kindly transliterated for me by Mr. T. K. Joseph of Trivandrum.

Weyers' Orientalium, T. I. (Leyden, 1840, p. 322 sqq.), has a careful description of Codex 1212.

Cf. Land's Anecdota Syriaca, I, p. I, n. 1.

and Gukamaglam, and Nernam, and Tirûbokut. Finally he returned to Mailopur, where he was pierced with a lance by unbelieving gentiles; and his soul rested in peace. After his death India and Malabar was left without a preacher and leader, those excepted who had been made presbyters by the Apostle Thomas.

Now, after 92 years, India and Malabar<sup>10</sup> was made a widow, deprived of priests and presbyters (orbata sacerdotibus et presbyteris), (vs. 11) and there were only the faithful of both sexes. However, at that time, there arose a magician, called Manikbos r, <sup>11</sup> one of the infidels. He too came to Mailopur, where through his magical arts he performed many miracles, scandalized the leaders and chief ones of the faithful and drew them away from the true faith; and there was no one to oppose himself to his orders. On this account the rest of the faithful fled and found an asylum in Malabar. Seeing them, the brethren, the faithful of Malabar, rejoiced with the greatest joy, and, according to the custom of the faithful, they became bound to one another by the ties of affinity. (Page 121.) Afterwards, however, when 160 truly Christian families<sup>12</sup> had long been without presbyters and leaders, a dissension arose among them for what cause I know not; that is, some of them renounced the orthodox faith, <sup>13</sup> and others did not. Those who renounced the faith were 96 families<sup>13</sup><sub>a</sub>; on the other hand, those who retained the orthodox faith were 64 families.

(vs. 21.) At the same time, a vision appeared by night to the metropolitan of Edessa.14 He arose in the morning and went to the Catholicus of the East, 15 and told him of the vision which he had seen. When the Catholicus had heard it, he sent messengers to all the churches and monasteries and cities of the diocese and called the people to his presence. And when many flocks had met with their bishops and merchants,16 he related to them what the Bishop had seen, and they spoke together (et collocuti sunt).17 Then, one of them arose, to wit a merchant called Thomas of Jerusalem, 18 who answered, saying: "Behold, I have ere now heard a report about Malabar and India from foreign countries and men." The Catholicus, hearing his answer, rose from his seat, went to him, embraced him lovingly, and thus addressed him: "I entreat thee, my very dear son, to go to Malabar, to visit the inhabitants of the country, and to tell me what has befallen them." Accordingly, that occasion offering, Thomas of Jerusalem set out for Malabar, and, coming to Moljomkare, he saw the Thomas Christians; and they were mutually pleased, the Christians telling him about their affairs. (vs. 31.) Which when Thomas had heard, he gave them courage and exhorted them with kind words; and straightway he embarked and returned to his country. Back in his country, he went to the Catholicus and said to him: "Lo! I have seen with my eyes the Thomas Christians, and we spoke together and were mutually pleased. Heft them hopeful and returned." The Catholicus, hearing these words, answered thus: "Although I am ready to lay down my life for them, I ask you to be pleased to tell me what those children of mine most wish me to do." Then he stated to the Catholicus what the Malabar brethren desired. Therefore, not long after, yea in those very days, with the help of the adorable God and by order of the Catholicus of the East, Thomas of Jerusalem, the merchant, went forth again, and with him the Bishop who had seen the vision, and at the same time presbyters and deacons, and also men and women, young men and maidens, from Jerusalem and Bagdad and Ninive, 19 and they entered a ship (Page 125) and left for Malabar, where they landed at Moljomkare in the year 345 of the Lord.20

(vs. 41.) The Malabars at once recognised them, and they came together for advice to the brethren who had arrived, which done, they went to Serkun,<sup>21</sup> the king of the whole of Malabar, and presented him with gifts. And the king was pleased with them (the gifts?), and said to them: "I shall give you whatever you ask of me." And he gave them the land which they desired, a very long and very broad piece of ground; besides, he granted them all the royal honours, which were written on copper-plates. Lo! these plates are preserved among us to this day. Having received all this from the king, they returned to Moljomkare to

build a church and town. And they built a church in the country of Kûramaklûr<sup>22</sup> which they had received in gift from the king, and there they erected a town of 472 houses from east to west on both sides, and they duly inhabited it. Now, in those days and subsequently Syrian Fathers<sup>23</sup> used to come by order of the Catholicus of the East,<sup>24</sup> and they took care of the district of India and Malabar, (vs. 51) while the Syrians spread from that town.

Again, in the year 823 Syrian Fathers came, the lord Sapor (Sapores) and the lord Pheroz (Pherozes), 25 and with them Sébarjes ûc, a famous man. So, they came to the town of Kulam, 26 went to the king Seakîrbîrtî and asked for lands. 28 The king gave them as much land as they wished. So they too built a church and town in the country of Kulam. Next, after those days, 29 Syrian bishops and metropolitans came oftener (? rather often, saepius) by order of the Catholicus, who used to send them.

However, long afterwards, about the year 1500,30 the deceitful Franks (Franci fraudulenti) came to this country of Malabar, and they too began to inhabit Malabar and India. At that time, Syrian Fathers came again, the lord Denho, and the lord Thomas, and the lord Jacob, and the lord Jahbalohô,30a and, according to ancient usage, they shepherded Malabar and India. (vs. 61.) Then, after those days, in the year 1580, came lord Abraham, 31 a Syrian bishop. When he had come to Malabar, the fierce Franks were jealous of him, and they laid snares to him and tried to kill him; but with the help of Christ our Lord he was saved from their hands. Accordingly, in fear and trembling, he could hardly carry on his office. For, in those days, the Franks, enemies of Almighty God, began to lay snares on the roads where the Syrians walked, to seize them and put them to death. (Page 126.) After the death of the Syrian bishop lord Abraham, during 52 years no bishop came to Malabar. Then, by order of the Pope of Rome, a certain Frank bishop 32 came, who tried to reduce the Syrians to his power, but the Syrians were against him. Then that rebel went to the king of Quqs în,33 and gave him a present of thirty thousand double gold pieces,<sup>34</sup> and the king began to harass the Syrians in various ways. That vexatious king oppressed the Syrians during three years, (vs. 71) and after those persecutions the Syrians had no strength left them. Therefore, under coercion from the king, they submitted to the Frank bishop<sup>34a</sup>. The Franks now began to change the good customs of the Syrians, they forbade the marriages of presbyters and deacons and taught a new and abominable faith. When the Syrians had suffered this 52 years, 35 God deigned to reveal the treachery of the Franks through Patriarch Ignatius,36 who came to Mailopur on his way to Malabar. As soon as this Syrian arrived at Mailopur, the Franks apprehended him, loaded him with chains and took him to Quqs în, where they drowned him in the waves of the sea. The news of this spread through the whole of Malabar by means of the Syrian deacons<sup>37</sup> then living there. So, all the Syrians assembled at the church of Mûtums erî38 near Quqs în, and all the Syrians swore that to the end of time they would not obey the Franks, nor those who sowed their seed.39 (vs. 81.) These words they put down in writing. Amen. Now, when the Syrians had thus separated from the Franks, and the strength of the Syrians had grown after a few years, the bishop of the Franks40 began to send presents of great value to the priests of the Syrians and to write to them letters secretly. Some of the Syrian priests stealthily accepted these gifts and went at night to the bishop of the Franks; others refused them and would not go. When this had gone on for some time, some of the priests were scandalized, and turned against the bishop; others, not at all; accordingly, a dissension arose among the Syrians, and there were two sides. The Franks overcame the Syrians, because part of the Syrians had betaken themselves to the Franks and the Franks solicited the king and nobles with presents to vex the Syrians.

But at that time came a faithful Amirol,<sup>41</sup> a just judge, the chief of the whole of India and Malabar, who extirpated all the Franks from Quqs în (Page 127) and from all the towns roundabout India. So did Josua exterminate the Canaaneans and the other nations. (vs. 91.)

From that time to this day joy was prepared for the side of the Syrians, and for the side of the Franks sadness. The Syrians obey the Syrian Fathers, who, by order of the Catholicus of the East, 41a came from Jerusalem and Nineve and Bagdad, whereas the Franks obey the Frank bishops, who come from Rome and other provinces by order from the Pope of Rome.

Again, in the year 1705, by order of the Catholicus of the East, came lord Gabriel, 42 Syrian Metropolitan, and he saw both sides, and that there were many Syrians who had turned to the Franks, that they walked in all the abominable customs of the Franks and oblivious of the foundation and root of the Syrian priests, that the priests of the Syrians who had turned to the Franks did not, like their fathers the Syrian priests, take wives, but reprehended just marriages in the priests of both sides, and that, therefore, from those days onward and in future, (vs. 101) all the Malabar Syrians would adhere to the Franks, who day and night were exerting themselves. Therefore, lord Gabriel, the Syrian Metropolitan, embraced neither the Syrians his kinsmen nor the Syrians who had followed the Franks, but remained so to say in the middle between them, in the hope of bringing back the Syrian followers of the Franks. On that account, very many Syrians of both sides came to him, and of those who adhere to the Franks forty-two.43 To-day, however, through the deceit and exertions of the Carmelites and Franciscans(?)44, twenty churches have fallen away from him.

But, illustrious and blessed masters ours, 45 be pleased to learn that, provided the chief prefect 46 and blessed king of the whole of India and Malabar help this humble Syrian—the two sides will return to the Syrian fold and that the Franks will not for ever lord it in India.

Handwriting of Matthew, the poor, humble, and vile Syrian Priest. 46a Amen.a

### Notes by Land.

(Page 179) About the Malabar Christians of St. Thomas see especially (Page 180) J.S. Assemani's Bibl. Or., vol. IV, pp. 25 sqq. and 435 sqq.; Cl. Buchanan, Christian Researches in Asia, 3rd edition, Edinburgh, 1812, p. 99 sqq.; Ch. Swanston, A Memoir of the Primitive Church of Malayâla, etc., in Journal of the Asiatic Society, No. II, London, Nov. 1834, and No. III, Febr. 1835; C. Ritter, Erdkunde, Bd. V, Berlin, 1835, pp. 601 sqq., 945 sqq., where most of the things said by others are carefully collected. As for my remark (at p. 8 of this volume) that the Amsterdam Public Library has another copy of our volume, I have found out that this was not very accurate: there are, however, rather long Syriac letters written by Bishop Thomas to Schaaf, of which I shall speak by and by.<sup>b</sup> I derived almost nothing for my purpose from Missions in South India, by the Rev. Joseph Mullens, London, 1854 (but printed at Calcutta).

1 Vs. 1 sqq. In the year 52. Whish, Asiat. Journal, New Series, VI (in Swanston, II, 177) says:

"The Jews say St. Thomas arrived in India in A.D. 52, and themselves in the year 69."

2 The lord Thomas. On Thomas, the Apostle of India, see chiefly Ritter's discussion (op. cit.) after Neander (Kirchengesch. 1). Those who have written on this subject seem to have forgotten too much three things: 1. That in the first centuries there was a tendency to assign to each of the Apostles of Jerusalem a special country, whereas it seems to be clear from Paul's epistles that they were loth to spread the Gospel beyond the limits of Judaism. 2. That Mesopotamia and Babylonia had long before been connected by trade with India. 3. That the name and story of Thomas of Jerusalem could easily be confused by the Malabars with the story of the Apostle. But this is not the place for a fuller discussion of the Thomas legends.

3 Mailapuram. In the MS.c with petch; d with the lower dot (long 'ecoc). After this, the same word is written 'Mailopû' with zeqoph. Lacroze (in Assem., op. cit., 449): Meliapora; Buchanan (op. cit.); Melapoor; Swanston, II. 172: Mailapúr. However, Thomas is said to have come from the islands of Dioscoris [Sokotra] to Cranganor, next to have gone finally to Meliapor (Assem., 435, Buchanan, Swanston).

4 Moljokare. No vowel-points here; but at vss. 30 and 40 the vowels o-o-a are added. Lacroze: Mavelicare; Buchanan, 106: Mavelycar; Mullens, 129: Mavelikurray (i.e., Mavelicarre).

a [Dr. Mingana's translation of this and of the letter of Bp. Thomas (f.n. b below) is given in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol. 10, No. 2, July 1926.—T. K. J.]

b Where Land does so, does not appear, though I have searched his four volumes of Anecdota Syriaca. e Nīm. d Vave.

- 5 KuTkajel. Vowels shown: ŭ-a-e. Lacroze: Calicut, a well-known town, the name of which is seen to be composed of the same elements as KuTkajel.
  - 6 IraPeli. Vowels shown: i-a-e-i. Buchanan, 125: Verapoli; Lacroze: Ignapeli.
  - 7 GuKamaGlam. Vowels shown: ŭ-a-a-a. The Mangalan of Lacroze?
  - (Page 181.) Nernam. Vowels: e-a. Lacroze: Naranam; Swanston, II. 174, note: Neranam.
- 9 TirâbokuT. Vowels i-û-o-u. The Tecancute of Lacroze? Possibly, rather, Travancore (Swanston: Travancór)?
  - 10 Malabar. In the MS. everywhere Milibar.
- 11 Vs. 11 sqq. ManîKbos·r. Vowels: a-i-o. Others too speak of a persecution by the Brahmans and of a flight to the Malabar Coast. So, do not think of a Manichean.
  - 12 Truly Christian families. Baittóye; perhaps we should understand communities or churches.
- 13 Renounced the orthodox faith. It seems therefore that Chosticism or Manicheism or even Arianism crept in from Babylonia.
- 14 vs. 21 sqq. The metropolitan of Edessa. I hardly believe this, because the Edessan writers say nothing of it. For want of a name, they seem to have dragged in the name of the famous Edessa. Others have nothing about the dream.
- 15 To the Catholicus of the East. He ruled over Babylonia, Assyria, and the Christians subject to the Sassanians, and was said to have derived his dignity from the Apostle Thomas. Others (Swanston, II. 176) speak of Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch.
- 16 And their merchants. A picture of the Syro-Malabar community, which, besides clergy and merchants. people skilled in many things, comprised mostly husbandmen, and fishermen. I say Syro-Malabar, not as if it was chiefly composed of Syrians, but because it was imbued with Syrian Christianity : for it is certain that in that church a very large number of natives was mixed up with a few born in Babylonia and other countries.
  - And they spoke together. We should even write: his very words.
- 18 Thomas of Jerusalem. The 'Thomas Cana' of the Portuguese (Lacroze in Assem., op. cit., p. 442 sqq.); 'Cama' (Swanston, loc. laud.) seems to be a misprint. Wrede (Asiatic Researches, VII) has 'Thome Cannaneo,' which he seems to have taken from other Portuguese writers; from this there is but a step to 'Canaanæum' ('Cananæum' in Asseman. 27, quoting Basnage and Semedo), which may be compared with our 'of Jerusalem'. There is no question at all of Thomas, Manes' disciple (Assem, 28 sq. and Flugel's Mani, s. Lehre u.s. Schriften, etc., Leipzig, 1862, 174 n. 62), though it is maintained that a (Fihrist al-'olûm in Flügel, 73). Our Thomas Manes himself wrote to the Indians is called Armenian and Arian (Swanston, 176). I do not know on what authority, unless perhaps Armanoyo and Ariyano be corruptions for Urślemoyo. Surely, the Catholicus of the East did not send an Arian to India.
  - 19 vs. 31 sqq. from Jerusalem and Bagdad, and Ninive. That is from all the Aramean countries.
- 20 In the year 345 of the Lord. "The native historians, however, from their own (Page 182) annals and traditions recount that, up to the year of Our Lord 345, after the first propagation of Christianity by St. Thomas, there were no foreign bishops or priests amongst the Christians of India, and that they had but a few places of worship, built after the form of Hindu pagedas of the country, till Mar Thomas, by the direction of Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, assumed charge of their Church, and introduced amongst them several bishops And priests, as also many Christians, men, women, and children, from foreign countries." (Swanston, II. 176.)
- 21 vs. 41 sqq. Serkun. The vowels shown are: e-ŭ. Swanston (II. 181) and Lacroze: Sharen Permaul (i.e., Permal) or Perumal).
  - 22 Kûramaklûr. One vovel û, at the end. Lacroze (in Assem. IV. 449): Caramalur.
- 23 Syrian Fathers. First they belonged to the Catholic faith; later, after the Eastern Syrians had embraced Nestorius' tenets, they became, as they are commonly called, Nestorians. However, the Metropolitan who ruled at the beginning of this century, condemned both Nestorius and Chalcedon in the profession of faith which he presented to the English (Buchanan, 117). Only a Monophysite could have done so.
- 24 Catholicus of the East. This title is assumed both by the Jacobite Maphrian (cf. Assem., B.O. II, in his discussion on the Monophysites) and by the Nestorian Catholicus (id., IV. 620).
- 25 vs. 51 sqq. The lord Sapor and the lord Pheroz. They are called Sabûr and Pirût, without vowel points. These are Persian names. Some say that Saul and Ambrose were sent by the Nestorian Patriarch, and were brought from Babylon to Quilon by one Job, a merchant, in the year 825 (Swanston, 178); others speak with our author of Sapor and Peroz (or Pheroz); but, to my knowledge, they are wrong in shifting the date to the year 922 (Assem. 442). Our author gives the year 823. The Job of other writers seems to be Sebarjes ûc.
  - 26 Kulam. Only the vowel  $\breve{u}$  is marked. Coulan or Quilon is the common spelling.
  - S-akîrbîrtî. Vowels shown: a, and the second and third i. The King's name is not given by other writers.
  - And asked for lands. Add: where they might build a church and found a city for themselves.
  - 29 After those days. Better: after the days of those.

a Three words in Arabic type are omitted here by me.—H.H.

- 30 About the year 1500, the deceitful Franks. The name of the Franks was familiar to the Syrians at the time of the Crusades. Barhebraeus also uses it for 'Europeans'. Here it applies to the Portuguese, who in 1498 came to India under Vasco da Gama. For their history see J. de Barros, Asia (Venice, 1562, and often republished). Calling them deceitful (snie) was already an old custom. (Cf. pp. 6, 82, 87.) On the other hand, about the year of the world 6121, a certain Athanasius is called in Theophanes κακούργος τη των Σύρων εμφύτη κακουργία, and the fact is that, long before, the Syrians had been held in contempt by the Romans.
- 31 vs. 61 sqq. Abraham. Assemani tells us, however, (B.O., IV. 447) that, as early as 1578, (Page 183) at the third Synod of Goa, he had condemned the Nestorians. Although he had formally acknowledged the Pope of Rome and had even been created by him Archbishop of Angamale, the Portuguese laid snares to him (Swanston, II. 184).
- 32 A certain Frank Bishop. Aleixo de Menezes, who in 1599 held the Synod of Diamper, where he burned the books of the Syrians, and ordered to change their rites and customs and even their doctrine.
  - 33 Quqs in. With û-i.a Commonly Cochin.
  - 34 Double gold pieces. In Spanish: 'doblones de oro.'
  - 35 vs. 71 sqq.—52 years. I.e., from 1601 to 1653 (Assem., B.O., IV. 447).
- others, he says, call him 'Attila'. Assemani (loc. laud.) calls him 'Ahatalla.' It is the same name as we saw already above (ad Libr. Chal. p. 53v), where add: "the slave Aithales" from the jurisconsult Scaevola I. 24. D. de lege Corn. de falsis 48: 10. According to Assemani, "the Nestorians had heard that Bishop A., whom they had asked for from their Patriarch, had died while kept in prison by the Portuguese." Swanston (p. 190) writes: "The fate of Mar Ignatius was never known," etc.
  - 37 By means of the Syrian deacons. Menezes had deposed all the native priests and bishops.
- 38 Mûtums erî. Vowels: û-ŭ-e-i. Swanston (189 sq.): Alanghát; Assem. (loc. laud.): "Making a conspiracy at Matanger, Rapolin, and Mangate, they proclaimed as Bishop the Archdeacon Thomas de Campo and had him consecrated by twelve priests."
  - 39 Nor those who sowed their seed. Correct : nor their children.
- we have the word bispe, which is the Portuguese word 'Bispo'. The pronunciation with the letter b unless it be Portuguese also, may have come from the Sanserit vispa, 'lord.'
- 41 Amirol. Vowels: a-o. Not the Spanish word 'almirante,' but the Dutch word 'amiraal.' There is question of the Dutch Captain Ryklof van Goens, who took Cochin in 1663. Cf. Ph. Baldaeus, Beschrijving der Indische kusten Malabar ende Choromandel, Amsterdam, 1672, p. 120, and Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oostindiën, IV. 308. The Indians of Batavia in their historical poems also apply wrongly the title 'am iraal' to other captains of those times.
- 42 vs. 91 sqq. Gabriel. Assemani (loc. laud.) says that Gabriel, Metropolitan of Adorbigana, went to that country; see (ibid., p. 299 sq.) his profession of faith in favour of the Roman Church; he shuffled off this mortal coil (larvam exuit), as Assemani puts it, in 1716.
  - 43 (Page 184.) Forty-two. Correct: forty-two churches.
- 44 Of the Franciscans? Vade Sampâlu. No doubt 'San Pablo', i.e., St. Paul is meant; but I had not discovered whether the Franciscans or the Dominicans, or, perhaps, the Jesuits had a St. Paul's Church at Goa. At Rome, as far as I know, only the Benedictines and Cistercians have a church dedicated to St. Paul; but neither help our case. However, afterwards, I learned who they were from a codex in the Royal Academy (which see under No. 8 in Weyers' Catalogue lately printed by de Jong), J. H. Schaaf explaining the name Saint-Paulites by 'Jesuits' in his letter of April 12, 1732, p. 14. (Land adds in Anecdota Syriaca, II. 19: "Nowadays, in Italy, the Jesuits are still called 'Paolotti'".)
- 45 Masters ours. He addresses the XVII Directors of the Dutch India Company. Already before 1729 he seems to have sent to Charles Schaaf a petition of the kind, addressed to them: for Schaaf, in his last letter of that year, tells the Bishop not to send copies of Malabar books, our scholars not understanding them; however, a copy of a Malabar book was added to our document.
- 46 Prefect. Kumadur: Portuguese: 'Commodore'; Dutch: 'Commandeur', the title of the prefect of Cochin.

(To be continued.)

# DHARAVARSHA PARMARA OF ABU AND HIS INSCRIPTIONS. By R. R. HALDER.

DHĀRĀVARSHA was a famous ruler among the Parmâras of Ābu. He is popularly known in Râjputânâ as 'Dhâr Parmâra'. The word Parmâra denotes the name of the family and is derived, as has been supposed, from the name of the man, who arose from the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vaśishtha on Mount Ābû, and was considered by the latter as one who would take delight only in killing his enemies, and was thus named.<sup>1</sup>

Dhârâvarsha was a son of Yaśôdhavala, who was a feudatory of the Solanki ruler Kumârapâla of Gujarât. When Kumârapâla waged war against Mallikârjuna of northern Kaunkana, Dhârâvarsha led his forces and greatly contributed towards victory. In the Tâju'l-Ma'aṣir, we find that Dhârâvarsha and Râi Karan were the two commanders of the Hindu army, which had collected at the foot of Mount Ābû, when, in the middle of the month of Safar A.H. 593 (January, A.D. 1197), the world-conquering Khusrû [Qutbu'ddîn I-bak] turned his face towards the annihilation of the Râi of Naharwâla (Anhilvâḍâ)². Though the Hindus were defeated in this battle, nevertheless, in a previous one fought against Shihâbu'ddîn Ghûrî at that place in the A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178), they had won victory. "Tod asserts that it was at this very place [Nadole³] that 'Maḥmûd's arms were disgraced, the invader wounded and forced to relinquish his enterprise'". It is also clearly written in the description of the battle with Qutbu'ddîn Ī-bak that "the Musalmâns did not dare to attack them [the Hindus] in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sultân Muhammad Sâm [Shihâbu'ddîn] Ghûrî had been wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander'.5

Dhârâvarsha was the contemporary of the four Solaiki rulers of Gujarât, namely, Kumârapâla, Ajaipâla, Mûlarâja II and Bhîmdêva II. After the accession of Bhîmdêva II., many of his ministers and chiefs threw off his yoke, and became independent. Dhârâvarsha was among them, but, when the Yâdava king Singhaṇa of Deccan and Sultân Shamsu'ddîn Altamsh of Delhi attacked Gujarât, he prepared to render help to the king of Gujarât along with other kings of Mârwâr.

Dhârâvarsha was also very brave and extraordinarily fond of hunting expeditions. In the Pâṭanârâyaṇa inscription<sup>9</sup> of Samvat 1344 (A.D. 1287), it is mentioned that he could kill three buffaloes with one arrow. In support of this statement, we can still see on the margin of a big kuṇḍa (reservoir), called Mandâkinî, outside the temple of Achalêśvara on Mount Ābû, an image of Dhârâvarsha with bow in hand, drawn at three life-size stone buffaloes, standing in its front with a hole right across their bodies.

Up to the present, one copper plate and 14 stone inscriptions of the time of Dhârâvarsha have been discovered by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankar H. Ojha, curator of the Rajputana

MARCH, 1927]

Someśvar's Kirtikaumudi, canto 2, verse 61.

verse 15 (From original impression).

The Rajputana Museum Report, 1909-10, p. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Epigraphia Indica, vol. VIII, p. 210, verse 32. 2 Eliot's History of India, vol. II, pp. 229-30.

<sup>3</sup> It was not, however, Nådole but Kåyadrå, a village at the foot of Mt. Ābu. Kåyadrå is also called Kåsahrada [Ep. Ind., vol. IX, p. 77, .verse 36], which is wrongly identified by Prof. Bühler, see p. 73, ibid., and also Ep. Ind., vol. I, p. 229. See also Ep. Ind., vol. VIII, p. 206, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Raverty's Tabakat -i-Nasiri, p. 522 n.

<sup>5</sup> See note 2 above. In Tabaká t-i-Nasirî [E.H.I., p. 294], Shihâbuddîn's defeat is mentioned.

<sup>ि</sup> मन्त्रिभिर्माण्डलिकिश्व बलवद्भिः शनैः शनैः । बालस्य भूमिपालस्य तस्य राज्यं व्यभज्यत ॥

Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, pt. II, p. 525.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Hamîramadamardana of Jayasimhasûri, p. 11. In it the Sultan is called 'Mlechchharâja', 'Mîlachhrikâra,' etc. The latter is a changed form of Amìr-i-shikâra, an office assigned to his slave Altamsh by Qutbu'ddîn ī-bak [note 4 above, p. 603].

एक बाणनिहतं त्रिनुतायं यं निरीक्ष्य कुरुयोधसद्दर्श ।

Museum, Ajmer. The earliest is dated Samvat 1220 (A.D. 1163) and the latest Samvat 1276 (A.D. 1219), engraved on a marble pillar on the bank of a tank at a little distance from the village Makâval in Sirohi State. From these, it is evident that Dhârâvarsha ruled at least for a period of fifty-six years.

He was succeeded by his son Sômasimha, who is said to have inherited bravery from his father and learning from his uncle Prahlâdana, younger brother of Dhârâvarsha. It was this Prahlâdana, who was sent by Dhârâvarsha to the help of the Gurjara king Ajaipâla, (and not Bhîmdêva II. 11), as shown in my former article, 12 when the latter was attacked by Sâmantasimha of Mewâr.

This long reign of Dhârâvarsha gives rise to a fact, which proves the story narrated in Forbes's Râsmâlâ relating to the rule of Jaitsî Pamâr at Ābû, the marriage of his daughter Ichehhanî with Prithvirâja, and the fight between Bhîmdêva II of Gujarât and Sômêśvara, to be utterly baseless. It will not be uninteresting to give here a summary of the story as given in the above book. It runs as follows:—

"Ajaipâla's younger brother, Bhîmdêva II, called also 'Bholo', ascended the throne in A.D. 1179 and reigned thirty-six years. In these times, Râjâ Bholo Bhîm Dêva was the ornament of Anhilpoor in Gûjar-land. He was like the deep ocean in power; he led an invincible four-limbed army; the three Lôks sought the protection of the Châluk Râe; he possessed ships that sailed to Sindh; his military posts were in the land of Dhârâ.

"Jaitshee Parmâr at this time ruled at Abu. He has a son named Salakh and a daughter, Ichhani Kumâri, who was very beautiful and praised by every one. Bhîm-Dêva formed the design of marrying her. His dreams were full of visions of Ichhani. He sent Umar Singh [a servant of his] to Abu to demand the hand of the Parmâr princess, but she was already betrothed to the son of the Chohân.

"The ambassador [said] 'O! Mountain-lord, Bholo Veer, the Châlûk, having heard of Ichhani, forgets her not; he demands that you betroth her to him; if you give her to the Chohân [Prithvirâja] he will cast you from the battlements of Abugarh'. Jaitshee also spoke, 'In the land of Maru' there are nine millions of good warriors; eighteen royal seats belong to Abu-garh. It is well to maintain my royalty or else to die'. With this answer he dismissed the ministers of Bhîm. Writing a letter with his own hand, he sent to hasten the marriage of Ichhani with the son of Someśvara.

"When Bholo Bhîm heard of these occurrences, it was as if some one had struck him on the face. He sent for his ministers and bade them instantly prepare; 'Who is this that lays hold on the sleeping lion', [said he]. From Pattan he sent orders in all directions—to Kutch and to Soreth. A vast army assembled from all sides. Bholo Bhîm arrived at Abu and pitched his tents. He surrounded the fort on all sides. The armies of the Parmâr and the Châlûk joined battle; for many days the contest raged; Salakh and Jait at length gave back; but fighting as they retired, they reddened the earth with blood. Bhîm pressed on; he beheld Achales' var; the Parmârs fled to Maru-land, they left the fort to the Châlûk; he ascended triumphantly to the summit of Abu.

"Then the Chohân was attacked. [In the heart of Bhîm], Someśvar of Sâmbhur rankled. 'Now will I take his land, the enemy crushing; I will make a rule under one umbrella'. From hither and thither the army collected as a river fed by dependant streams. The good warriors seemed full of joy, smiling as at sunset smiles the ocean; they were eager to fight in company with their sovereign, as a wife is eager to burn in company with her lord.

भागवर्षसुतोऽयं, जयति श्रीसोमसि°हदेवो यः। पिटतः गौर्यं विद्यां पितृत्यकाद्दानमुभयतो जगहे॥४०॥

Ép. Ind., vol. VIII, p. 211.

<sup>11</sup> Ep. Ind., vol. VIII, p. 202.

"When the troops arrived in Someśvar's territories, the inhabitants left their houses and fled. The country was plundered. The armies joined battle,—Sôm, desirous of fight, and Bhîm, that never turned back in war. The drums sounded, swords began to rattle; for three hours arrows and other missiles rained upon Kun [the Chohân]; at last, Bhîm's force fled. Someśvar Chohân and Bhîm fought a terrible fight. Many on both sides were wounded yet no one left the field or fled. Someśvar himself rushed on. The field of battle seemed like a dark and stormy night in the rains when a conflagration rages in the mountains. Someśvar Chohân fell in this field, hacked to pieces.

"Râjâ Prithvirâjâ heard of the battle; he recalled the remains of his army. He determined on taking revenge for his father. He vowed a vow that he would wear no turban. He prepared an army to execute his purpose of revenge, but determined first to take his seat on the throne, and then to go to the war. In the prescribed manner, at Nigumbodh, where Yudhishthira received initiary rites, Prithvîrâja's royal unction was performed. The women sung their solemn hymns. The cry of 'Conquer! Conquer! Prithvirâja' sounded. It seemed as if Indra were assuming the throne of the celestial city. The dress of Ichhani was tied in a knot with his; they shone like the King of Heaven and his spouse. Great joy reigned.

"In the heart of Prithvirâjâ, Bhîm continually rankled; his rage was like fire, not to be extinguished but by the death of his foe. At sunrise the warriors assembled. Prithvirâjâ thus addressed them all: 'To take revenge for Somesh, let us prepare an army and fight with the Gûjar, king of men. Let us dig up Châluk from the roots'.

"The Chohân summoned his troops; at the appointed hour the drum sounded. He led the troops outside the city. Troops arrived at Sâmbhur from all sides. War music roared. Prithvirâja advanced to destroy the houses of Gujarât. Evening came on; they pitched their tents on the ground on which they stood. Kun was near the Râjâ; Jait and Salakh, the chiefs of Abu. When one watch of the night remained, they determined to follow the chase. [They looked for omens.]

"The sun arose. Prithvirâja said 'It is needless to look for omens—the day of battle is the day of pleasure to the warrior'. [The army] advanced to destroy the land of Pattan. Sixty-four thousand were they in number. Prithvirâja gave the royal umbrella to Kun, his kinsman.

"Hearing that the valiant warrior had arrived near Pattan to take revenge for his father, Bhîm raged like a snake. The two armies arrived within sight of each other, balls began to fly from the tubes; fire arrows flew into the air. On one side Kun Chohân, on the other Sârang Makwâna fought like lions. Warlike men attained in a moment the place, which with painful labour, the devotee attains. At length the Châluk's army took to flight. The Sâmbhur Râjâ struck at Bhîm. Bhîm Dêva, seated in a celestial chariot, took the road to the city of the Soors. Thus Prithvirâjâ took revenge for his father". 13

It is needless to dilate upon the whole story. It will suffice to consider only a few points in it.

Up to now, several inscriptions of Sômêśvara have been discovered of which the latest is dated s. 1234 (A.D. 1177) and was found at Âmvaldâ in the Jahâzpur district of Mewâr. Similarly, among the several inscriptions of Prithvirâja, the earliest is dated s. 1236 (A.D.

<sup>13</sup> Forbes; Rás Málá, pp. 161-77.

<sup>14</sup> त्रों ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीसोमेस्व( इव )रदेवमहाराये( ज्ये ) डोडरा-सिंघरास्त . . . संवत् १२३४ भाद्र द्युहि ४ ग्रुक्तिने . . . . (unpublished).

<sup>15</sup> संवत् १२३६ त्राषाढ विह १२ श्रीपृथ्वीराजराज्ये वागडीसलखण्युत्र . . . (unpublished).

1179) and was found at Lohâri in the same district. From these, we may infer that the death of Sômêśvara and accession of his son Prithvirâjâ took place between Samvats 1234 and 1236 (A.D. 1177 and 1179). We also know that Bhîmdêva II. of Gujarât ascended the throne in s. 1235 or 1179 A.D. 16 That is to say that the death of Sômêśvara had occurred before Bhîmdêva came to the throne. Hence, we cannot believe that Bhîmdêva fought a battle with Sômêśvara. So, also a battle between Prithvirâja and Bhîmdêva was not possible, as the former had no such cause for it as is described in the story. Next, we see that Dhârâvarsha ruled from Samvat 1220 to 1276 (A.D. 1163 to 1219). Consequently it was impossible for any other ruler to rule at Ābû during the period of his reign. Thus, it naturally follows that the story about Jaitsî Pamâr's rule at Ābû and the marriage of Prithvirâja (A.D. 1179-92) with his daughter Ichhani is fictitious. The names Jaitshî, Salakh, and Ichhani seem to be purely imaginary.

Hence, judging from the accounts of the story as well as from the period of Dhârâvarsha's rule, we cannot but conclude that the whole of the story is a myth.

This story is in all probability based on  $P_{r}ithv\hat{i}r\hat{a}ja$ - $R\hat{a}s\hat{a}$ , which is composed of many such fabrications of the bards at a period much later than that of  $P_{r}ithv\hat{i}r\hat{a}ja$  III, the hero of the book. They will be dealt with in my next paper.

#### Three Inscriptions of Dhârâvarsha.

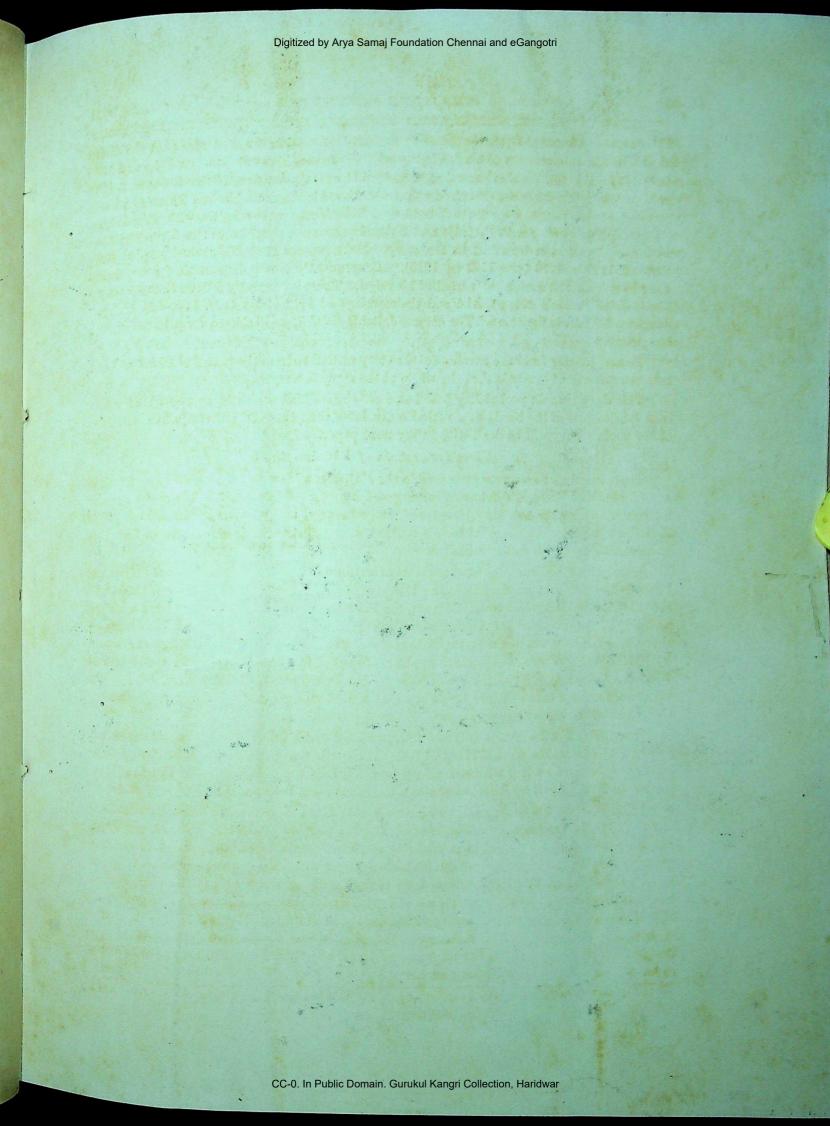
These inscriptions are now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, and are important only for their dates, which have a bearing on the subject of this article. The surface of the inscriptions is broken at many places and, consequently, many letters are indistinct. The characters are Nâgarî of the thirteenth century A.D. Their text is a mixture of Sanskrit and vernacular, and is full of mistakes.

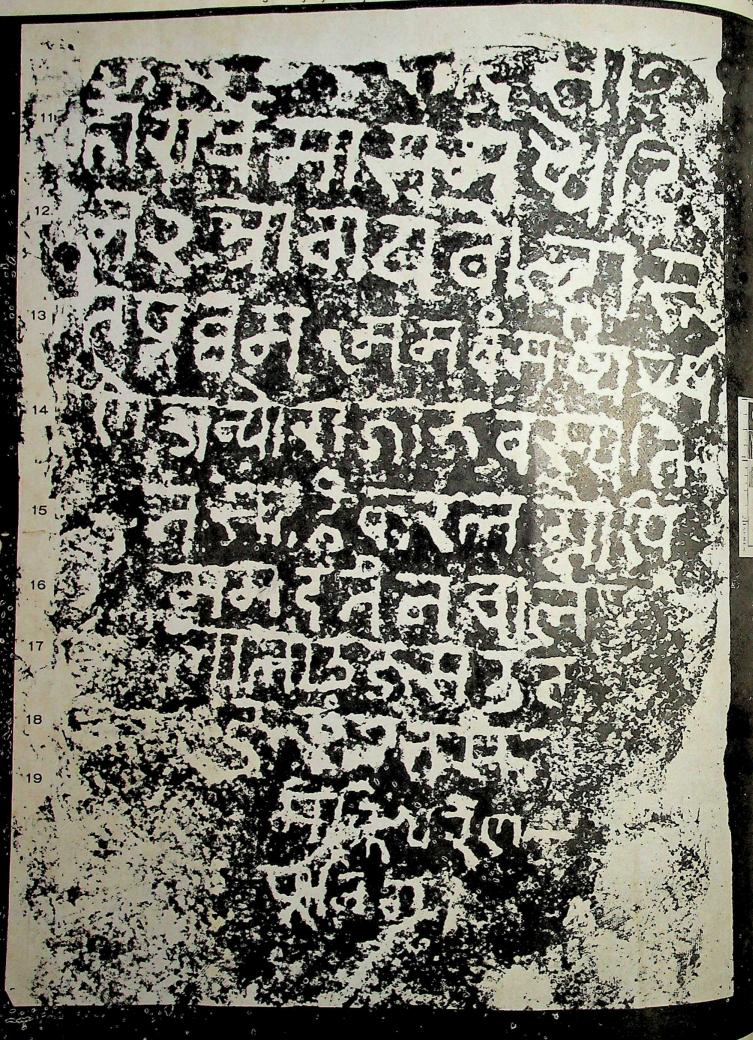
Inscription No. 1 contains fourteen lines of writing, of which lines 7 and 14 are indistinct. Lines 1-6 record that on Saturday, the 15th day of the bright half of Jyêshtha, s. 1220 (A.D. 1163), Mahârâjâdhirâja Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara, the illustrious Dhârâvarshadêva, granted a śdsana probably for the remission of taxes on Fulahalī (a village) belonging to Bhaṭṭâraka Dêvêśvara of the temple of Kâśêśvara by the prince Pâlhaṇadêva. Lines 6-7 show that something was granted by Bâl (Bâlnôt) Kelhaṇa, but nothing can be made out of it. Lines 8-9 contain the names of witnesses Vijayarâ (Vijayarâja), son of Vâhaḍa and Dedâ, son of Dejaâ. Then follows the usual imprecatory verse. Lines 13-14 say that a field was granted by Amâtya Sivasimha, an inhabitant of the village of Vâsana.

Inscription No. 2 contains only four lines, and is dated Monday, the 4th day of the bright half of Âsôj (Āśvina) Samvat 1271 (A.D. 1214). It records the grant of one halavâha of land (the area that can be tilled with one plough in a day) at the village Sâvaḍa Vṛiddha (now known as Baḍî Ânval) by Dhârâvarsha to a merchant named Ampa.

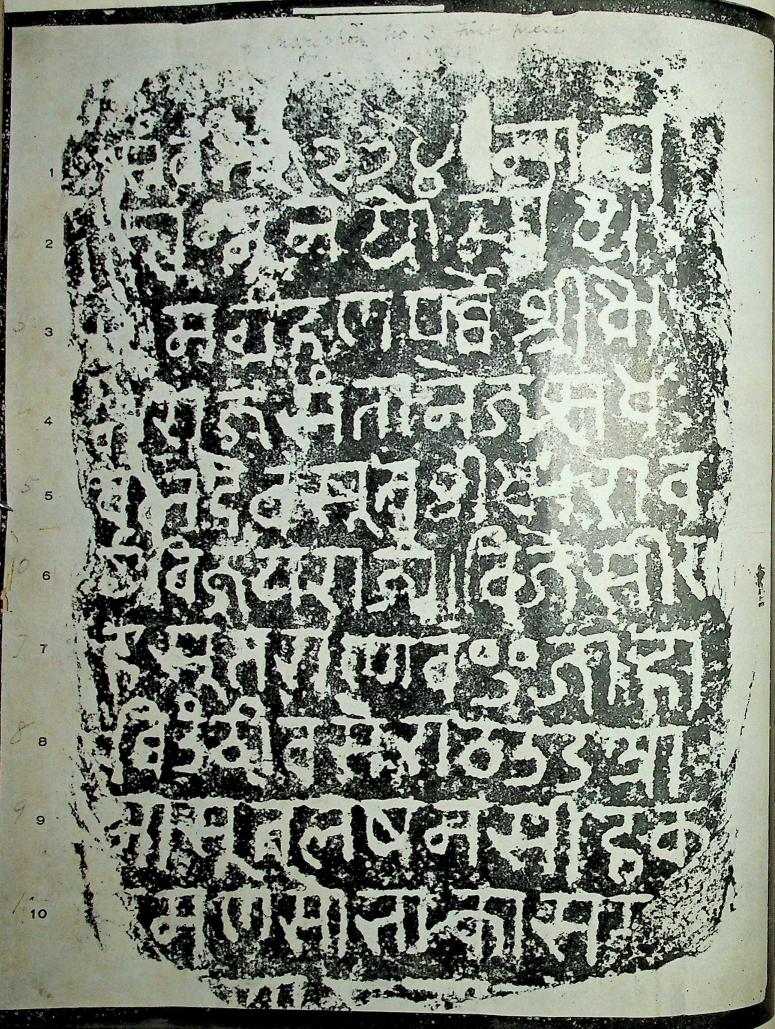
Inscription No. 3 is broken into two pieces, and is dated Mâgha Sudi Pûṇam Samvat 1274 (A.D. 1218). It was found in a temple of Siva. The purpose of the inscription is not clear, but it appears from its text that it probably records the vow of certain persons to observe festivity for two days on the day of Mahârâtri (Śivarâtri), during the prosperous reign of Dhârâvarsha, son of Yaśodhavaladêva, born in the family of Dhômarâja (Dhûmarâja). The names of the persons are Râṇâ Vaijâ, son of Vijaisi, and Lakhamsi, Kamaṇa, Sovâ etc., sons of Râṭhauḍa (Râthôṛ) Ânâ, belonging to the family of Hathundi Râjputs (Il. 1-12). Then it contains the name of the Âcharya Bolhâ, who seems to be the bhaṭṭâraka of the temple. Lines 14-17 contain the imprecatory verse, while the lines that follow next seem to have been added later by some persons.

Notes to Tod's Rajasthan in Hindi, by R. B. Pt. Gaurishankar H. Ojha, p. 435; Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 213.



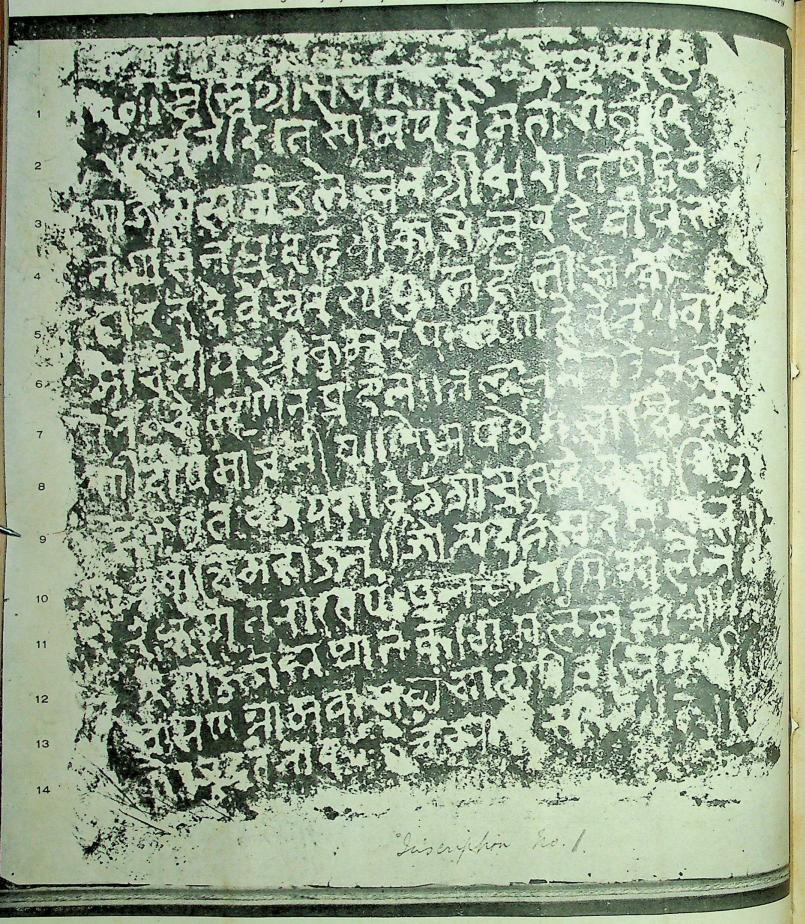


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G. Н. ОЈНА

#### Text.

#### Inscription No. 1.

- 1. जों || स्वस्ति भी संवत् १२२० नेई सु [शु दि
- 2. १५ ज्ञानिदिने सोमपर्वे महाराजाधि-
- 3. राजमहामंडलेईवैरश्रीधारावर्षदेवे-
- 4. न ग्रासनं प्रदेतं श्रीकासेस्वरदेवीयभ-
- 5. द्वारकदेवेस्वरस्य फुलहलीसर्वर्
- 6. मोचनीयः श्रीक्रम्हरपाल्हणदेवेन ॥ वा-
- 7. ल ० केल्ह्णेन प्रदेतं ॥. . .
- 8. णीदायं मोचनीयं || भोभ पछ || सान्ति वा-
- 9. इडस्तवजयरा | देजन्नास्तदेदा साक्षि ३-
- 10. साक्ति महाजन | जो (यः ) प्रदेश्त स्वर्देश्त वा दे-
- 11. रे भूँमीं नराधिय | पुनः -मिप कालेन ||
- 12. तमाँ हुँ ब्रह्मघातकं । संगल (लं) महाश्री [:] ।।
- 13. वासणग्रामवास्तर्वयं मात्यशिवसिंग श्री-
- 14. होत्रं प्रदेतं. .

## Inscription No. 2.

- 1. संवत् १२७१ वर्षे आसोज सुदि ४ सोमे
- 2. महामंडलेस्वरश्रीधारावर्षदेवेन
- 3. श्रे०अंपद<sup>2</sup>र्तं सावडवृद्धभूमिहैर्त-
- 4. वाह १ प्रशाँदन प्रदत्ता

### Inscription No. 3.

1.	संवत् १२७४ माघ-	[ 11 [म.]
2.	फाल्गूँनयो [म]ध्ये	12. हारात्रे मासमध्ये दि-
	[सो   मग्रहणपर्व्वे श्रीधो-	13. न २ त्राचार्यवोल्हासू-
4.		14. त प्रथम [पूथम?] १ मम वंसैं व्य [त्ती]
5.	वलदेवसूँतश्रीधाराव-	15. ने श्रन्यो राजा भवर्स्यंति
6.	र्षविजयराज्ये   विजेसीरा-	16. तस्याहंकरलग्नोपि [?]
	ह्सू (सु) तराणावइजा हा-	17. भम दैतें न चाल
8.	थिउंदीवंसैराटउड्या-	18. [ लालाउजसुतव ]
9.	नासू (सु) तलाषमसीहक-	19. [ड सुत]
10.	मणसोभाकास-	मिहिधरेण [ पूनिग

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### BRAHMA-VIDYÂ AND SUFISM. By UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.

Von Kremer in his book on Islamic Culture (Khuda Buksh's Translation, p. 108), makes a bold statement about the influence of Brahma-vidyâ or Vedantism on Sufism. He says: "I wish to show that the real Sufism, as it finds expression in the various orders of the Dervishes, which I sharply distinguish from the simple ascetic movement which appeared in the earliest Christianity and even in the earliest Islam, owes its origin mainly to the school of Indian Philosophy, which is known as that of the Vedanta School."

And how does Von Kremer proceed to prove it? "The proof that I will adduce," he goes on to say, "is based upon enquiries and research." These 'enquiries and research' are, however, nothing more than a parallel discovered between the practices followed by certain orders of Dervishes and similar 'yoga' practices of the Vedanta School. "With the growth of the eestatic and rapturous tendencies," we are told again, "numerous orders of Dervishes a rang up in Islam. Every one of these orders of Dervishes had its own secret rules and procedures disclosed only to the initiated. They were mainly concerned with the mode of bringing about mystic eestasy." There are, of course, noticeable differences in these rules in the different orders: One, for instance, enjoins meditation in a separate, dark room, 'accompanied by severe fasting and castigation'; another prescribes chanting of litanies until the senses are exhausted and visions present themselves to the benumbed mind; and a third advises 'dances and movements of the body', 'with musical accompaniments and singing of hymns'.

About these secret rules of the various orders, however, Von Kremer goes on to say, "there is very little trustworthy information". Happily he has lighted, he says, "upon a text which contains the rules of the Naqshbandi Order". Precise information is given there as to how spiritual exercise is to be conducted for the purpose of bringing about the desired

ecstasy in the mind of the Dervish.

These rules are principally rules for the regulation of the breath, just as it was practised among Hindu yogins, technically called by them 'prâṇâyâma' (including the threefold process of pûraka, kumbhaka and recaka). Into the details of these rules we need not enter; the fact of similarity has been generally admitted and need not be disputed; but the question is:—Were they borrowed from the Hindus by the Sufis, as Von Kremer suggests?

Similarity in itself does not indicate borrowing either way, nor does it even prove that one system was acquainted with the other. In religion and philosophy, remarkable parallels are often found which are of independent origin. The mere fact of similarity, therefore, does not warrant us in holding that Sufism borrowed from Hinduism. Authentic, historical information is necessary to justify a conclusion like this.

Von Kremer quotes a passage from "the great encyclopædic work Nafa'isu-l-funûn," where a direct reference to the Indian yogi is found. The passage runs as follows: "The sciences of breathing and imagination . . . The Indians value these two sciences very highly, and whenever any one attains perfection in them, they call him a yogi and reckon him among the holy spirits. The founder of these two sciences, they say, is Kâmâk Dyw. They call spiritual beings Dyw. . . ."

'Dyw' is apparently the Sanskrit word deva. But who is this Kâmâk? No matter who he was, it is obvious that the author of Nafa'isu-l-funûn took him to be an Indian and possibly a Hindu. And a knowledge of the so-called science of breathing is also attributed to the Indians; and, by implication, it is perhaps also suggested that such knowledge, in the same degree at least, was not to be found anywhere else.

Von Kremer quotes yet another authority in support of his contention that Yoga practices migrated from Hindu India to the Islamic world. His own words are: "In the Dabistân

it is said of the Indian yogis: 'Among them the restraining of the breath is held in great esteem, such as was practised among the Persians by Azar Hushang and by the kings of those people.'"

This is practically all the proof that Von Kremer has to produce in support of his theory. But one has to confess that the passages are not conclusive as to borrowing by the Sufis from the Indian philosophers. The authors quoted by Von Kremer were obviously acquainted with Hindu yoga practices; and we may even assume that the Islamic world at large also, at the time of these writers, was aware of the fact that the Hindus practised yoga and that they had a knowledge of yoga. But our authorities do not categorically state that these practices were borrowed by the Sufis from Indian sources. The second of these writers is even less conclusive than the first; he no doubt mentions the Indian 'yogis', but at the same time compares them with the Persians, leaving the question of borrowing absolutely undecided. If the practices were in existence among people nearer home, would the Sufis really go abroad to learn them?

Of course, in a matter like this, we should not always expect direct evidence. And we should not forget that the value of any piece of evidence depends upon the cumulative effect, when it is taken jointly with other evidence. From the evidence adduced by Von Kremer, we find, in the first place, that Muhammadan writers referred to India as the place where the practices in vogue among them were held in high esteem. The so-called sciences of breathing, we are told, were very widely cultivated in India. In the second place, we find a remarkably close similarity between the Islamic and Hindu practices. And this similarity is found not only among certain external and auxiliary practices, but extends deeper down into the very heart of their teachings. Like the Indian yogi, the Sufi also not only practised a regulation of breath—something quite akin to Hindu pranayama—but he even believed, like the Hindu Vedantist, in the identity of the individual with the Infinite. He, too, was a pantheist. And so far as external practices were concerned, the similarity was not confined to the regulation of breath only; the Sufi also appears to have had a theory of âsana (or, form of sitting), and seems to have preferred the lotus-form of sitting (padmâsana) to any other.

Now, all these similarities in doctrine and in practice, are, Von Kremer would say, too close to be regarded as accidental. So there must have been borrowing; and in so far as an express mention is found of Indian yogis in Musalman writers, and in view of the fact that, in India, the science of breathing and its practices were developed almost to perfection, the conclusion cannot be escaped that it was the Musalman Sufi who borrowed from Hindu India.

Primâ facie, therefore, we have a plausible case that Hindu yoga ideas and some of the concepts of Vedantism found their way into an important branch of Islamic culture. But it should not be forgotten that the authorities quoted by Von Kremer belong to a later period of the history of Sufism. The first authority is the author of Nafa'isu-l-funûn, who has been supposed to be "Mahmud Amuli who died in 753 A.H.", i.e., one who belonged to the fourteenth century of the Christian era. The Muhammadans had already come to India as conquerors and rulers and Sufism was already a developed system. Any Muhammadan record of that time about the practices of the Indians need not imply more than an interest taken by the conquerors in the life and habits of the people under them.

The author of the Dabistân belonged to a still later period and was perhaps an Indian Musalman. Much earlier than they, Al-Beruni had written his monumental work on India; Von Kremer does not refer to him; he can expect little support from him either, as we shall see later on. The authorities quoted by him, however, are no evidence that Brahmavidyâ had any influence on the development of Sufism in its earlier stages, even though it be conceded that some of its ideas were grafted on to the other system in its later history; and much less do they prove Von Kremer's contention that 'Sufism owes its origin mainly to the school of Indian Philosophy.'

Von Kremer no doubt distinguishes "real Sufism as it finds expression in the various orders of the Dervishes" from "the simple ascetic movement which appeared in the earliest Christianity and even in the earliest Islam". But even the 'various orders of the Dervishes' date their origin much earlier than the fourteenth century A.D. The 'origin', therefore, of Sufism is not shown to have been due to 'the school of Indian Philosophy'.

There is another inaccuracy in Von Kremer's theory. He connects the regulation of breath and yoga practices more or less exclusively with the Vedanta system. Though not unknown to the Vedanta system, these were much more elaborately dealt with in the Yoga Philosophy, specifically so called. The most characteristic Vedantic doctrine that may be traced in Sufism is the ecstatic vision of the identity of the individual soul with the Universal. The regulation of breath is not a special feature of Vedanta, but rather of the Yoga Philosophy. And Von Kremer's omission of all reference to the Yoga Philosophy is rather surprising, especially in view of the fact that Al-Beruni, writing in the eleventh century, had pointed out some of the more striking similarities between that system and Sufism. Of course, we must admit that Von Kremer's omission of reference to Patañjali is a lesser mistake than Al-Beruni's omission of all reference to the Vedanta.

Now, so far as Von Kremer is concerned, he may be regarded as having shown that, after the conquest of India by the Musalmans, Hindu culture became known to them, and, possibly, some branches of their own culture were influenced at that time by Hindu thought. His contention that Sufism owed its origin to Hindu philosophy is not proved by the evidence that he has cared to produce here. We are not suggesting that it could not have been the case; we are only pointing out the want of sufficient proof.

To show that Sufism was indebted to Hindu thought, it is not enough to show that after their conquest of the country, the Musalmans acquired a knowledge of Indian thought; for, even before this conquest was complete, a knowledge of India was not altogether absent from the Islamic world. And when the Muhammadans came to India as conquerors, Sufism was no longer in its nascent condition; it was then fully grown. So Von Kremer's authorities not only do not prove anything about the origin of Sufism, but they even fail to prove that Brahmavidyâ exercised any influence on it in its earlier stages. For his purpose, it is necessary to show that Hindu philosophical ideas had travelled beyond the borders of India and had penetrated into the heart of western Asia—Arabia, Syria, and Persia—and also into Egypt, where Sufism had its rise and its early development; and it is also necessary to show that these ideas had been in existence in those places, exercising an active influence, before the rise of Sufism. Von Kremer has not shown all this; but can it be shown?

The following facts are relevant in this connection:

- (i) That from the earliest times, a more or less continuous intercourse has been maintained between India and the western world.
- (ii) That Hindus from India sometimes went abroad and even established colonies in western Asia, among other places.
- (iii) That Buddhism had been in existence in and about the places where Sufism arose, before and even after the appearance of Islam.
- (iv) And that even the Court of the Khalifs of Bagdad was an important seat of Sanskrit culture, especially in the latter half of the eighth century. A.D.
- (i) That India had been connected with the western world from very early times, has been proved by a number of facts. (Rawlinson: Intercourse between India and the Western World). "From pre-historic times, three great trade-routes have connected India with the West." And it cannot be said that, in view of this trade-connection, India could not influence the culture of any of these countries even indirectly. (Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 15.) Nor was this intercourse very limited in scope and in area. One of the trade-routes "linked India not only to the gold-fields and the fabulously wealthy incense-country of Southern Arabia and Somaliland,

but to Egypt and Judæa." (*Ibid.*, p. 9.) Dion Chrysostom "who died in or after 117 A.D. mentions Indians among the cosmopolitan crowds to be found in the bazaars of Alexandria," (*ib.*, p. 140). And in Damaseius' Life of Icodorus, as preserved by Photius, there is an "account of some Brahmins who visited Alexandria and lodged in the house of Severus, Consul, A.D. 470". (Priaulx, Apollonius of Tyana, &c., p. 189.)

In one of the Buddhist Jâtaka stories, "we hear of Indian merchants who took periodical voyages to the land of Baberu (Babylon)"—(Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 4). And Bardesanes is said to have derived his information about India from "an Indian who came with an embassy to Syria to welcome the Emperor Elagabalus to the throne in 218 A.D." (ib., p. 143).

Even Greece was not altogether outside the pale of this intercourse, though perhaps the 'intercourse between India and Greece, before the days of Alexander, was of an indirect nature'. Between India and the great nations of Asia Minor, however, 'there had been a long and continuous intercourse'. "Persia, of course, was in close contact with India for nearly two centuries, and the Punjab was a Persian satrapy for that period".

Now all these facts shew that people of the West came to India, and Indians also went to the western world; and that this connexion had been maintained for a very long time. The connexion that was thus maintained was not merely a commercial one: commerce and culture often go hand in hand; and thus there was a possibility of Indian culture migrating to the west with Indian commerce. Even Brahmans went to the west, we are told. So, even if we suppose that the Brahmans were the sole repository of all philosophical learning, it was not impossible for Indian philosophy to travel to the west at that period. The place where Sufism was born, therefore, was not inaccessible to Hindu influence, even before its birth.

(ii) This was not all. Indians established colonies in western Asia, and vestiges of such colonies have been traced in Armenia. (JRAS., 1904, p. 309.) Whether these Armenian Indians were strictly speaking Hindus or not, is not certain. Kennedy thinks "we may conclude with considerable probability that the Armenian Indians came of the same aboriginal stock from which many of the western Rajput clans were subsequently developed". And the gods which these Armenian Hindus worshipped were "not Brahmanical". But at the same time, we are reminded that "the westward migration of these Indians cannot have been the first of its kind". No doubt, such migrations "have been comparatively rare;" but they have taken place, making possible the migration of Indian culture also to the west (B.C. 130—A.D. 300). And it is also a known fact that, for a long period in history, Hindu kingdoms extended as far as Kabul and even farther (vide, Al-Beruni, ch. xlix; Elliot's History of India, etc.). Hindu culture thus maintained a proximity to the birth-place of Sufism for a considerable time—long enough to leave influences behind.

(iii) Another fact that requires notice in this connexion, is the presence of Buddhism in the area where Sufism was either born or had its early development, at and about the time of its birth. "Buddhism flourished in Balkh, Transoxiana and Turkestan before the Muhammadan conquest, and in later times Buddhist monks carried their religious practices and philosophy among the Moslems who had settled in these countries". (Nicholson: Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. Sufism).

(iv) In the fourth place, we may remember here that Indians held appointments as body-physicians to the Khalifa Hârûn- ar-Rashîd, and that at the time of Khalifa al-Mâmûn, Sanskrit was already well-known at the Court of Bagdad. (Elliot's *History of India*, v. 570).

All these are well-known facts. But what do they prove? We certainly cannot doubt that, both before and after the rise of Islam, the very seat of Islamic culture—the very nursery of Islamic philosophy—had been fully accessible to Indian influences, Hindu as well as Buddhist. Both Hindus and Buddhists went to those territories, and people from those places also came to India. Indian merchandise found its way, now by one route, now by another, to all of these places. And it is needless to point out that ideas also sometimes

follow in the wake of men and merchandise. Wherever, therefore, Indians and Indian goods went, Indian ideas also might have gone. It is therefore just possible that in the regions where Sufism had its rise and first development, Hindu philosophical ideas may have been floating about long before the appearance of Islam. And it is equally possible that Sufism found some ready-made formula of belief and practice, which it quickly adopted and assimilated. But it was only possible; whether it actually so happened or not, is not proved.

It is interesting to note that among certain writers there is a tendency to under-rate the possibility of Hindu influence on Islamic philosophy. The claims of Buddhism are recognised on a more generous scale. Vedantism is no doubt frequently mentioned as a possible source from which Sufism may have borrowed; but some people are so enamoured of Buddhism that even this Vedantism is spoken of as a part of it. Without in any way depreciating the claims of Buddhism, we are bound to point out that the claims of Brahmavidyâ ought to receive special treatment in this connection, so great indeed is its resemblance with Sufism.

Prof. Goldziher has shewn that Islam in general and Sufism in particular, have been profoundly influenced by Buddhism among other foreign influences (JRAS., 1904, p. 126). The Buddhist doctrine of karma finds its parallel in the Islamic dogma of kismat; the Sufi conception of fanâ is similar to the Buddhist conception of nirvâna; Moslem monastic orders are closely akin to those of the Buddhists; and so on. Of course, fatalism or the doctrine of kismat is not exclusively a Buddhist idea; it is found in orthodox Hinduism also; so are monastic orders and the rest. On the face of it, therefore, there is nothing to show that these things were not borrowed from Hinduism, if they were at all borrowed by Sufism. But it is to Buddhism rather than Hinduism as distinguished from it, that these influences are usually traced. We are not suggesting that this is all wrong. Buddhism was present in the vicinity of the home of Sufism which, therefore, had perchance a closer contact with it than with Hinduism. Yet the presence of Brahmavidyâ was not altogether impossible in that area; and in view of the fact that there is such a close similarity between it and Sufism, we ought to consider if there was no direct borrowing from it by Sufism. In any case, to regard 'the ancient Vedanta Philosophy' as something 'which the Buddhistic system so successfully developed' (cf. JRAS., 1904, p. 135), is a confusion of thought. The two are not the same and ought to be kept separate.

There is another point which should be considered here. The similarity between Vedantism and Sufism is fully recognised; and the possibility of the indebtedness of Sufism to Vedantism also is not altogether ignored. But it is rather striking that, except Vedantism, nothing else in Hinduism is considered to be a likely source of influence on Sufism. Even Von Kremer, who has said so much about the 'science of breathing', overlooks the possibility of this being borrowed from the Yoga Philosophy. Al-Beruni, curiously indeed, is one of the few writers who has fully realised the very close similarity between Sufism and the system of Patanjali. Yet the historical facts which make the presence of Vedantic ideas possible in the birth-place of Sufism, may also be regarded as making possible the presence of Yoga ideas in the self-same place. In a way, the presence of Yoga ideas were more likely than that of Brahmavidyâ; wandering mendicants or sannyâsis know more of the yoga practices than they know of Brahmavidyâ, and among Hindus these men travel more than others. So, if it is a question of the migration of Hindu ideas to western Asia, Yoga ideas were not less likely to go thither than ideas of Brahmavidya. Yet, so far as Hinduism is concerned, our scholars have shown a preference for Vedantism as against Yoga; and as between Hinduism and Buddhism, they see more of Buddhist influence on Sufism than they are prepared to admit of any other Indian system. It is a question of history, and perhaps they stand on unassailable ground. But the fact is important for our purpose and must be pointed out.

(To be continued.)

#### BOOK-NOTICES.

THE VISION OF VASAVADATTA (SVAPNAVASA-VADATTAM). Edited by LAKSHMAN SARUP. Lahore, 1925.

In his preface Dr. Lakshman Sarup has a remarkable paragraph on the subject of transliteration from Sanskrit works, which is worth repeating: "It has been noticed that Indian students are unable to transliterate Sanskrit correctly in Roman, even after their graduation. Nor do they find it easy to read Sanskrit texts transliterated in Roman characters. Their inability puts them at a disadvantage, for they cannot utilise several texts of Pali and Sanskrit works, which are published in Roman characters only, and are not available in Devanagari and other Indian characters. The result is that the sphere of their scholarship is considerably narrowed. The fault, however, is not theirs. They seldom receive any training in transliteration. Indian text books, prescribed for them, generally do not use any diacritical marks at all. Nor do the teachers insist on correct transliteration. The students thus never learn the use of diacritical marks. A suitable text book, using diacritical marks correctly, is therefore a desideratum. The object of the present volume is to supply their need."

On p. vii Dr. Sarup makes another statement worth noting: "I had translated all the plays of Bhasa into English in 1921. The MS. is still awaiting publication." This is a great pity and let us hope it will soon be remedied.

The Svapnavasavadattam of Bhasa is based on the story of Vâsavadattâ, made available to all kinds of modern readers through Tawney's translation of the Kathasaritsayara of Somadeva, now being so worthily handled by Mr. Penzer. In his introduction Dr. Sarup goes into what is known of Bhâsa, "a mere wandering though distinguished name," and takes up the questions raised in the controversy round this name of ancient India. The first point—are the plays that are attributed to Bhasa the work of one or several authors ?-he decides on page 20: "All these plays, in my opinion are the work of one and the same author." The second point is-who is the author? "The conclusion is (p. 35) that the present play is a genuine play. It is the Svapnavåsavadattam mentioned by various writers. It is the work of Bhâsa." This conclusion is arrived at after a real plunge into the controversy on the point. The third point is—what is the age of the plays? Here again scholars have differed widely, and after discussing opinions Dr. Sarup arrives at the conclusion: "The play may therefore be assigned to the beginning of the second century A.D." (p. 41).

Dr. Sarup then discusses the legend of Udayana "the king Arthur of Indian Literature; the

fascinating hero of romance, the Prince Charming of the fairy tales," one of whose wives was Bhâsa's heroine Vâsavadattâ. He shows that Bhâsa "utilised the same materials, the same floating mass of oral tradition, which served as the original sources of Gunâdhya, p. 57" i.e., of the stories told in the Brihatkathâmañjari and Kathâsaritságara.

Finally, Dr. Sarup discusses the question: "What is Drama?" This he discusses in true Indian philosophical fashion, arriving at the conclusion "It may therefore be stated that the main function of drama is to employ dialogue in order to represent a harmonious action such as may spring from the circumstances of life, actually or conceivably real" (pp. 59 & 60). He then discusses "the Law of Brunetière," and accepting that law which lays down that volition is the soul of drama. Dr. Sarup is of opinion that The Vision of Vasavadattá "will indeed be regarded as a dramatic masterpiece p. 62)." Finally he winds up (p. 77) with an enthusiastic admiration of the play. "The Vision of Vásavadattà" is a great play. The principal characters are magnificent human portraits. Each personage is invested with an individuality of its own. The poet has made profound psychological studies and painted them with a rare skill, such as is found in the works of master playwrights only. The critical situations are managed with a delicacy of art which a genius alone could show. It is indeed a masterpiece. Bhâsa is therefore entitled to claim our attention and his plays deserve a closer study."

Then follow a text and translation and some very useful notes.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE ORIGIN AND CULT OF TARA, by HIRANANDA SHASTRI. Memoirs, Archæological Survey of India with four Plates. Calcutta, Government of India Press, 1925.

The object of this valuable monograph is to ascertain by direct research what the orgin of Târâ was: whether she was of "Buddhist or Brahmanical origin, whether her cult arose in India or elsewhere and what was her chief function." Mr. Hirananda Shastri has done his work well and conscientiously and arrives at likely conclusions that are not at all subversive of previous ideas, for which old scholars must be thankful. To sum them up, his conclusions are that Târâ was probably Buddhist in origin and non-Indian and most probably arose in the Indo-Tibetan borderland or in Indian Tibet itself, as the goddess who helped the people to cross the large lakes there. She was thus originally a water-goddess, just as Al-Khidr was originally a similar water-god in another part of the world. As a Buddhist deity Tara of course belonged to Mahâyâna Buddhism and does not

date further back than the fifth century A.D., and here Mr. Shastri makes a useful observation: "as is apparent from the titles and names of the twenty-one Târâs I do not think they should be taken as distinct forms of the goddess; they are rather the attributes which a votary has in view while worshipping the divinity who is one throughout." In form Târâ is either pacific or angry-a typical primitive goddess.

R. C. TEMPLE.

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA, by S. V. VISWANATHA. 1925. Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay.

This book deals with "International Law" in India up to A.D. 500, and the writer intends to compose a companion volume on Mediæval Indian Diplomacy. He explains that by the term International Law he means a "body of custom," and indeed that is the most that can be claimed for a condition where man-made law is not enforcible by any authority. He is also aware of the difficulty of using terms applicable to modern society to describe the conditions that obtained in the ancient world, and he seeks to clear the air by setting himself three questions (pp. 5, 6):

- (1) Whether there were nations in ancient India,
- (2) Whether there was a general code of laws to regulate their dealings with one another,
- (3) How far this body of doctrine was actually carried into execution.

He answers the first in the affirmative. As to the second question, he says that International Law-i.e., the body of custom which we now call International Law-"was accepted by all Indian States-for it was based on Dharma [duty; that which should be done], which regulated also the conduct of the individual society." In dealing with the third question he replies that in theory it was-at any rate in as great a part as nowcarried into practice, running through the stages of śruti (revelation) and smriti (tradition), and visible in the Epics and the Puranas, in the secular writers of arthaśástra (administration) and the like, in the Asokan Edicts, and in the accounts of Megasthenes and Yuan Chwang.

Here we have the author's position, on which he has built his remarks, with a wealth of reference to ancient authorities which cannot but rouse the admiration of his readers. The nature, however, of such authorities as have survived through the ages only permits him to make remarks of a general description on all the many points which he has taken up.

It is a thoughtful and impartial book of great learning, honestly compiled, and shows once more that the ancient civilisation was in its essentials very like that of modern times.

R. C. TEMPLE.

DJAWA; TIJDSCHRIFT VAN HET JAVA INSTITUUT 5e Jaargang, No. 3 en 4, Mei-September 1925, Secretariaat van het Java Instituut, Weltevreden.

These numbers of Djawa give a full report of the Congress of that body held at Jogjakarta, 24-27 December 1924. During the Congress an exhibition of Javanese architecture and furniture was held, and an exceedingly interesting lecture was given by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch on "The Prambanan Temple," to which there are two beautiful illustrations, one of the temple before restoration, the other of the restored south door. The lecturer, after examining the question of the date of the temple and its purpose, speaks of its architecture and carvings.

Another paper was read by Thomas Karsten on the value of recent Javanese architecture. There were also papers and discussions of matters of less general interest, e.g., Old Javanese Monuments in connection with Javanese culture of the present and future, and native culture in Javanese education. M. J. B.

Annales du Musée Guimet. Trois Conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta, par A. MEILLET. Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1925.

This little book will be of much interest to Parsis and students of ancient Iranian culture. It contains three lectures delivered at the Upsala University, Sweden, by M. Meillet, who was a former pupil of James Darmesteter. Indeed he dedicates the book to the memory of his teacher, though, as he is careful to point out in the preface, his views on the subject of the Gathas differ widely from those of Darmesteter. The subject-matter of the lectures are (a) the date of Zoroaster, (b) the composition of the Gathas, (c) the character of the teaching of the Gathas. The author claims to have followed Darmesteter's advice in two directions, viz., first, he has tried to formulate clear and definite conclusions, easily capable of refutation, if they are erroneous; secondly, he has sought to envisage the facts from the standpoint of the historian, who, not content with mere words, strives to evoke the actual character of past events and clothe them with reality. I leave it to Iranian scholars like Dr. J. J. Modi to decide how far M. Meillet's views deserve acceptance.

S. M. EDWARDES.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF INDIAN ART, by ANANDA K. (LONDON). Boston, COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc. Massachusetts, 1925.

This work is stated in the preface to be a partial reprint, with additions, from the first, second, and fourth parts of the Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, published in Boston; and the author to some extent disarms criticism by an admission that none of the bibliographies

except, perhaps, those on painting, are complete. There are one or two points, however, which seem to deserve comment. On page 10, the 1914 reprint of Tod's Annals and Antiquities is entered, whereas a later and better edition is that prepared by the late William Crooke and published by the Oxford University Press in 1920. There are other important omissions from the general list. On page 17 Sir J. H. Marshall's The Monuments of Ancient India in the Cambridge History of India is mentioned twice running for no apparent reason; while under the main heading of Mughal architecture and decoration there is no mention of a recent Memoir of the Archæological Survey of India on the geometrical patterns in Saracenic art. The author claims to have included under "Sculpture" a few of the more important works on coins. But only three works are mentioned, and the list might have been augmented by the inclusion of other well-known publications on Indian numismatics. On page 34, in the section on Textiles, Brandon is a mistake for Brendon, author of the Woollen Fabrics of the Bombay Presidency; and as author of Silk Fabrics of the Bombay Presidency, I may point out that I do not spell my name in the way adopted in this bibliography. Useful as the volume is, it seems to me to require careful revision before appearing in a second edition.

S. M. EDWARDES.

Samaranganasutradhara of King Bhojadeva, edited by Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganapati Sâstrî: volume II. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXXII; Baroda, 1925.

This second volume of king Bhoja's work contains descriptions of "prasādas pertaining to Devas, statues made of gold, silver, etc., the art of painting, 64 kinds of hasta beginning with pataka and other topics. The editor repudiates the view that the quaint machines mentioned in the poem—the elephant machine, door-keeper machine, flying-machine, etc.—are mere products of the poet's imagination, and suggests that they may once have existed, but have fallen into disuse owing to their costliness or intricacy. His arguments on this point do not strike one as overwhelmingly sound; but otherwise the work performed by the editor on the original is doubtless worthy of his scholarly reputation.

S. M. EDWARDES.

Annual Report, Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot, 1926. Rajkot, Kathiawar.

There is little of special interest mentioned in this annual report. In a well at Gopanatha an inscription was discovered, recording that the well was built by a Dakshini Mahârâshṭra Brahmâchâri at a date long before the Marâthâs had any political

connection with the province. Two or three inscriptions were discovered at Vav, the capital of a small but very old State in Palanpur; they refer to the wife and a descendant of king Mahipâladêva, who apparently ruled the modern Tharad in the time of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji. The Gujarat Râshtrakuta plates, mentioned in the report for the previous year, clearly prove that the main Râshtrakuta dynasty regarded their Gujarat brethren as mere vassals.

S. M. EDWARDES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL; vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 1-26, and vol. X, No. 1, pp. 1-32. Calcutta 1925.

The first of the two publications mentioned above, entitled " The Geography of the Andaman Sea Basin," forms Part I of the main subject of "Geographic and Oceanographic Research in Indian Waters," by R. B. Seymour Sewell, M.A., I.M.S., Director of the Zoological Survey of India. The Andaman Sea, which is here described, is the name of the part of the Indian Ocean which lies between the Burmese coast and the Malay Peninsula on one side, and between the chain of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Sumatra on the other: and the author, after a survey of existing facts and data, arrives at the conclusion that this sea-basin was first formed at the beginning of the Tertiary Epoch, when the great Alpine-Himalayan system began to rise. Though at first shallow, this basin underwent subsidence at the close of the same epoch, and this process continued at intervals as late as the Pleistocene period, thus incidentally giving rise to the shallow channel which we to-day call The Straits of Malacca. The paper is of interest, as dealing with an area that has long been known to geologists as specially rich in both shallow and deep water fauna.

The second Memoir is entitled "The Santals and Disease" and forms the first part of "Studies in Santal Medicine and Connected Folklore," by the Revd. P. O. Bodding. It describes the general attitude of the Santals to life and death, their beliefs in the origin of disease, the qualities of the bongas or supernatural influences which they recognise, their medicine-men and ojhas, their methods of divination, their witch-finding, and a variety of other matters concerned with the onset and progress of disease and the Santal method of combating it. The paper is full of carefully garnered information and represents the fruits of a prolonged and intensive study of the habits and ideas of one of the most numerous and most primitive of Indian forest tribes. Anthropologists and folklorists alike will find Mr. Bodding's of great value.

S. M. EDWARDES.

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

# THE BIRTH PLACE OF THE PHYSICIAN SUSHENA.

On the 9th February 1913 I visited a village named Chandkuri 16 miles east of Raipur, the headquarters of a District of the same name in the Central Provinces. While going over the old ruins, the villagers pointed out to me some stones which they worshipped as Baid Sukhena on an island in the centre of a tank known as Jalasena tarâi. They told me that not long ago people used to fetch a certain herb growing on that island and administer it to a patient suffering from any disease, in the name of Sukhena, and this was sufficient to cure him. All they knew about him was that he was a great physician, and that is why he has been deified and their village is known as Baid Chandkhuri, to distinguish it from other villages of the same name.

Can it be that this Sukhena is identical with Sushena mentioned in the Râmayana as physician of Sugrîva? Kishkindhâ, where Sugriva lived has been recently located somewhere near Matin Zamindari in the Bilaspur District, which is about a hundred miles north of Chandkhuri. Chandkhuri is considered to be a very old village and to have been very wealthy in ancient times. That it was so is indicated by the remains of temples built in the Mediæval Brahmanic style, one of which is still standing and has the figure of Mahâlakshmî at the door. On the jambs are depicted the Ganga and Yamuna on their respective vahanas, the makara and tortoise. There is also a much worn inscription here, the characters whereof appear to belong to about the eighth or ninth century A.D. Tradition has it that there were 120 tanks, of which 22 still remain, and their Sanskritic names such as Sâgara, Jalasena (Jalasayana) 1 etc. appear to indicate the occupation of that place by Aryan colonists.

Sushena appears to have been a very popular name as no less than 18 individuals are mentioned in Wilson's Dictionary as bearing that name, taken from various Sanskrit works like the Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagavata, Harivamsa, Vasavadatta, Vajasaneyasamhita, Vayupurana, Katha-saritsagara, Raghuvamsa, and Harshacharita.

HIRA LAL.

#### BHARUKACHCHA.

In "Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad," an account has been given of Bharukaccha (I.A., Sep. 1925). It is Bhrguksetra or

Bhrgupura, named after the Hindu sage Bhrgu. It would perhaps be interesting to learn the legendary account given by the Buddhists of the origin of this city. The following information is contained in the Divyåvadåna in the story of Rudråyana (Cowell and Neil: XXXVII, p. 544 et seq.).

King Rudrâyaṇa's capital was Roruka. His queen was Candraprabhâ, his heir, Kumâra Śikhandî, and his ministers, Hiru and Bhiru. At that time the king of Râjagrha was Bimbisâra. The merchants of Roruka used to trade with Râjagrha and those of Râjagrha with Roruka. Through them the two kings exchanged greetings and presents. King Bimbisara sent his friend a portrait of the Buddha. Afterwards the thera Mahâkâtyâyana and bhikśunî Śaila arrived at Roruka to preach religion to the king and the inmates of the harem. Queen Candraprabhâ was converted by Śailâ, and she died seven days later. The king also left his kingdom, came to Râjagrha and turned an anâgârî (homeless bhiksu). Kumâra Śikhandî became king and at first listened to the precepts of his father's ministers, Hiru and Bhiru. But he soon took to evil ways and turned them out, and allowed himself to be guided by two evil counsellors. The merchants of Roruka, who had gone to Rajagrha, informed bhiksu Rudrayana of this, and the latter proposed to proceed to Roruka to wean his son from his evil life. The evil ministers advised the new king to intercept Rudrayana and even to murder him, which was done. At another time Sikhandî incited his subjects to throw dust on Mahâkâtyâyana till he was buried in it. But nemesis was not long in coming. For this gratuitous insult to the monk the city of Roruka was to be buried in dust on the seventh day. The monk had warned the two faithful ministers of the impending retribution. They fled the city on the sixth day, when jewels rained from the heavens. The new city founded by Hiru was called Hiruka; that founded by Bhiru was called Bhiruka and also Bhirukaccha.

The following passage occurs on p. 576 of the Divyávadána:

". tatra Hirukenanyatamasmin pradeśe Hirukam nama nagaram mapitam | tasya Hirukam Hirukam iti samjna samvrtta | Bhirukenanyatamasmin pradeśe Bhirukam nama nagaram mapitam | tasyapi Bhiru kaccham Bhirukaccham iti samjna samvrtta | "

Dust rained on the seventh day and buried the city of Roruka.

Kalipada Mitra.

There used to be a temple said to be dedicated to Kauśalyâ, and it would thus appear that it was probably Râmâ's idol that was taken for Jalaśayana there.

<sup>1</sup> This tank is exactly like what are known as Teppa Kulams in the south, containing a temple in the middle, to which the idols of gods on certain occasions are taken for water-pleasure. The Jalasayana (lying-in-the water) apparently derives its name from this practice.

523. The Abbé Rochon (Voyage to Madagascar, p. 768) says that the slave trade was introduced into Madagascar by retired pirates, but we have seen (para. 285 above) it was a regular mart for slaves in the first half of the 17th century.

524. The expression 'on the Account' always meant 'engaged in piracy,' so Captain Robert Hyde referring to a suspicious vessel writes:—"She must certainly be on the Account or else she would not have had so much time [to follow us] for she dogged us eighteen days"

(Log of the Duke of York, 23rd July 1721).

525. In 1709 Captain Woodes Rogers (Cruising Voyage, p. 293) before fighting a Manila ship "ordered a large kettle of chocolate to be made for our ship's company, having no spirituous liquor to give them: then we went to prayers." The 'tot of rum' before a fight was probably a very ancient institution at sea. Sir Richard Hawkins wrote in 1594:—"In fights all receits which adde courage and spirit are of great regard to be allowed and used: and so is a draught of wine to be given to every man before he come to action, but more than enough is pernicious, for exceeding the meane it offendeth and enfeebleth the senses, converting the strength (which should resist the force of the enemy) into weakness, it dulleth and blindeth the understanding and consequently depraveth any man of true valour" (Observations, p. 177).

526. In 1711 when Captain Woodes Rogers was at the Cape he was told by an Englishman and an Irishman, who had both been some years in Madagascar, that the pirates who had settled there were now reduced to 60 or 70, were very poor, and despised even by the natives from among whom they had taken wives. As they then were, they were no real menace to trade, but unless cleared out, might form a nucleus for fresh bands of desperadoes (Cruising Voyage, p. 293). In April 1716 one Eaves, mate of the Rochester, with 14 of her crew, plundered the ship and turned pirates in the Straits of Malacca (Bombay to

Court. 7th Jan. 1716-17).

527. In 1715 Governor Edward Harrison of Madras sent the Anne (Captain Jones) to Amoy to trade. The Chinese merchants, who had taken up goods to the value of some 15,000 tael (or £6,700) refused payment. Captain Jones could obtain no redress from the Governor of the Province and was finally turned out of the harbour, whereupon he seized a junk belonging to the Barkalong of Siam bound for Batavia. The Chinese thereupon sent out a number of war-junks with orders to burn the Anne, but Captain Jones having been warned by a friendly Chinaman, escaped with his prize to Malacca. There he put some 70 Chinese ashore on an island, where they were seized by the Malays and sold as slaves at 10 dollars a head, but were soon ransomed by one of their countrymen. Captain Jones carried his prize to Madras. Meanwhile both sides had made complaints to the Emperor; an enquiry was instituted and the Chinese officials having been found in fault were punished (Factory Records, China, vol. VIII; Hamilton, II, 188).

528. A still more striking instance of the high-handed methods of English seamen may (though in advance of its proper date) be mentioned here. On the 18th October 1721 at Tonquin, Captain Richard Pearce in a ship from Bengal, bought some copper from the native merchants. Such purchases being prohibited under pain of death, the local Mandarins sent 24 armed junks to capture his vessel, but he made good his escape after sinking one junk, burning another and killing forty men (Factory Records, China, vol. VIII).

529. On the 4th November 1712 the Angrians took the Anne Ketch. Among the passengers was a Mrs. Chown, whose somewhat lively story is appended to Colonel Biddulph's Pirates of Malabar (See also Downing, pp. 7-9, 24). They were less successful when on the 20th December 1712 they impertinently attacked the Company's ships Somers (Captain Eustace Peacock) and Grantham (Captain Jonathan Collet) off Vingurla. The English indeed boarded one of their grabs, but it was so strongly manned that they were beaten back with the loss

of two men killed and fourteen wounded (Logs of Somers and Grantham; Downing, p. 9). By 1713 Kanhaji Angria (See para. 468 above) was virtually independent of the Marathas and commanded the whole coast from Bombay to Vijaydurg (Bomb. Gaz. I, ii, 87). In 1714 the Marathas made over the island of Henery (i.e. Underi) to him and in this year Angrians unsuccessfully attacked the Company's ships Arabella (Captain Read), the Blenheim (Captain Abraham Parrott) and the Godolphin (Captain Ingram). Downing (pp. 10-14) says that the pirates on this coast were the "Mollwans [i.e., Marathas, see para. 307 above) a people to the northward of Carwar, the Kempshews [i.e. pirates of Savantvadi] and the Sangarians [i.e. the Sanganians], a people northward of Gogo, who are troublesome to the Surat and Bombay traders."

- 530. In the Bombay Consultations of the 30th December 1713 is mentioned a letter from Carwar of the 17th November, saying that a Surat ship at anchor in Carwar Cove had been surprised and seized by seven Malwan gallivats and that the Portuguese, being informed of the fact, had sent one of their ships to retake her. Having done this, the Portuguese refused to restore her to her former owners. As a matter of fact (See para. 517 n. above), at this time there was no law, national or international, which required the return of a ship retaken from pirates or national enemies to the former owners, and complaints were now and then made that cruisers sent to protect commerce sometimes allowed their countrymen's ships to be taken only in order to recapture them and claim them as prizes.
- on a special mission to the English Settlements on the Malabar coast. He sailed on the Catherine with the Anne in company. Off Carwar he found a small Portuguese cruiser, nominally engaged in protecting commerce, but really doing a little piracy on its own account. At Goa he was politely received by the Viceroy, but failed to obtain the return of the Monsoon (See para. 517 above; Low, I. 93). It was in this year that Mr. Charles Boone assumed the Governorship of Bombay. He was a man of great energy and absolutely disinterested, but ignorant of the means necessary to success, destitute of competent advisers and almost always unlucky in his choice of commanders. His first effort towards the suppression of indigenous piracy was the construction of a suitable fleet. He therefore had built the Britannia of 18 guns and 140 men (Captain Weeks) and the Fame of 16 guns and 120 men (Captain Peter Passwater), each with a company of marines in addition to the crew. To these he afterwards added the Defiance (Captain Matthews) and the Victory of 24 guns and 180 men, of which he gave command to Captain Alexander Hamilton as Commodore of the whole fleet (Downing, p. 14).
- 532. Early in 1716 Angria took, under pretence they were Moors, two English ships, the Otter of Bengal and one belonging to Mr. Bennet. The arms of the Englishmen on board were broken and they were so ill used that there was little chance of their recovery. The Governor wrote that he was helpless to check these outrages unless he received reinforcements of four or five hundred Europeans (Bombay to Court, 18th March 1716-17). In 1716 an attempt made by a British force under Captain John Stanton to take a fort of the Khem Sawunt (? Vingurla) met with no success (Downing, pp. 11-14).
- 533. In 1717 Kanhoji Angria's ships took the Success under English colours. This is said to have been his first overt act against the British. Apparently previous attacks, such as I have mentioned, were either unauthorised or disavowed. Governor Boone immediately initiated reprisals, against which Angria protested, threatening "From this day forward what God gives I shall take &c. &c.," to which Boone replied:—"The trade you carried on formerly and that you have since the peace with us you well know, and for the future will know the difference if you break with us. Whilst there is an amicable agreement it is necessary to observe it mutually on either side, and when broke it will be necessary to be more circumspect, and on these two heads do you consider and accept of which you please, for in the same manner you act I shall too without dissimulation" (Bomb. Cons., 13th April, 1718).

Unfortunately the only result of this Roman declaration was an unsuccessful attack on Gheria (15th April 1717), that fortress proving impregnable (Downing, p. 26; Low, I. 97).

534. In 1718 the Desai of Sawunt Waree (known to the English as the Kempshaw or Kempsaunt) seized, according to old Indian custom (See para. 45 above) the cargo of an English ship that had been wrecked near Carwar and so came into conflict with the English Agent at that Factory, which last he besieged. Captain Alexander Hamilton, now Commodore of the Bombay naval forces, soon reduced him to reason (Low, I. 94-6). Downing, however, (pp. 15-20) gives the date as September to December 1716.

535. Governor Boone now thought it opportune to expel the Angrians from the Island of Khanderi, but his plans were betrayed by one Rama Kamattee and the expedition, which was made in October, was unsuccessful. Rama Kamattee was convicted on this and other charges in the following April and sentenced to imprisonment for life (Bomb. Gaz. XXVI. 148). According to the Log of the Addison (Captain Zachariah Hicks, 6th November 1718) the Angrians flew red flags during the fighting. Another attempt to take Khanderi in 1719 was equally unsuccessful (Downing, pp. 34-36; Low, I. 98-99).

536. Early in 1720 an expedition from Bombay, in combination with a Portuguese force, attacked Gheria and burned 16 of Angria's vessels. It then returned to Bombay as if victorious, but Angria claimed that the British had been defeated. In April four of his grabs and ten gallivats attacked and captured the English ship Charlotte, after a gallant defence in which she exhausted her ammunition, and carried her into Gheria (Low, I. 99,100). The Dutch chaplain Visscher noted about this time (Letters from Malabar, p. 22) that the English at Calicut used to give notice to the local pirates when richly-laden Muhammadan merehant vessels were about to leave port. He also says (p. 65):—"Geringal Namboori [? Nambudiri] is a spiritual lord, whose lands extend from Balenoor (which contains several nests of robbers, as Tirtambiere, Bergaree, Moetingal, Tjombas and Magillie) in the Kingdom of Colastri [North of the Zamorin] to the River Cottesal. The most famous pirates inhabit his territories, who make prey of vessels engaged in the inland navigation between Calicut and Cannanore and even advance beyond Calicut to the borders of Cochin. They are called Cotta Marrekarre." (See para. 506 above).

537. In 1715, according to Hamilton (I. 74), the Arabian fleet comprised a ship of 74 guns, two of 60, one of 50 and eighteen small ships of from 32 to 12 guns, together with some trankeys or rowing boats of from 4 to 8 guns. Hamilton is evidently referring to the Muscat fleet. With these vessels they terrorised the whole coast from Cape Comorin to the Red Sea (Low, I. 91).

538. In a letter, dated Cairo 1st May 1716, Father Sicard, a missionary in Egypt, describes Arab robbers on the Nile, who, armed only with a knife, used to swim off to ships, floating on a kind of leather bag fastened under the stomach (*Lettres Édifiantes*, V. 125). This reminds us of the Ascitae mentioned by Pliny (See para. 11 above).

539. In 1715 the Dutch East India Company employed a small squadron of three cruisers to watch the pirates of the Malay Archipelago. Supported by vessels belonging to the Princes of Cheribon, they attacked and defeated 17 corsairs off the coast of Java. One of the largest of the pirates was so disabled that it could not escape, whereupon the crew set it on fire. Only 16 men could be induced to surrender; all the others died fighting (Parl. Papers, 1851, LVI. i. p. 65).

540. In 1717 Spanish garrisons were established at Zamboangam in Mindanao and at Labo in the Island of Paragua to hold in check the pirates of Mindanao and Sulu (Zuniga II, 20-21). Do Morga (App. 361) says that Zamboangam was not re-established until 1719 and that between 1719 and 1734 the Spaniards sent seven expeditions against the Mindanaoans, but the latter never ceased their raids into the Philippines. It is said that they carried off from eight to fifteen hundred captives annually.

- 541. In 1717 Captain Curtis, Commander of a Dutch ship, was ordered to give passage to a Javanese Chief and his family and followers from Madura. The Chief's wife, coming on board last, Captain Curtis greeted her in European fashion by a kiss. She, thinking that he meant to insult her, screamed for help to her husband who had been taken below. The Chief, rushing on deck, cut down Captain Curtis with his kris and then, with his followers, ran amok. Every one of them was killed by the Dutch crew (Raffles, Java, II. 201). This story illustrates the fatal results of European ignorance of their customs in dealing with Orientals. In the same year a Sumatran adventurer, Raja Kechil of Siak, made himself master of Johor and, though already 53 years of age, ruled there until 1745. He was the only Chief who could hold his own against the Bugis pirates, whom he repeatedly defeated. When the Bugis took Rhio his wife fell into their hands and, when he tried to secure her liberation by negotiation, sent him word that he should come and liberate her himself by force. This he did in 1727. In 1728 he made an unsuccessful attack on Rhio, but when, in 1729, the Bugis attacked Siak, he drove them out (Wilkinson, Hist. of Pen. Malays, pp. 76-81).
- 542. The mutinous reputation of Malay seamen as well as a common Malay superstition are illustrated in an entry in the Log of the Hester (John Gordon Commander) dated June 1717. Some seamen having been stabbed in the night, three Javanese sailors were suspected and were tortured with lighted matches between their fingers to force a confession. As soon as they were set free, to escape further ill-treatment, they all jumped overboard. Two of them were drowned, but the third came safely to shore, having swum five leagues, whilst for eight or nine hours a great shark swam alongside of him without attempting to do him any harm. This, according to the Malays, was a certain proof of his innocence (Ind. Off., Marine Records).
- 543. In 1719 Hamilton visited Johor, and speaking of the Island of Redang says:—
  "They are uninhabited but sometimes the Saleeters or Malay freebooters frequent them, and when they meet with trading vessels that they are able to master, they make prize of them and carry the men into other countries than where they belong to sell them for slaves, and when they meet with no purchase [a piratical euphemism for booty, see para. 447 above] at sea, they go ashore in the nights and steal all they can get. Men, women and children go all into the booty, but the Chinese vessels afford them the most prizes" (Hamilton, II, 159).
- 544. In 1720 Dulasi, King of Butuy, with aid from Sulu and Mindanao, attacked Zamboangam. Though he failed to take the fort commanded by Don Sebastian Amorrera, he ravaged the country (Zuniga, II. 44). During the siege a Spanish frigate being surrounded by forty of the pirate galleys, the Captain, a young and inexperienced officer, lost his head and began to weep, but Father Jean Nonet rallied the crew and allowing the enemy to approach, suddenly fired a broadside into them, which did so much damage that they fled in confusion. The siege lasted more than two months and the fort was saved only by the valour of the garrison (Lettres Édifiantes. Letter from Père Gilles Wibault, Manila, 20th December 1721).

#### Sanganian Piracy.

545. In 1716 the English made an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the Warrels (Vadhels) of Chance, near Diu. These Warrels occupied about thirty leagues of the coast from Diu to Dand and often associated with the Sanganians in their piratical enterprises (Hamilton, I. 140). On the 20th March 1716-7, whilst in command of the Morning Star and on his way from Gombroon to Surat, Hamilton was attacked by eight Sanganian vessels, one of which boarded him, when 14 of his lascars deserted and he was himself wounded in the thigh by a lance. They were however driven off and apparently opened negotiations, for some native merchants went on board the enemy to try to arrange terms. These failing, the attack was renewed on the 22nd by five of the Sanganians but was again repulsed, two of the pirate vessels being so disabled that they seemed unlikely to reach port. The Morning Star also was on fire, and though the flames were extinguished she was forced to put into Bombay. Beside his

lascars Hamilton had only 17 Europeans (six being members of his crew and the rest passengers) who were able to fight. The Sanganians were estimated to number 2,000 men. The merchants who had gone on board the enemy had been detained and carried off as prisoners. They were forced to pay a ransom of £500, but the Sanganians were so dissatisfied that they put their commander to death (Hamilton I. 133; Bomb. Cons., 25th March 1716-7; Low I. 101-2). Threat of Piracy.

546. On the 30th November 1716 the Court of Directors warned its Settlements in India of the likelihood of ships appearing in the Indian Seas with commissions (to protect them from arrest as pirates) from various European Powers, notably from the Knights of Malta "who are always at war with the Turks, to fight against the Muhammadans" (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 258). As far as I know this threatened invasion of Eastern Waters never materialised. Anglo-Americans.

547. Robert Drury (p. 305) who was wrecked on the coast of Madagascar in the Degrave (1701) and was for some fifteen years a slave amongst the natives, says that when he left (20th January 1717) there were a number of ex-pirates and castaways of all nations, chiefly English, French and Dutch, settled amongst the natives at St. Mary's, Massalege, St. Augustine's, Port Dauphin and other places. Amongst others he mentions at Massalege one named Thomas Collins, who had been carpenter on the Degrave and, with his associates, had built a kind of fort. A letter from Virginia, dated 26th November 1721 (Misc. Letters Received. XII, No. 256), says that the pretence of buying slaves put forward by New York shippers and others trading to Madagascar was a mere pretext for trading with pirates. In 1718 among a number of such ships, trading in this way under the Company's licence, was the Prince Eugene of Bristol (Captain William Stratton) which went to Port Dolphin, (Dauphin) where they found an old pirate of Every's crew established under the style of General Collins, who, in return for a present of £100, gave them a licence to trade with the natives. In 1720 the Henriella (Captain Thomas Hibbert) went there without any licence from the Company, but Collins was dead and his European companions had gone to St. Mary's. The trade in slaves had other dangers than the chance of the ship being seized by pirates for their own purposes. On the 3rd June 1719 the ship Elizabeth arrived at the Cape with 600 slaves from Madagascar for Barbadoes and Jamaica. She reported a mutiny of the slaves during the voyage, in which they had killed the boatswain and some others of the crew, so that the latter were forced to kill and throw overboard a number of them (Leibbrandt, Précis, p. 277).

548. I have already mentioned (See para. 522 above) Captain Lewis' visit to St. Mary's in July 1719. He was short of water and most of his men were down with scurvy. Probably the men he mentions as having come aboard were amongst the Kings of whom Clement Downing (p. 114) speaks, though one does not recognize the names. Such of the pirates as came on board or met the watering parties ashore, tried to seduce Lewis' seamen to join them, and he had to set a watch and keep men ready armed to prevent the ship from being surprised, for the pirates living near by had large well-manned and well-armed whale boats, and he had been warned that such an attempt would be made by the Dutchman John Pro (he was there in 1703 when the Scarborough visited St. Mary's, see para. 503 above, and is mentioned by Drury, p. 304), who was dying of consumption and in a penitent state of mind. At last, his sick men being a little recovered, but his own foremastmen very discontented and ready to listen to the doctor's mate Stephen Lee, who was inclined to join the pirates, he consulted with his officers and put to sea on the 28th. Lee, having claimed his discharge, was left ashore, and two or three men, who were in the longboat towing astern, cut her adrift and regained the land. From St. Mary's Captain Lewis went to St. Augustine's Bay, where a man called Captain John Rivers, 113 acting as Deputy to the King, in consideration of a present, allowed him to trade

<sup>113</sup> A man of this name is mentioned as having been a trader at St. Augustine's when Capt. John Tyrrel visited the place in 1685, but he was then already 50 or 60 years old (Sloane MS. 854).

for provisions and refit his ship (Log, 4th September 1719). After "a long and dangerous voyage" (17th December 1717 to 24th March 1719-20) Captain Lewis arrived in England but on the 13th March, when already in the Thames, Captain Delwall of H.M.S. Gospright "prest most of our men, in lieu of which he sent 25 from their own ship to carry us up the river" (Log of the King George). With such treatment to welcome their arrival home, one can understand the temptation of the foremastmen, when they were at St. Mary's, to postpone their return indefinitely.

549. The menace to trade presented by the pirates settled in Madagascar was so great that both France and England were forced to consider measures for putting an end to it. In their letters of the 11th December 1719 and 20th January 1719-20 the English East India Company requested the despatch of a squadron of King's ships, whilst the French East India Company considered the advisability of an actual Settlement in agreement with the pirates (Letter from Mr. D. Pulteney, Paris, 10th February 1720, Col. Office Records, 28-13). This however came to nothing. From the Calendar of the Stuart Papers (VII p. 362) it appears that on the 24th June 1718 Charles XII of Sweden granted a Patent to Captain William Morgan as Governor of Madagascar and a Pardon to the Pirates on condition that they should give up Piracy and with ships and money assist the Stuart cause.

550. In 1719 the Portuguese at Macao were compelled to arm two brigs for defence

against the local pirates (Ljungstedt, p. 109).

551. At this time the port of Amoy was celebrated for the roguish behaviour of its officials. On any foreign ship arriving it was first disarmed, then enormous port charges were imposed, provisions were sold at very high prices, and lastly presents were made to the officers. for which a bill was sent in and had to be paid before the ship's arms and munitions were restored (Kerr, X. 427). In other Chinese ports official villainy took another form. In November 1721 Captain John Clipperton of the Success Privateer, having been forced by a mutiny and the bad condition of his ship to sell her in Macao, sent one of his mates, Mr. Taylor, to Macao in an armed boat along with a Mandarin. On the way they saw a pirate take a boat, but the Mandarin made no effort to protect it. "This plainly showed that the Government winks at these things, perhaps deeming it good policy to raise thereby a considerable revenue, partly by presents from the pirates and partly by sums paid by the merchants and passengers for protection" (Ibid., p. 431).

552. When the Henrietta visited St. Mary's in May 1720, she found there a prize which had been sent in by a certain Captain Condon, who was then out on a cruise, but who had recently come to settle in the island. This was Captain Condent, a New England pirate who, off St. Jago, had taken a Dutch privateer, which he renamed the Flying Dragon. Captain Woodes Rogers was appointed Governor of the Bahamas and in July 1718 summoned the New England pirates to surrender under an Act of Grace, Condent was one of those who refus. ed to come in and sailed for the East Indies (Biddulph, p. 156 n.). Nothing much of him is recorded beyond the fact of his joining the more famous pirates, England and Taylor. It was these latter who brought the black flag with the skull and crossbones, afterwards known as the Jolly Roger, to the East.

553. The earliest instance which I can find in any contemporary record of the use of the black flag by professed pirates 114 is in the fight of the 5th to 9th July 1700 off the Island of St. Jago between the French pirate Emmanuel Wynne, hailing from Domenico, and Captain St. John Cranby of H.M.S. Poole. Captain Cranby says that Wynne fought under "a sable ensigne with Crossbones, a Death's head and an hour glase" (Admiralty Records, 1589 No. 25). He makes no remark on either the colour or the character of the flag, so that it seems hard to

<sup>114</sup> The instance of the use of the black flag in 1581 (See para. 131 above) is not quite in point as no mention is made by Faria of the skull and crossbones. The same is true of the doubtful case of Red Hand (See para 410 above) Hand (See para. 410 above).

suppose that such a flag was then seen for the first time. On the other hand, there seem to be very few contemporary references to the black flag for the next twenty years. Its use was certainly not universal, for the Paris Gazette of the 7th January 1719, quoting news from Lisbon, dated the 1st December 1718, says that the Comte de Vimieyro, Governor designate of Bahia de Todos Santos, had been attacked on his voyage to his Governorship by a pirate, which at first hoisted Dutch colours, but on its approach put out a black flag. "'Tis believed that it was one of those pyrates who have taken so many ships of England and other nations in the American seas, some of them having carried black flags" (Daily Courant 3rd January 1718-19 O.S.). This would show that the black flag was now well known in that part of the world, but not always used even there. That it was well known to British seamen is shown by the fact that Defoe in his Captain Singleton (published in 1729) mentions "a black flag with two cross daggers in it on our maintopmast head" as an indication of piracy. (He also speaks of "the black flag or ancient in the poop and the bloody flag at the topmast head"). The Boston News Letter of the 25th July 1723 describes the execution of a number of Anglo-American pirates taken by Captain Solgard as having been carried out under their own deep blew flag which had pourtraied in the middle of it an Anatomy [i.e. a skeleton or figure of Death.] with an hour glass in one hand and a dart in the heart (sic) and three drops of blood 115 proceeding from it in the other . . . . which flag they called Old Roger and often used to say they would live and die under it" (Samuel Sewall's Diary, III. 325). The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer of the 19th October 1723, describing the same execution, differs only in saying the pirate flag was black. The first instance of the use of the name Jolly Roger occurs, I believe. in a letter from Captain Richard Hawkins, dated 12th August 1724, in which he says that on an occasion of rejoicing, his captors "hoisted Jolly Roger (for so they call their Black Ensign) in the middle of which is a large white skeleton with a dart in one hand, striking a bleeding heart, and in the other an hour glass . . . . When they fight under Jolly Roger, they give Quarter, which they do not when they fight under the red or bloody flag" (British Journal, 22nd August 1724). The skeleton with its dart, and the dart and bleeding heart soon disappeared and were replaced by the chaster skull and cross-bones. This had been used as the Ecclesiastical symbol of Death for over two centuries and is to be found depicted on the tomb of Thomas Montfort knight of St. John, who died in 1502 at Rhodes (See F. de Belabre, Rhodes of the Knights, p. 59). Soldiers also had used it as a badge. It is stated that the Pomeranian horse have carried it on their high fur caps ever since the days (1594-1632) of Gustavus Adolphus (Notes and Queries, 5, S.I. 141). Motley (John Barneveld, II. 440) says that William Barneveld, Seignior of Stoutenberg, entered Antwerp (subsequently to 1623) "in black foreign uniform . . . . waving a standard with a Death's head embroidered upon it and wearing like his soldiers a sable scarf and plume." The earliest representation of a flag with the skull and crossbones that I have found is that attached to the trumpet carried by Death in the picture of Death and the Maiden in H. Frolich's Todtentanzen Basels und Berne (1607). Here the flag is bound in a weft, which was the sea sign of distress. However, the skull and crossbones, the Ecclesiastical symbol of Death, alone, or with the other Ecclesiastical symbols of the Sword (i.e. Judgment) and the Hour Glass (i.e. Time), were from this time on, almost always the recognised emblems of piracy. According to Falconer (New Universal Dictionary of the Marine, 1769) the pirates said that the Hour Glass indicated the time during which the prisoners might deliberate whether to join the pirates or die. If they chose to die the sword indicated the means and the skull and crossbones the result of their decision. There is no certainty as to the origin of the name Jolly Roger, but my personal opinion, absolutely unsupported by any documentary evidence, is that French pirates naturally referring to the red flag as le rouge (pronouncing the final e)

One of the angels seen by Sir Galahad (Morte d' Arthure, XVII, Cap. XX) held "a spear, which bled marvellously that three drops fell within a box which he held with his other hand."

English sailors called it Roger or old Roger and when the black flag became the professional emblem transferred the name, which was meaningless to them, to it. In Schenck's Schouwpark aller Scheefs Vlagen (1711) the earliest representation of the pirate flag is a red flag with the three emblems which I have mentioned, and this is reproduced in J. Millan's Signals for the Royal Navy (1746). I think that this may well have been the original joli rouge and that English sailors, again copying the French, called this decorated specimen the Jolly Roger. The only other solution of the origin of the name which appears possible to me is that it is an English perversion of Ali Raja, the Tamil title (See para. 641 n. below) of the Mapila Chiefs of Cannanore. This title meant King of the Sea and was often assumed by pirates. The chiefs of Cannanore belonged to the family of Mammali and its members were the Marakkars, whose piracy was notorious. All the pirates on this coast flew the red flag (See para. 535 above). In the 17th century the word Raja was invariably rendered by the English as Rodger or Roger and Ali Raja would certainly have been rendered as Ally or Olly Rodger. Here again however, I have no documentary evidence to offer.

## Anglo-Americans.

554. According to Johnson (I. 113) Edward England (See para. 552 above) was the impudently assumed name of an Irishman, mate of a Jamaica sloop, which had been taken by the New England pirate, Captain Winter, about 1716. According to Downing (p. 109) he had been mate of the Onslow, taken off the coast of Guinea by the pirate ship Terrible of Rhode Island (Captain John Williams Commander, Bartholomew Roberts Quartermaster). His real name seems to have been Jasper Seager. The pirates burned the Terrible and went on board the Onslow, of which England was made Captain. By 1719 he and Roberts had become the most popular commanders amongst the pirates on the Guinea coast. To prevent quarrels between their partisans they agreed to separate. Roberts sailed for the American coast in the Onslow (renamed the Royal Fortune) and England for the Indian Seas in a Dutch Interloper (originally the Merry Christmas, a Dutch built vessel of about 300 tons. British Journal 14th September 1723), which he had renamed the Fancy (? after Every's famousship). England took with him the Victory or Victoria (Captain Taylor), a ship variously stated to have been the Prosperous of London (Captain James) and (See Johnson, I. 117) the Peterborough of Bristol (Captain Owen), and also the Brigantine Unity, which they had renamed the Expedition. On the 11th December 1719 he with three other pirate ships under 'black flags and death's heads,' had, off old Colabar, taken the Colabar Merchant, Captain Thomas Kennedy (Col. Office Records, 5-1319), and it was probably he who vainly attempted the capture of a Dutch ship which came into Table Bay on the 20th February 1719-20, reporting that she had beaten off a pirate (a Dutch ship which the pirates had exchanged for an English ship) which "could not have less than 250 men on board her and threatened if they did not strike they would give no quarters, with their black flag at masthead with Death's head in it. They made great use of their small arms so that the Dutchmen left their commander on the Quarter-Deck by himself, the small shot flew so briskly about." The fight lasted for seven or eight glasses one day and for six or seven the next and the pirate was only beaten off when her flying jibboom was "within one foot of his [the Dutchman's] ensign staff "by the gunroom guns of the chase raking her fore and aft. A few days later another Dutch ship came in and reported a similar escape, but had seen the pirates take a small ship flying a blue English ensign (Log of the Prince Frederick, 20th February 1719-20). Apparently they went straight for the Red Sea as they took a rich Moor's ship at its mouth, which they carried to St. Mary's, where they murdered their prisoners. Probably this was the rich ship bound from Jeddah to Surat which was reported in the Bombay letter of the 20th August 1720 as having been taken by a pirate with two tiers of guns and carrying 300 men (C. R. Wilson, Annals, III, 285-6).

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## VEDIC STUDIES.

# BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

(Continued from page 38.)

#### 2. Śunam.

Amongst the words nitya, sva, nija, priya, vâma, and jushta that have been mentioned in the preceding article as signifying both (1) own, svîya, and (2) dear, pleasing, etc., priya, should be included the word suna also.

This work enumerated by the author of the Nighantu amongst the synonyms of sukha. happiness; an his meaning sukha or the derived meaning sukhakara is repeated by Sâyana in the course of commentary on all the RV. passages where the word occurs. In 3, 30, 22, however, he has in ddition explained śunam as śûnam utsâhena pravidham, thus connecting the word with the wirb śû or śvay, 'to swell.' This derivation is given in the PW by Roth who explains the work is '(adv.) glücklich, mit Erfolg, zum Gedeihen; (n.) Erfolg, Gedeihen' and by Grassmann who explains it as '(1) Wachsthum, Gedeihen; (2) Gedeihen, Wohlergehen, Glück, Segen; (3) (ad ) zum Gedeihen, zum Wohlergehen, zum Segen.' Geldner, on the other hand, has suggest (RV. Glossar.) that the word is related to śivam, and has explained it as 'Heil, zum Heil (astaye).' And this suggestion seems to have found favour with Hillebrandt who has tran lated śunam as 'zum Heil' in Lieder des Rgveda, p. 106. Later, however, Geldner himself has translated (RV. Übersetzung) the word in this passage by 'gedeihlich, zum Gedeihen' and in 3, 30, 22 by 'mit Erfolg' and seems therefore to have abandoned his suggestion and one back to the meanings proposed by Roth.

None of the above-mentioned meanings, however, suits the context in a passage of the Maitr. Sam. (1, 4, 11; p. 60, 1.3f) which reads as follows:

na vai tad vidma yadi brâhmaṇa vâ smo 'brâhmaṇâ vâ | yadi tasya va ṛsheh smo 'nyasya vâ yasya brûmahe | yasya ha tv e a bruvâṇo yajate tam tad ishṭam âgacchati netaram up ramati | tat pravare pravaryamâṇe brûyât | devâḥ pitaraḥ pitaro devâ yo 'smi sa san yaje | yo 'smi a san karomi | śunaṃ ma ishṭaṃ śunaṃ śântaṃ śunaṃ kṛtaṃ bhûyât | iti tad ya eva kaś ca sa san yajate taṃ tad ishṭam âgacchati netaram upanamati |

The mantra devâh pitarah. . . . occurring in this passage is found in the Ait. Br., Tait. Br., and Kâthaka-samhitâ also, but in a slightly different form, namely, as devâh pitarah pitaro devâ yo 'smi sa san yaje yasyâsmi na tam antar emi svam ma ishtam svam dattam svam pûrtam svam śrântam svam hutam in Tait. Br. 3, 7, 5, 4 and Ap. Sr. Sûtra 4, 9, 6 and as devâh pitarah pitaro devâ yo 'smi sa san yaje tad vah prabravîmi tasya me vitta svam ma ishtam astu śunam śantam svam krtam in KS. 4, 14. The word śunam in the MS. reading of the mantra is thus parallel to the word svam in the TB. reading of it, and is obviously equivalent to it. The above passage from the MS. therefore means: "We do not know whether we are Brâhmaṇas or not Brâhmaṇas, whether we are (the descendants) of the ishi whom we name or of another. But (the fruit of) the sacrifice goes to (the descendant of) him who is named and to no other. Therefore when the lineage (pravara) is being proclaimed (?), he should recite: 'O Gods, O Fathers, O Fathers, O Gods, it is I, whoever I may be (that is, whosesoever descendant I may be), that sacrifice; it is I, whoever I may be, that perform. Let (this) sacrifice of mine be (my) own, (this) work (my) own, (this) act (my) own.' In this way, whoever he be who sacrifices, (the fruit of) the sacrifice goes to him and to no other."

Similarly, it is equally obvious that sunam=svam (with which it is parallelly used) in the KS. reading of the mantra: devâh pitarah pitaro devâ yo 'smi sa san yaje tad vah prabravîmi tasya me vitta svam ma ishtam astu sunam sântam svam kṛtam: "O Gods, O Fathers, O Fathers, O Gods, it is I, whoever I may be, that sacrifice; this I declare unto you; bear witness to this

on my behalf. Let (this) sacrifice be (my) own, (this) performance (my) own, (this) work (my) own."

On the other hand, this meaning svam, 'own,' is unsuited to the word sunam in the passages of the RV. and other texts where the word occurs. And I therefore infer, from the analogy of the words priya, vâma and jushta or nitya, sva and nija, that mean both 'dear' and 'own,' that suna, too, has these two meanings, and that it has, in the passages referred to, the meaning priya, 'dear, pleasing, agreeable.' This meaning priya, as I shall now show, suits the context well and yields good sense in these passages.

Sânkh. GS. 2, 10, 6 : agnih śraddhâm ca medhâm câ 'vinipâtam smrtim ca rilito jâtavedâ ayam śunam nah samprayacchatu

"May Agni bestow faith and intelligence, not falling off (unforgetfulness thand memory on me. May this Agni Jâtavedas, praised (by us) bestow pleasing things on us." Compare the similar use of priya and vâma in TS., 4, 7, 3, 1: priyam ca me 'nukân aś ca me (yajñena kalpantâm), RV. 4, 30, 24: vâmám-vâmam ta âdure devo da stv aryamâ' | vâmám pûshâ' vâmám bhágo vâmám deváh kárûlatî; 10, 56, 2: vâmám asp libhyam dhâ'tu śárma túbhyam.

RV. Khila 10, 128, 4: śunam aham hiranyasya pitur nâmeva jan abha | tena mâm sûryatvacam akaram pûrushu | Tyam

"I have invoked the dear name of hiranya (gold) that is as dear as that of the father. I have therewith made myself sun-skinned (i.e., bright as the sun to look at) and pleasing to many." Compare 7, 56, 10: priyâ' vo nâ'ma huve turâ'nâm; 10, 84, 5: priyám te nâ'ma sahure gṛṇîmasi where the epithet priya is applied to nâman. Compare also, with regard to the invoking of the father, 2, 10, 1: johû'tro agníh prathamáh pitéva; 8, 21, 14: â'd it pitéva hûyase; 6, 52, 6: agníh suśámsah suhávah pitéva; 1, 104, 9: pitéva nah śrpuhi hûyámânah; 10, 39, 1: pitúr ná nâ'ma suhávam havâmahe, etc.

10, 160, 5: aśvâyánto gavyánto vâjáyanto havâmahe tvópagantavâ'u | âbhû'shantas te sumataú návâyâm vayám indra tvâ śunám huvema ||

"Desiring horses, cows, and riches, we call on thee to come here. Desiring to be in thy new (i.e., latest) favour, O Indra, we invoke thee that art dear." Compare the verses 8, 98, 4: indra no gadhi priyáh and 1, 142, 4: indram citrám ihá priyám where the epithet priya is applied to Indra.

3, 30, 22 : śunám huvema maghávânam índram asmín bháre nṛ'tamam vâ' jasâtau | śṛṇvántam ugrám ûtáye samátsu ghnántam vṛtrâ'ṇi saṃjitam dhánânâm ||

"We invoke in this battle, in the winning of booty, dear Indra, liberal, most valiant, fierce, who hears (our cries) for protection, kills enemies in fights, and is the winner of wealth."

6, 16, 4: tvâ'm île ádha dvitâ'
bharató vâjîbhih śunám |
îjé yajñéshu yajñíyam ||

"Bharata again, also, with the sacrificers has praised thee (sc. Agni) that art dear; he has offered worship to thee that art worthy of worship in sacrifices." Compare 1, 128, 8: agnin hotaram îlate vásudhitim priyám cétishtham; 1, 128, 7: agnir yajñéshu jényo ná viśpátih priyó yajñéshu viśpátih and the other passages referred to on p. 202 in vol. LV above where Agni is called priya, purupriya, preshtha, etc.

10, 126, 7: śunúm asmábhyam útáye váruņo mitro aryamâ' śárma yacchantu saprátha ddityd'so yád i'mahe áti dvíshah ||

"May the Âdityas Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryamâ grant us for our protection (their) dear wide-extended shelter which we pray for (and carry us) across enemies." Compare 10, 126, 4: yushmâ'kam śármaṇi priyê syâ'ma; 7, 95, 5: táva śárman priyátame dádhânâ úpa stheyâma śaraṇáṃ ná vṛkshám in which the epithet priya is applied to śarman.

1, 117, 18: śunám andhá'ya bháram ahvayat sá'
vṛkî'r aśvinā vṛshaṇā nárēti
jâráḥ kanî'na iva cakshadâná
rṛra'śvaḥ śatám ēkam ca meshá'n

"'(May) that w ich is pleasing (i.e., favourable) (happen) to the blind man, O ye bulls, valiant Aśvins,' cried the she-wolf, 'like a youthful lover has Rjrâśva cut up a hundred and one goats.'"

Maitr. Sam., 2,

12 : śunam naro lângalenânadudbhir bhagah phâlaih sîrapatir marudbhih | parjanyo bîjam îrayâno dhinotu śunâsîrâ kṛṇutam dhânyam nah ||

"May the men (give) ple sure with the plough and oxen; may Bhaga with the ploughshares and the lord of the plouge with the Maruts (give) pleasure. May Parjanya, impelling the seed (to sprout and grow) a light us; may Suna and Sîra confer grain on us." One has to supply the word kṛṇotu, dada u or similar word after śunam in the first half-verse. Note the parallelism of dhinotu in the econd half-verse with śunam (kṛṇotu or dadâtu) in the second.

Kauśika-sûtra, 46, 54: śunan vada dakshinatah śunam uttarato vada | śunam p trastân no vada śunam paścât kapiñjala ||

"Say what is pleasing to the right, say what is pleasing to the north; say what is pleasing in front; say, O partridge, what is pleasing behind." That is to say, whether you cry to our right or o our left, in front of us or behind us, O partridge, may such cry portend and bring to us what is pleasing or favourable.

RV., 4, 57, 8: śunám nah phá'là ví kṛshantu bhû'mim śunám kînâ'śâ abhí yantu vâhaih | śunám parjányo mádhunâ páyobhih śúnâsîrâ śunám asmâ'su dhattâm

"May our ploughshares plough the land pleasingly; may the ploughers proceed pleasingly with the draught-animals. May Parjanya with waters and honey do us favour; may Suna and Sîra confer pleasing things (favours) on us." The word śunam in the first half-verse is used adverbially and denotes 'pleasingly; in a pleasing manner; well,' while in the second half-verse, it is a substantive as in the above passages. In the third pâda one has to supply a word like kṛṇotu or dadhâtu on the analogy of the fourth pâda. Compare also 4, 2, 8: priyām vâ tvâ kṛṇávate havíshmân and the phrase raṇam dhâh and raṇam kṛdhi in 8, 96, 16: vibhumādbhyo bhúvanebhyo ráṇam dhâh and 10, 112, 10: ráṇam kṛdhi raṇakṛt satyaśushma.

4, 57, 4: śunám vâhâ'h śunám nárah śunám kṛshatu lâ'ngalam | śunám varatrâ' badhyantâm śunám áshṭrâm úd ingaya ||

"Pleasingly (i.e., well) may the draught-animals, the men, (and) the plough plough; may the straps be tied well; well may the goad be applied (i.e., may the ploughing of the draught-animals, men and the plough, the tying of the straps, and the application of the goad, all bring pleasing results to us)."

10, 102, 8: śunám ashtrávy àcarat kapardí'
varatrá'yâm dâ'rvâ náhyamânah |
nrmnâ'ni krnván baháve jánâya
gâ'h paspasânás távishîr adhatta ||

"Being goaded, he (i.e., the bull), who was wearing cowries and who was hitched in the strap (i.e., harness) with the wood, moved pleasingly (i.e., well). Performing valiant deeds before many people, he put on mettle when he saw the bulls."

The hymn to which this verse belongs has been much discussed by the exegetists and been interpreted in many ways; for literature connected with it, see Oldenberg, RV. Noten II, p. 318 and also my article on Indrasenâ in vol. XLVII, ante, pp. 280 ff. I agree with Oldenberg (l.c.) that the hymn neither concerns a 'drame qui se joue au ciel et sur terre durant l'orage' (Bergaigne) nor reveals the 'methode de la devinette primitive' (Henry), but that (as believed by Geldner, Ved. Studien 2), it deals with the story of a Brithmana couple and a chariot-race.

The subject of acarat in pâda a above is the bull, vṛṣhabha, that is mentioned in the previous verse as running—áramhata pádyâbhih kakúdmân. And henceles interpret kapardî as 'wearing cowries' instead of as 'wearing a braid, zottig' (Roth, G., dner, Oldenberg, etc.) as this latter epithet is unintelligible to me in connection with a both. The custom, on the other hand, of ornamenting bulls and oxen with strings of cowriest fastened round the neck is fairly wide-spread in India, and I concieve that this must have been the case with Mudgala's bull also. Dâru in the second pâda refers, of course, to the arughaṇa or block of wood mentioned in the next verse.

It has been suggested by Oldenberg (l.c.), perhaps with a view to get over the difficulty caused by the word kapardî (which he interprets as 'wearing a braid, zottig'), that the subject of acarat is not the bull but Mudgala. This does not seem to be correct; for I believe with Geldner that Mudgala was too old to take part in a chariot-race and that the chariot was in fact ridden by Indrasenâ with Keśinî as charioteer (see my article in vol. XLVII, ante, refer ed to above).

4, 3, 11 : rténá'drim vy àsan bhidántah sám áigiraso navanta góbhih | śunám nárah pári shadann ushá'sam âvih svàr abhavaj játé agnaú ||

"Properly did they burst open the rock, shattering it. The Angirases lowed with the cows. Pleasingly (i.e., with pleasing results; well) did the men worship the Dawn; the sun made himself manifest when Agni was born." The explanation of parishadan as 'umlagerten' by Roth, Grassmann and Geldner (RV. Übersetzung) seems to me to be hardly satisfactory; and I prefer to follow Bhatta-Bhâskara who has paraphrased parishadyam in TB. 3, 1, 2,9 as parita upâsyam (cf. also Mahîdhara on VS. 5, 32) and regard parishadan here as equivalent to paryupâsâmcakrire. Compare 7, 76, 6: práti tvâ stomair îlate vásishthâ usharbúdhah sub- $\textit{hage tushtuvâ'msah} \mid \textit{gávâm netrî'} \ \textit{vâ'japatnî} \ \textit{na ucch6shah sujâte prathamâ' jarasva} \ ; \ 7, \ 78, \ 2:$ práti shîm agnír jarate sámiddhah práti víprâso matíbhir grnántah | ushâ' yâti jyótishâ bâ'dhamânâ vísvá támámsi duritá pa deví'; 7, 80, 1: práti stímebhir ushásam vásishthá gîrbhír víprásah prathamâ' abudhran. The expression 'the men worshipped the Dawn 'indicates that the Dawn showed herself at that time when Agni was born, that is, was kindled before daybreak. The kindling of Agni, the coming of the Dawn and the rising of the sun are referred to in other verses also of the RV, for instance, in 7, 72, 4: ví céd ucchánty à vina ushá sah prá vâm bráhmani kârávo bharante | ûrdhvám bhânúm savitâ' devo aśred brhád agnáyah samídhâ jarante; 7, 77, 1-3: úpo ruruce yuvatír ná yóshâ viśvam jîvám prasuvántî cará' yai | ábhûd agníh samídhe mâ' nushânâm ákar jyőtir bá'dhamáná támámsi || vísvam pratící' sapráthá úd asthád rúsad vá'so bíbhratí sukrám

aśvait | híranyavarnā sudr' śīkasamdrg gávām mátā' netry áhnām aroci || devâ'nām cákshuḥ subhágā váhantī śvetām náyantī sudr' śīkam áśvam | ushā' adarśi; 7, 78, 2—3: práti shīm agnīr jarate sámiddhaḥ práti ví prāso matibhir gṛṇ ántaḥ | ushā' yāti jyótishā bā'dhamānā viśvā támāmsi duritā' pa devî' || etâ' u tyâ'h práty adṛśran purástāj jyótir yácchantīr ushāso vibhātī'h | ájījanan sũ'ryam yajñām agnīm apācī' nam támo agād ájushtam: 1, 113, 9; úsho yād agnīm samīdhe cakārtha vī yād â'vaś cákshasā sũ'ryasya. But while these passages represent Agni as showing himself (as being born) after the Dawn, the verse 4, 3, 11 makes out that Agni was born first and the Dawn afterwards; compare also 7, 9, 3: citrābhānur ushásām bhāty ágre.

AV. 3, 15, 4: imâ'm agne śaránim mîmṛsho no yám ádhvânam ágâma dûrám | śunám no astu prapano vikrayáś ca pratipanáh phalínam mâ kṛṇotu | idám havyám samvidânaú jushethâm śunám no astu caritám útthitam ca ||

'Sprinkle, O Agni, this our path, this road which we have followed from a distance. May our bargain and sale be pleasing (i.e., turn out favourable); may the barter make me abounding in fruit (i.e., may the parter be fruitful to me). Do ye two enjoy this oblation in concord. May our transaction and trading be pleasing (i.e., favourable)." Śaraṇi=road, path, and not himsâ, offence or Verdrus; see Apte. Accordingly I take the verb mrsh in the sense of 'to sprinkle,' a meaning which the author of the Dhâtupâtha assigns to it, but of its use in which no example has been up to how met with. The expression 'sprinkle this our path' means probably 'make our path smooth and easy to travel'; compare the expressions tánûnapât pathá rtásya yâ nân mádhvâ samar ján svadayâ sujihva in RV. 10,110,2; â' no dadhikrâ'h pathyâ'm anaktu in 7, 44, 5; and madhvâdya Jevo devebhyo devayânân patho anaktu in TB. 3, 6, 2, 1.

RV. 7, 70, 1: á' viśvavârâ 'śvi â gatam naḥ

prá tát sthá nam avâci vâm pṛthivyâ m |

áśvo ná vâjî' śunapṛshṭho asthâd

â' yát sedáthur dhruváse ná yōnim ||

"Come, O ye Aśvins that have all desirable things; this your place in the earth has been praised. Like a powerful horse, it stood up with pleasing (i.e., pleasure-giving; comfortable) back on which you sat as if settling permanently in a house." Sunaprshthah=priyaprshthah or vîtaprshthah which is used many times in the RV. as an epithet of aśva, atya, hari, etc.; see Grassmann s.v. This word does not signify 'schlichten Rücken habend' (Roth in PW.) or, 'dessen Rücken eben ist' (Grassmann) but means 'having a pleasing (i.e., comfortable) back'; compare the word sushadah 'easy or comfortable to sit upon' that is used as an epithet of arvan in VS. 11, 44: âśur bhava vâjy arvan pṛthur bhava sushadas tvam. Compare also śagmâso aśvâḥ in RV.7, 97, 6: táṃ śagmâ'so arushâ'so áśvâ bṛ'haspátiṃ sahavâ'ho vahanti and śagmâ harî in 8, 2, 27: êhá hárî brahmayújâ śagmâ' vakshathah sákhâyam.

It does not mean 'hilfreich, mittheilsam, entgegenkommend, gütig' as explained by Roth (PW), or Vermögend, stark, kräftig' as explained by Grassmann, or śakta as alternatively explained by Sâyana in 7, 97, 6, but sukha or sukhakara as explained by the author of the Nighantu and by Sâyana himself in 7, 97, 6 and other passages. Sagmaih pâyubhih (in 1, 130, 10; 1, 143, 8) means 'by happiness-conferring protections' and is the equivalent of ajasraih pâyubhih, asredhadbhih pâyubhih, adabdhebhih pâyubhih or arishtebhih pâyubhih (for references see Grassmann, s.v. pâyu; compare mayobhûr ûtih in 1, 117, 19; and 1, 94, 9); sagmo rathah (6, 74, 8) means a 'chariot that gives happiness or comfort; a comfortable chariot' and is the equivalent of sukho rathah (for references, see Crass. s.v. sukha); sagmâ harî and sagmâso asrâh in the above-mentioned passages mean 'horses that carry one comfortably: sagmâsah putrâ aditeh (7, 60, 5) is equivalent to sambhuvah âdityâh in 1, 106, 2 and means 'the happiness-conferring Âdityas': and sagmâ vâjâh in 10, 31, 5 means 'happiness-conferring riches.' Similarly, sagma has the meaning of 'happiness-conferring' in the three other verses where it occurs as an epithet of Indra and the Soma juice (6, 44, 2), of vâk or speech (5, 43, 11) and of samsad or company (7, 54, 3).

2, 18, 6: â' śîtyâ' navatyâ' yâhy arvâ'n â śatêna háribhir uhyámânah | ayám hí te śunáhotreshu soma índra tvâyâ' párishikto mádâya ||

"Come here drawn by eighty, by ninety, by hundred horses. This Soma-juice, O Indra, has been poured out for thee, for thy pleasure, by (the priests) who have pleasure in sacrifices."

2, 41, 14: tîvro vo mádhumâň ayám sunáhotreshu matsaráh | etám pibata kâ'myam ||

"For you is this exhilarating, sweet, and sharp (Soma-juice) with the (priests) who have pleasure in sacrifices; drink this beloved (drink)."

2, 41, 17: tvé viśvâ sarasvati
śritâ'yûmshi devyâ'm |
śunáhotreshu matsva
prajâ'm devi dididdhi naḥ ||

'On thee, O goddess Sarasvatî, depends all longevity. Delight thou with (the priests) who have pleasure in sacrifices; confer children on us."

The exegetists have explained the word śunahotreshu in all the above three verses 7 as a proper noun (Sâyana does so in 2, 41, 14 and 2, 41, 17 only; in 2, 18, 6 he interprets śunahotreshu as sukhena hûyate somo yebhir iti śunahotrâh pâtraviśeshâh)—an explanation for which there does not seem to be any necessity. For, just as the word śunapṛṣhṭha is equivalent to vîtapṛṣhṭha, in the same way does the word śunahotra (śunam hotrâyâm yasya) seem to be equivalent to the word vîtihotra (vîtih hotrâyâm yasya) 'ha who has pleasure in sacrifices,' i.e., 'he who takes delight in offering sacrifices to the gods,' which occurs in 1, 84, 18: kō mamsate vîtihotraḥ sudeváḥ and 2, 38, 1: áthâ'bhajad vîtil otram svastaŭ with the signification of 'priest'. This meaning, 'priest' suits śunahotra al jo in the above verses, and there is thus no necessity to regard it as a proper name.

The word śuna occurs further in the compound ducchuna which means 'unpleasantn'ss,' vipriya or duhkha, and in the denominative verb ducchunay, formed from the above, metning 'to cause unpleasantness or discomfort.'

The word suna that forms part of abhisunatara in T.Br. 1,7,1,6: tau samalabhetûm | so 'smâd abhisunataro 'bhavat means, as explained by the commentator Bhatta-Bhâskara, balena abhividhah and is clearly derived from the root sû, svay 'to swell.' It is thus quite a different word and unconnected with suna meaning 'dear; own.'

Śuna thus signifies originally, as I hope is clear from the foregoing, priya, 'dear, agreeable,' etc., and secondarily, svîya or 'own'. The meaning sukha assigned to it by the author of the Nighantu seems to be but an approximate equivalent of the original priya, and, like all approximation's, not quite accurate.

(To be continued.)

## BRAHMA-VIDYA AND SUFISM.

BY UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.

(Continued from page 56.)

In myths and legends and also in practices, a good deal in Sufism is considered to be only a copy of similar things in Buddhism. "Besides these legendary and practical indications, we find an affinity between Sufism and the fundamental thoughts and the lessons of Buddhism. The tone of mind, and the spiritual tendency of Sufism seem as if the Buddhistic way of thinking had been transferred into the frame of Islam and adapted to it." (JRAS., 1904, p. 135).

Nicholson seems to think that in the beginning Sufism was not indebted to any external influence (JRAS., 1906, p. 305). Yet even he concedes that, in its later development—specially in the development of the conception of fanâ, Sufism was indebted to Buddhism (ib., p. 330). We should not forget that this doctrine of fanâ or self-annihilation has an apt parallel in the Vedantic conception of the merging of the individual into the infinite self. But so far as the idea is present in Sufism, it is more usually traced to Buddhism than to Hinduism.

So far, therefore, as admissions go, and so far as admissions are a part of proof, not much is found in favour of Brahmavidyâ. Sufism's indebtedness to Vedantism is vaguely hinted; but what is proved or admitted as proved, is a contact of Sufism with Buddhism. It is obvious that contact with Buddhism cannot be taken as evidence of borrowing from Vedantism; yet this is just what we have to examine. Direct contact with Vedantism was not inherently impossible for Sufism; rather, we may suspect on historical grounds that it had taken place. And the grounds are not materially different from those in the case of Buddhism. But this possibility of contact with Vedantism has not been sufficiently stressed, and is not even admitted by all. And naturally, it has not been explored to the same extent as the possible relation of Sufism with Buddhism. With regard to other systems of Hindu philosophy, such as the Yoga, even the suggestion of a possible relation of Sufism with then, is rarely made. We see, therefore, that, with regard to the nature and extent of the indebtedness of Sufism to foreign influences, scholars are more generally inclined to admit borrowing from Buddhism than from Vedantism. The possibility of borrowing from the Yoga is noticed by very few, of whom Al-Beruni, however, is one.

The similarity between Vedantism and Sufism in some important respects has been always admitted. Von Kremer quotes from the Vedânta-sâra to establish the fact that there are parallel lines of thought and practice in Sufism and Vedantism. But as we have pointed out before and as Nicholson justly remarks (JRAS., 1906, p. 315), "the question whether Sufism is derived from the Vedanta cannot be settled except on historical grounds, i.e., (1) by an examination of the influence which was being exerted by Indian upon Muhammadan thought at the time when Sufism arose; and (2) by considering how far the ascertained facts relating to the evolution of Sufism accord with the hypothesis of its Indian origin". Nicholson is of opinion that a chronological study of the evidence will not prove this hypothesis; nor will it prove "the alternative form of 'Aryan reaction' theory, namely, that Sufism is essentially a product of the Persian mind". "It seems to me", he says again, (ib., p. 305) "that this type of mysticism was—or at least might have been—the native product of Islam itself, and that it was an almost necessary consequence of the Muhammadan conception of Allah, a conception which could not possibly satisfy the spiritually-minded Moslem".

In his Literary History of the Arabs (p. 384), Nicholson seems to modify this view somewhat, and is prepared to admit that all the theories about the origin of Sufism contain 'a measure of truth'. Now, Vedantism is one of the supposed sources of Sufism (vide Browne, Literary History of Persia, p. 418). Nicholson is obviously more favourably inclined to it now than before (JRAS., 1906). But he does not appear to have discovered any new proof.

Nicholson's attitude in this matter is rather hesitating and indefinite. In the first place, he is inclined to hold that Sufism had an independent origin within Islam; but at the same time, he is not blind to the possibility of foreign influence. There, however, he warns us that if Sufism had a foreign origin, it must be "sought in Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism", rather than in any Indian system. It may be that Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism were, in their turn, influenced by Indian thought; "but this is a large question which has not been, and perhaps never can be, definitely settled". (JRAS., 1906, p. 320.) On the other hand, apart from this possible indirect influence, he is willing even to admit direct influence of Indian thought on Sufism; but he would not admit that this was possible during the initial stages of Sufism. "The direct influence of Indian ideas on Sufism", he says, "though undeniably great, was posterior and secondary to the influence exerted by Greek and Syrian speculation". (JRAS., 1906, p. 320).

So far we have seen that, though in its beginning Sufism is regarded as of independent origin, yet in its subsequent history the possibility of Vedantic influence is admitted in a general way. There is not much proof, but the hypothesis is not ruled out. Browne, however, is categorically against even such an hypothesis (*Literary History of Persia*, p. 419). He says: "Though in Sasanian times, notably in the sixth century of our era during the reign of Nushirwan, a certain exchange of ideas took place between Persia and India, no influence can be shown to have been exerted by the latter country on the former during Muhammadan times, till after the full development of the Sufi system, which was practically completed, when Al-Beruni . . . wrote his famous memoir." Browne, therefore, is not only unwilling to trace the *origin* of Sufism to Indian thought, but he is not prepared even to admit Indian influence on the *subsequent* history of this branch of slamic culture.

On the whole, therefore, the idea of Vedantic influence on Sufism is not very favourably received by European scholars. (Cf. also, Margoliouth, Early Development of Muhammadanism, Lectures V and VI.) Similarity between the two systems is not denied; but to prove indebtedness either way, something more than mere resemblance is necessary. And this is exactly what is not found, so far as Vedantism is concerned. With regard to Buddhism, as we have already seen, opinion is more favourable. This is no doubt due to the fact that it was a living religion in the neighbourhood of Sufism even after the rise of Islam. As to Vedantism, it cannot be shown that it was being cultivated in that territory before and after the rise of Sufism; nor can it be shown that Sufism had any direct connection with it. Browne, therefore, is right in maintaining that 'no influence can be shown to have been exerted' by India on Sufism.

But at the same time, it seems to be going too far not to allow even the possibility of such an influence. We cannot get over the fact of political and commercial intercourse between India and the west for a fairly long period, from pre-historic times up to a date posterior to the rise of Islam. And there is the fact of Indian colonies in western Asia. Even Browne admits that 'in the sixth century of our era' an exchange of ideas took place between Persia and India. And then again, we have the further fact that during the eighth-ninth century A.D., the court of Bagdad patronised Hindu learning. The ministerial family of Barmak "engaged Hindu scholars to come to Bagdad, made them the chief physicians of their hospitals, and ordered them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic books on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philosophy, astrology, and other subjects. Still in later centuries Muslim scholars sometimes travelled for the same purposes as the emissaries of the Barmak." (Sachau; English Translation of Al-Beruni; Introduction, pp. xxxi-xxxii.) As to this family of Barmak, or the Barmakides, we are told that they came from a Buddhist temple (Nava-Bihara) in Balkh.

The position then is this: In the sixth century, an exchange of ideas took place between Persia and India, even according to Browne; and in the eighth century, Hindus were expressly

invited to the court of Bagdad and were commissioned to translate books from Sanskrit into Arabic, and these books included books on philosophy, too. Brahmavidyâ, therefore, was not without a chance. We have no evidence, it seems, that this contact between India and the west was maintained during the seventh century also; but this was a period when Islam was busy consolidating itself and, perhaps, had not much time to attend to outside realities. But if Hindu philosophical ideas had been travelling to the west up to the sixth century, and if they were again honourably received at court in the eighth century, is it likely that they were completely banished from the Islamic world in the seventh? Buddhism continued to live a vigorous life even after that; was Hinduism alone, if it had already been there, doomed to complete expulsion?

Thus there is no inherent improbability in the supposition of Vedantic influence on Sufism. The presence of Hindus at the very centre of Islam—at the court of the Khalifs at Bagdad, makes it rather probable. They wrote books on philosophy, we are told; but even if they had done nothing of the kind, they might still have left some influence behind. In modern times, almost every important seat of learning has foreign teachers; it cannot be said that they exert no influence, unless they leave behind some permanent and enduring record of their activity. The Hindus at Bagdad, however, did more solid work than merely holding conversations on diverse subjects: they wrote books. And it is not conceivable that books which were written under royal patronage in those days, were not read. It is unlikely, therefore, that Hindu ideas which were in existence in the western world in the sixth century A.D., all disappeared with the beginning of the seventh century; and it is difficult to imagine that the Hindus who went to the court of Bagdad on invitation, were men of so little worth that they could produce no impression at all.

All this is true. But all these facts put together do not allow us to do more than hazard a guess that Vedantism may have exerted some direct influence on Sufism. It was just possible: but whether it became actual or not, is more than can be proved. The opportunities were there; but it cannot be shown that they were utilised. The hypothesis is not disproved that ideas of Brahmavidyâ may have found a lodgement in those distant countries and in those far-off days. But the existence of floating ideas of Vedantism in those regions does not warrant us in ascribing the origin of Sufism to that system, any more than the presence of Vedantic missionaries in America, and even an acquaintance with their system of thought and belief on the part of William James, will warrant us in ascribing his philosophy to this source.

To assert the indebtedness of one philosophical system to another, more direct evidence than mere resemblance and even acquaintance is necessary. We know that Kant was indebted to Hume and we also know why. We know also that mediæval European philosophy was indebted to Aristotle: the evidence there is so palpably direct. The debt of Avicenna and Averroës to Aristotle is also proved by evidence other than mere resemblance. Neo-Platonism is easily traced to Plato in spite of differences. But in spite of parallels that may easily be drawn between Plato and, say, the Bhagavadgîtâ, it would be rash and extravagant to affirm that Plato borrowed straight from India. In the same way and for similar reasons, we cannot justifiably conclude that Sufism owed its origin to Vedantism or to any other system of Indian philosophy. The historical facts brought to light up to now make it just possible; but we can do no more than European scholars have done, namely, hint at this possibility and wait for more knowledge. A definite and final conclusion appears to be yet premature.

The only people who could really help us in arriving at a satisfactory solution of this problem, are Muhammadan and Hindu writers on the subject. Von Kremer no doubt quotes two Muhammadan writers; but they are hopelessly modern, and are too near our own time to be of much use. A much earlier writer is Al Beruni, who wrote in the beginning of the eleventh

century A.D. His evidence deserves careful consideration in this connection. In his book on India he refers more than half-a-dozen times to Sufism (Sachau's Translation, vol. II, p. 431); on India he refers more than have the one side and Greek, Christian and Hindu thought on the and draws parallels between it on the one side and Greek, Christian and Hindu thought on the other. But nowhere does he suggest more than a mere similarity of thought. For instance, other. But howhere does no assign the doctrine of metempsychosis, he refers to Mânî, (op. cit., vol. I, p. 57), while discussing the doctrine is professed by some doctrine is professed b Patanjali, Plato and Proclus, and says that the same doctrine is professed by some Sufis also. He does not suggest that there was borrowing in any way. And (vol. I, p. 62), he compares Sâmkhya with Sufism and notices a difference also between the two. Again, in discussing the conception of moksa according to Patañjali, he compares it with Sufism and also says that "from these and similar views the doctrines of the Christians do not much differ" (vol. I p. 69). Further on, (p. 83), he again refers to the idea of liberation or moksa, according to Sâmkhya and Patañjali and says that "similar views are also met with among the Sufi". All these similarities between Indian thought and Sufism attracted his attention. But at the same time, he notes that the Sufi in developing his theory, proceeds by an explanation of Koranic verses (cf. also, vol. I, p. 88; also compare Margoliouth, Early Development of Muhammadanism, Lect. V and VI).

Al-Beruni appears to have been a careful student. If he had known that the Sufis were indebted to Indian philosophy, would he not have mentioned this fact? He does not refer to the possibility of Buddhist influence on Sufism either, which European scholars are more willing to admit; but that is perhaps due to the fact that he knew little about Buddhism (Sachau, op. cit., p. xlv). And "in the first half of the eleventh century, all traces of Buddhism in Central Asia, Khurasan, Afghanistan and North-Western India seem to have disappeared." (Ibid.) Al-Beruni's knowledge of Hindu philosophy, however, was more accurate and extensive. It is likely, therefore, that if Vedantic influence on Sufism could be traced at that time, he would have known it; and from his veracity as a historian, it seems fairly certain that had he known it, he would have said so. With regard to Mini, he has not omitted to tell us that "he went to India, learned metempsychosis from the Lindus, and transferred it into his own system" (op. cit., vol. I, p. 54). Of course, he had no partiality for Mânî (cf. ch. XXVI). and so had no motive against exposing foreign influences on his doctrines. But he had shown no partiality for the Sufis either anywhere; and there was, therefore, no reason why he should not disclose the origin of their teachings, if he only knew it to be the Vedanta or any Indian system of thought.

He has not been slow in acknowledging even the debt of purer Muslims to Indian thought. For instance, he has told us that the numerical signs which they use "are derived from the finest forms of the Hindu signs" (op. cit., vol. I, p. 174). He has also admitted (ch. XXXII) that Muslim authors followed the example of the Hindus in describing a certain duration of time; and that "the theory of Abû-Ma'shar that a deluge takes place at the conjunction of the planets" is derived from the kalpa-theory of the Viṣṇu-Purâṇa (vol. I, p. 325). If such an author only knew that Sufism owed its origin to Vedantism, would he have concealed this by no means insignificant fact?

Al-Beruni has been careful to note a good many important parallels between Sufism and Indian thought; but he speaks of Sâmkhya and Patañjali and makes no mention of Vedanta. The points which he discusses in Sufism are just some of the points where Vedantism could have influenced it, if at all. The omission of any reference to Vedanta on his part, is significant; it seems to suggest that Vedantism was not as accessible to him as the other systems; i.e., it was farther away from north-west India to which the Moslems had access. If so, the hypothesis of Vedantic influence on Sufism becomes less probable.

In Al-Beruni, then, we find two things. Although he compares Sufism with some of the Indian systems, he does not suggest that it was indebted to any of them in the way supposed

by some; and in the second place, he omits to refer to the Vedanta. Of course, he does not speak of the indebtedness of Sufism to Christianity or to Neo-Platonism either; and his omission to mention such indebtedness does not prove that it did not exist. In the same way, his omission of reference to the Vedanta or its influence on Sufism, does not necessarily prove that such a thing could not have taken place. But here we had an opportunity where proof of such an influence might have been found, and yet we have not found it. So, although a hypothesis is not yet ruled out, we cannot prove that Brahmavidyâ or Vedantism exerted any direct influence upon Sufism.

Our review of the problem would remain incomplete without at least a passing reference to Hindu sources. Unfortunately very little is to be found there. We may note that the period of the Abbaside Khalifs in Bagdad almost synchronised with the revival of Vedantism in southern India and the great impetus given to this culture by Śankarâcâryya is well-known. An account of the many missionary activities of this great Vedantist has been preserved, though not unalloyed with myths, in Ânanda-Giri's Śankara-Vijay and Vidyâranya's Śankara-Digvijay. Many men and many sects, we are told, were converted to Śankara's absolute monism; and quite a good number of places, also, did he and his disciples visit in search of conquests. But there is not the slightest hint of any communication between them and people outside the pale of Hinduism, except perhaps the reference to Bâhlika or Balkh (Sankara-Digvijay, XV, 142).¹ But even there it is the Buddhists again who were fought and conquered. We are no doubt told that there were in Bâhlika also those who wanted to learn the great Bhâṣya of Śankara; but it is not even hinted that they were other than his ordinary pupils or disciples.

However that may be, it is, on the whole, extremely difficult to place much reliance on an account like this. The author is not endowed with the historical sense; and his accounts of Śankara's intellectual and physical exploits are so mixed up with myths and fables, that it is impossible to believe on the estimony of a writer like this that Śankara ever visited Bakh, or even that any of his remote disciples ever did so.

One thing, however, seems certain: Balkh was known at the time, and known too as a seat of Buddhism. That Balkh was an important centre of Buddhism is proved by other evidence also. But whether Sankara or any one else ever carried *Brahmavidyâ* to that stronghold of Buddhism, is more than can be proved by this author's testimony.

There is another point: In a manuscript, the difference between Bâhlika and Bâhika is not much; but in latitude and longitude, it is certainly a considerable one. Therefore from this single mention of Bâhlika, it is not even safe to suppose that Balkh was meant and not a country much nearer home, namely, Bâhika in the Punjab.

Besides, even if the conjecture is allowed that Brahmavidyâ was carried up to Balkh, at the time of the Abbaside Khalifs, it is still a far cry from Balkh to Bagdad and the fountainhead of Sufism.

<sup>1</sup> Pratipadya tu Bâhlikân maharşau vinayibhyah pravivrnvati svabhâsyam avadann-asahisnavah pravînâh samaye kecid-athâ-rhatâbhidâne, etc.

From the evidence of Ananda-Giri and Vidyâranya it appears that the activities of Sankara and his disciples were mainly directed against the Buddhists and other minor seets within the fold of Hinduism. Still that was the period of the most triumphant career of Brahmavidyâ; and it was not impossible for her influence to travel beyond the borders of India at that time. If Sufism was influenced by Brahmavidyâ, that was about the time when such influence may have been exerted. It is rather striking, therefore, that there is no reference to any such foreign conquest by Sankara and his disciples. Of course, there were possibly other Vedantists too in the land who could have achieved such conquests; and the absence of any mention does not necessarily disprove the possibility of such influence in other lands. But here again there was an opportunity where evidence of Vedantic influence on Sufism might be found; yet we do not find it. Now, if all possible sources of positive proof fail us, what else can we do save cling to fond hypothesis?

The final conclusion to which we are led, therefore, is this: So far as Von Kremer is concerned, he makes an exaggerated claim on behalf of Vedantism, which has not been established; and, as to whether Brahmavidyâ ever exerted any influence on Sufism, and if so, to what extent, no definite conclusion can be drawn, though certain historical circumstances were quite favourable for such influence. We may just suspect, as Dr. Margoliouth points out (op. cit., p. 199), that Sufism was influenced by Vedantism at some stage or other of its existence; but unfortunately we have not data enough to prove it.

## A MEDIÆVAL JAINA IMAGE OF AJITANÂTHA—1053 A.D. By N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

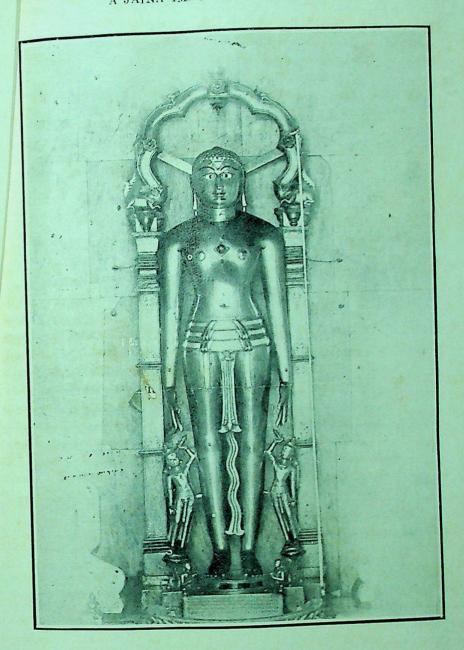
The focus of Jaina glory seems to have shifted from South India northwards during mediæval times. Jainism appears to have suffered an eclipse in the south after the sixth century A.D. as a result of the revival of Shaivite waship, the full force of which was felt about the ninth century A.D. Jainism reached its climax during the reign of Kumarapala (1142–73 A.D.), who was converted to the gospel of Mahâvîra Vardhamâna by the greatest and the most versatile of mediæval scholars—Hemachandra Sûri. Jainism may be said to have achieved its greatest triumphs in Western India under the Solanki rulers of Gujarat (960–1243 A.D.). The most notable monuments of this period are the Delvâdâ temples; the celebrated Vimalavashâhi temple, constructed in 1023 A.D. and named after its founder Vimalashâha, the Danda-Nâyaka or Governor of Abu, and dedicated to Âdinâtha, the first Tirthamkara; and the Lûṇavashâhi shrine dedicated to Neminâtha—the twenty-second Tirthamkara and constructed by Tejapâla in memory of his son Lûṇasinha in 1230 A.D. This was also the period of great literary activity, specimens of which are still preserved in the various Jaina bhândârs or libraries,—at Pâtan, Jaisalmir and other places.

The beautiful figure illustrated here was executed during the reign of Bhîmadeva I (1023-1063 A.D.), the patron of Vimalashâha. The inscription engraved at the foot of the pedestal consists of three verses, the first in the metre Shardûl Vikriditam, the second in Sragdharâ, and the third in Âryâ, and runs as follows:

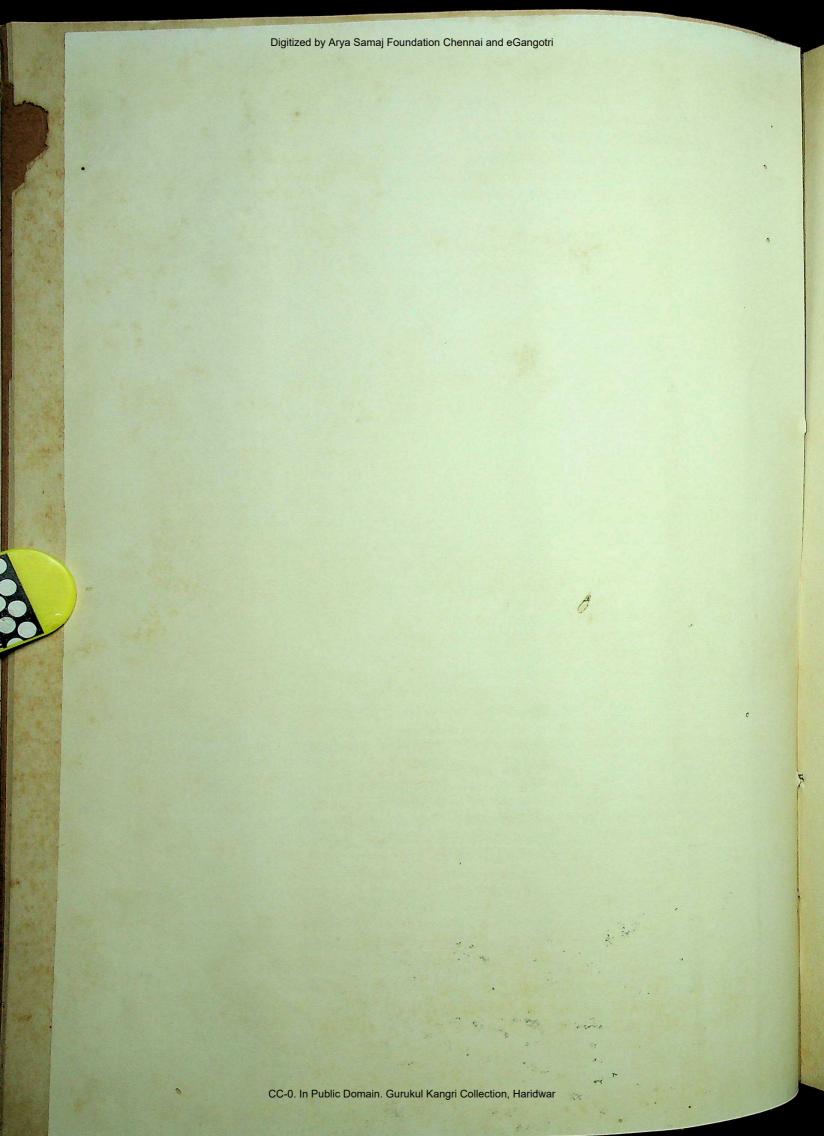
थारा पद्रपुरीयगच्छगगनोद्योतेक भास्वानभूत् सूरिः सागरसीम विश्वतगुणः श्रीशालिभद्राभिधः ।
ताच्छध्यः समजन्यज्ञानवृज्ञिनासंगः सतामग्रणीः सूरिः सर्वगुणोत्करैकवसतिः श्रीपूर्णभद्राद्वयः ॥
तस्य श्रीशालिभद्रप्रभु रलमकृतोच्चेः पदंपुण्यमूर्तिः विद्वच्चूडामणेः स्वेश सि [शि] विस [श] दयशो व्यानशे वस्व विश्वम् ।
स्थाने तस्यापि सूरिः समजनि भुवनेऽनन्यसाधारणानां लीलागारं गुणानामनुपम महिमा पूर्णभद्राभिधानः ॥
श्रीशालिसूरिनिजगुरुपुण्यार्थमिदं विधापित तेन । अजितजिनविवमतुलं नंदतु रघुसेन जिनभु [भ] वने ॥
संवत ११९० चैत्र सुदि १३

The Indian Antiquary.

# A JAINA IMAGE OF AJITANATHA.



N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.



It may be thus translated :-

- 1. "[There was] the saint by name Shâlibhadra, the solitary sun among the stars of the monastic firmament of Thârâpadra town, of learning as wide as the limits of the seas. His pupil was one by name Pûrnabhadra, free from ignorance and sin, the foremost amongst the virtuous, and the veritable abode of the climax of all good qualities.
- 2. "The fame, spotless like the moon, of this very learned man (literally, the crest-jewel among the learned) spread by itself throughout the whole world. When his master Shâlibhadra of godly appearance attained peace (lit. did honour to his high status, i.e. died), Pûrnabhadra even took his place in the world,—of incomparable greatness, who enshrined within himself all the exceptional virtues unattainable by the ordinary run of men.
- 3. "May this incomparable statue of Ajita Jina set up by him in memory of his preceptor, the saint Shâlibhadra, rejoice in the house of the Jaina Raghusena, 13th Chaitra Sudi Samvat 1110."

Nothing is known about Shâlibhadra or his distinguished pupil Pûrnabhadra, nor is there any information available as to how the image came to Ahmadâbâd from its original home in Thârâpadra town. The image executed in 1053 A.D. measures 51 inches, or with the pedestal 63 inches in length. It is still worshipped in the Ajitanâtha temple in Zaverivâdâ at Ahmadâbâd; and but for the inscription which is a part and parcel of the pedestal, one would hardly have credited the great antiquity of the figure, so polished and in such a perfect state of preservation is it to-day. The image must contain a large amount of gold, judging from the exceptionally bright and yellow lustre of the body. The characteristic emblem of the Tirthamkara—the elephant—is missing.2 Unlike the bulk of Jaina statuary, this mediæval statue is remarkable for its æsthetic qualities. The apostle is standing in the characteristic pose of a Jaina kevali-scil. one who has attained the Peace born of perfect knowledge and of absence of attachment to things mundane. The face is that of a young man strikingly handsome, with the various limbs beautifully modelled and of pleasing proportions. The loin cloth is attached to an elaborately carved girdle of fine design. The expression on the face is not one of contemplation, but of naiveté, of innocence, almost boyishness, with the eyes wide open. The ushnîsha, the symbol of enlightenment, is just indicated, while the jewel of illumination is prominently shown on the forehead, as is also the shrivatsa mark on the chest. Every single anatomical detail is suppressed without in the least sacrificing the dominant quality of form. The image is fitted in a simple but effective frame,

यारापद्रपुरीयगच्छनितिखंडैकचंडस्युतिः सूरिः पंडितमूर्थमंडनमणि श्रीशालिभद्राभिधः। आसीत्तस्य विजेयतासुपगतः श्रीपूर्णभद्राहयः तेषां शिष्यळवेन मंदमतिना वृत्तिः कृतेयं स्फुटा॥ एकाद्श वर्षशतिनवा धिकत्रिशकेर्याते। विक्रमतोऽरचयदिमां सूरिः शीळभद्राख्यः। सहसद्वितयं सार्थे पंथोऽयं पिडितोऽखिलः। द्वात्रिशदक्षरक्षाक्रप्रमाणेन सुनिश्चितः॥

The author of the above verse is one Shilabhadra Sari who wrote in Samvat 1139 (1082 A.D.).

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Muni Jinavijaya Jî for the following information:-

Thârâpadra is the modern village of Tharâd about thirty miles from Deesa in the Pâlanpur Agency. It appears to have been an important town—especially a notable Jaina centre in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. The following verse given on pages 132-133 of the Fifth Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, by Prof. P. Peterson refers to both Shâlibhadra and Pûrnabhadra. It should be noted that the Pûrnabhadra mentioned here is not the same as the author of Panchákhyánaka (पंचारवानक) written in 1198 A.D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See my note on Two Images from Bharatpur in Rupam, pp. 98-99, April, 1924.

with two figures standing on smaller pedestals and waving the whisks round the deity. It is possible that the figures may represent Shâlibhadra and his pupil Pûrnabhadra.3

Ajitanâtha is the second Tirthamkara, born like Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthamkara, and most of his successors in the royal house of îkshvâku, to which the hero of the Râmâyana also belongs. According to Hemachandra Sûri, the greatest of the mediæval Jain scholars, Ajitanâtha was the son of Jitashatru and Vijayâdevî and was born at Ajodhya on 8th day of the bright half of the month of Magha. It appears to have been a tradition of Jaina theo. logy that Ajitanatha was a contemporary and a cousin of the mythical prince Sagara, just as Rishabhadeva is said to have been a contemporary of the sovereign Bharata. It is absolutely impossible to find out what kernel of truth such traditions possess, for they have been overlaid with an impossible amount of myth, legend and fairy tale. Hemachandra devotes a lengthy chapter of some 150 printed pages to the description of the life of the second Tirtham. kara, which has little of interest, notwithstanding the enormous mass of verbiage and hyperbole. Jaina theology has not even the merit of originality or of imagination, for it usually borrows wholesale from the Hindu Puranas and re-edits the material somewhat clumsily, changing of course the emphasis from the Brahmanical deities to the gods of its own pantheon.4

It would appear that the art of casting metallic images reached a high standard of æsthetic merit in mediæval Gujarat, the traditions of which were somewhat different from those of the South-Indian artists. A very large number of good specimens representative of the mediæval school of Gujarat can still be seen, principally in the Jaina temples scattered throughout the length and breadth of Gujarat and Rajputana (the major portion of which formed a part of the old kingdom of Pâtan). The subject however needs to be systematically studied and surveyed in detail. It would seem that, unlike the development of graphic art, the course of Indian sculpture in Northern India continued to be even and produced works of great merit for many centuries after the death of Harshavardhana; and the plastic art of mediæval India has nothing to lose by comparison with the great epoch of the Guptas.

> FOLK-SONGS OF THE TULUVAS. By B. A. SALETORE, B.A., L.T., M.R.A.S. (Continued from p. 17.)

The following song is sung by the Mundâla Holeyas of Udipi Taluk when they bury their dead:-

5. Text.

Le le le le le la kode le le le, Le le le le le la kode le le le, Aithumukhariye, le le lé le le, Nala mara danna mudetta Aithumukharige, Mallavonji mudetta Aithumukhariye; Kela malla kattondenâ Aithumukhariye, Uruvadâ grâmodu, Aithumukhariye. Andabanda maltonde, Aithumukhariye. Jâtipolikeda, Aithumukhariye, Nitimaltondena, Aithumukhariye. Kankanâdi niledada, Aithumukhariye, Kotaradanna mudetta, Aithumukharige, Ponnu malla tûvondenâ, Aithumukhariye. Radda kare sangâterena kûdovonde, Aithumukhari,

I am indebted to Mr. K. P. Modi of Ahmadâbâd for getting the image adequately photographed.

<sup>4</sup> The details about Ajitanâtha have been taken from the dreary Mahâkâvya-Tri-Shashti-Shalâkâ-Purusha Charitram, by Hemachandra Sûri, canto 2, Gujarati translation, published by Jaina. Dharma Prachârak Sabhâ, Bhavnagar.

Jâtinîti maltondenâ Aithumukhariye.
Kallmulla guddenâ Aithumukhariye,
Jâtigalâ sangâde, Aithumukhariye.
Ullayaga mânanâye Aithumukharige;
Jâtigela kulludu Ullayaga untudu,
Pande Aithumukhariye.
Deverenâ buttibulega phovandenâ Aithumukharige,
Bhumiga beripâdye, Aithumukhari;
Akâshogu puggenâ Aithumukhariye.
Jâtipolikena buddu Aithumukhariye,
Deverenâ chakarigâ, Aithumukhariye,
Deverânda lettonderâ Aithumukharina;
Devere kadekka Serondenâ Aithumukhariye.
Le le le le le la Aithumukhariye,
Le le le le le le la Aithumukhariye.

## Translation.

Le le le le le la, Yesterday, le le le, Le le le le le la, Yesterday, le le le, O Thou, Aithumukhâri, Le le le le, The shade of the good old tree is fit for Aithumukhâri, Near the great tree is the place for Aithumukhâri; A great house he had built, Aithumukhâri, In the grâma of Urvâ, Aithumukhâri. Beautiful he made it, and guarded it well, that Aithumukhâri. In the interests of his caste, Aithumukhâri, He did much justice, (that) Aithumukhâri. In the settlement of Rankanâdi, Aithumukhâri, In one of its store-rooms, Aithumukhâri, He saw his bride, did Aithumukhâri. Two companions of his caste, he banded together, did Aithumukhâri, To do justice in the interests of his caste, Aithumukhâri. The hill with its stones and thorns, Aithumukhâri, He did cultivate for his caste, Aithumukhâri. He served his land-lord as a farmer and as a messenger, Aithumukhâri. To the castemen, sitting; to the land-lord, standing, Aithumukhâri; (He) used to talk, Aithumukhâri. (And now) He is gone to requite the compulsory labour of God, Aithumukhâri; He has put his back to the earth, Aithumukhâri; He has entered the Akâsa, Aithumukhâri. Leaving aside the welfare of his caste, Aithumukhâri, He is gone to do the Service of God, Aithumukhâri; And God has called him, Aithumukhâri; He has joined the side of God, Aithumukhâri. Le le le le le la, O! Thou, Aithumukhâri, Le le le le Lâ, O! Thou, Aithumukhâri. The following is sung by the Mundâla Holeyas of Udipi Taluk.

6. Text.

Le le le la Nâyeremâro, Le le le le la Nâyeremâro. Tânunchelya, bâlenâye, Nâyeremâruḍâ, Tânunchelya³bâlenâye, Nâyeremârudâ. Tenakâyi deshadugo, Nâyeremâro, Tenakâyideshadu puttiyena, Nâyeremâro. Edurulâ jutundinâ, Nâyeremâruda ; Bâle podu balamanâye, Nâyeremârudâ; Mundogulâ muttilâganda, Nâyeremârudâ, Tegalega shirilâganda, Nâyeremârudâ, Le le le la Nâyeremaro, Le le le la Nâyeremaro. Madhyâna porutuguyâ, Nâyeremâro, Kerekalâ povendenâ, Nâyeremâruḍâ. Pâlêda korumbudiyâ, Nâyeremârudâ, Tareka maika mîyyondenâ, Nâyeremârudâ; Tundu bhairasada, Nâyeremârudâ, Taremai orosondenâ, Nâyeremârudâ. Tarekudutu pâḍonḍenâ, Nâyeremâruda. Gandadâ korada pattada, Nâyeremârudâ. Kallagala taretondenâ, Nâyeremâruda. Mundogula muttilâganda, Nâyeremâro, Tigelega shirigandha, Nâyeremâro. Dangagal ladda ganda, Nâyeremârudâ Gandanâma tirondena Nâyeremârudâ, Madhyâna bojanala, Nâyeremâro, Tirondenâ, Nâyeremâro, Le le le la Nâyeremârâ, Le le le la la Nayeremâruḍâ.

Translation.

Le le le la, Oh, the man of the Nayar caste! Le le le la, Oh, the man of the Nâyar caste!

He is a fine little child,

He is a fine little child!

In the southern kingdom,

In the southern kingdom was he born, Oh, the man of the Nâyar caste!

He has worn his clothes crosswise.

From a child he has grown into a man, Oh, the man of the Nâyar caste

He has got sandal-paste on his forehead,

And on his arm, too, Oh, the young man of the Nâyar caste!

Le le le la, Oh, the man of the Nayar caste! Le le le le la, the man of the Nâyar caste!

During afternoon time,

He goes to the tank, the man of the Nâyar caste.

He has got an umbrella made of the dammer tree.

He has taken a bath on his head and body;

With a piece of upper-cloth,

He has rubbed his head and body;

And he has flapped his hair, Oh, the young man of the Nâyar caste!

With a large slump of sandal-wood,

He is rubbing (it) against a stone.

Over his forehead, sandal paste,

Over his neck, sandal paste, Over his arm, sandal paste,- Has he finished smearing all the sectarian marks.

And his mid-day meal,

He has finished it, Oh, the young man of the Nâyar caste!

Le le le la, Oh, the man of the Nayar caste! le le le la, Oh, the man of the Nayar caste!

(Note.—Why the above song, which deals with a man of the Nâyar caste of Malabar, should be popular with a section of the Holeyas seems strange. The significance of this song cannot easily be made out.)

### II. The Songs of the Pombadas.

The following song is sung when the bride is bedecked with flowers and new clothes, before presentation to the bridegroom.

#### 1. Text.

Hari Nârâyana, Hari Nârâyana Swâmi, pado yedde yedde.

Tudâra yedde, tudâra yedde Kudipu devere.

Tudâra Bali yedde, Bali yedde Kadro devere Bali.

Ballanda ballanda pattere Swâmi sarpoda bila.

Vonasuyedde vonasuyedde Polela devera sthalatâ.

Padayedde padayedde Rama Swâmi smarane yedde smarane.

Hari Nârâyana, Hari Nârâyana Swâmi, pada yedde yedde.

#### Translation.

The song of Hari Nârâyana is excellent.

Illumination in the temple of Kudipi is excellent.

The Bali in Kadri temple is excellent.

The Lord held the tail of a snake, mistaking it for a rope.

Dinners are excellent in the temple of Polali.

That song in which the name of Lord Râma has to be recited is excellent.

The song of Hari Nârâyana is excellent.

The following is a funeral song sung by the Pombadas.

## 2. Text.

Angâre Orodâni tarenîra sankața koltunde marana pattada phondeyâ.

Kutumbastora notonpere, guddanpere, marana pattada phondeyâ.

Gandâdâ kûto kutâdera, punân vonja mîpatere, pirano kondodu shingâra maltere.

Kannadâ porlutunâgâ, pulyakâloda bolleye.

Moņedâ porlutunâgâ, punnamedâ devere.

Gindyâtnîra pattere, tolashida gaddi pâdere.

Kutumbastera sorgoda nîru budiyere.

Dumbutu aggi pattâdere,

Pira votu punânu tumbâdere.

Mûgi suttu bali battere.

Pedambugu tu dîyere,

Pottutu sudu sukkâri phondere,

Marana pattada pondeyâ. Marana pattada pondeyâ.

#### Translation.

"Alas! the man is dead and gone! On Tuesday he died of dropsy in the head. Those near and dear to him beat themselves on their foreheads and breasts. A funeral pyre was made of sandal-wood. The body of the deceased was washed and taken to the back of the house to be decorated. If we looked at his eyes, they spread light like that of the dawn; if we looked at the face, it shone like a full moon. They then brought water in a bell-metal vessel,

and put tulasi leaves in it. Then a member of his family poured the sacred water into his mouth. After this the firepot was taken in advance, followed by the dead body. The body was taken round the pyre three times, fire was applied to it at its left side, and it was reduced to ashes. Alas! The man is dead and gone!"

The following song is sung by the Pombadas of Mangalore during a marriage ceremony:—

3. Text.

Denâ dennâ dennâye (Chorus).

Adikanchige melkanchige kanchigadagenda aramane.

Âra Yekanandâ Sâlera bontu bovorgu phovodundu phanpere (Chorus.)

Nâyidâ Mallâdikare bontu bovorgu phovere,

Mannu paikudendâ maleka phovodu phanpere (Chorus).

Derenâkudu derodu vachanâgundi vochodu

Bontu bovorgu Såde maltadera åra Yekkânalere.

## Translation.

"That Yekkana Sala, who has built a two-storeyed palace known as the palace of seats, gave orders for going on a hunting party. The Mallâdikara, who has the charge of dogs, will go for hunting. They say that we should go to the forest called Manna paikude or Hill of Mud, a forest never as yet entered by man for hunting. They say that we should go to those depths for spreading our nets, where never before man fished. They have made a way for the hunting party to go. Yekkana Sale is the man who does all this."

(The above song is sung when the bridegroom comes to the hut before he takes his seat with his bride.)

## (To be continued.)

### BOOK-NOTICES.

What the Apostle Thomas wrote from India, by T. K. Joseph, B.A., L.T. Reprint from The Young Men of India, May 1926.

A very interesting pamphlet on the fresh evidence as to this Apostle culled by Dr. Farquhar, taking up certain points. The first is that Gondophares, Guda and the Apostle were all contemporaries in the middle of the first century A.D., a fact leading "to the belief that St. Thomas was the Apostle of North West India," which was under Gondophares. The second point is the examination of a weak link in the chain of the argument. All modern scholars are agreed that the Syriac work, The Praksis of Judas Thomas, c. A.D. 200, on which the argument depends, is not an entirely faithful record. The third and fourth points are that while the St. Thomas-Gondophares synchronism is certainly a fact, the question arises: can the connection of the two be so regarded? Mr. Joseph thinks that very probably it can. The direct answer may be recorded in a genuine Acts of St. Thomas extensively circulated about A.D. 200, if it could be found. As regards this point Mr. Joseph adduces some remarks of Dr. Farquhar in his Apostle Thomas in Northern India regarding "circumstantial evidence that there was in the Edessene Church a letter of St. Thomas sent to it from India." The sixth point deals with a statement by Origen

(c. 185-254) that St. Thomas was sent to Parthia, which Dr. Farquhar shows was a mistake, based on the fact that Gondophares of North India was a Parthian by race. The seventh, eighth and ninth points are all concerned with the fact that while Gondophares must be regarded as a North Indian king, all Malabar and Coromandel traditions place him in South India; just as, by the way, all Burmese traditions place the holy land of the Buddhists in Burma and Siamese traditions allot it to Siam. There is a controversy still in progress in Malayalam as to this consideration. All this makes one hope to see Dr. Farquhar and Mr. Joseph produce something further of equal value in collaboration as to the South Indian legend. R. C. TEMPLE.

SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM, by R. E. ENTHOVEN in Folklore, vol. XXXVI, No. III, September 1925. London, William Glaisher.

In this important paper Mr. Enthoven has descanted on Sir James Campbell's well-known theory, on which he expended so much research, and after all never completed. I had the privilege of being well acquainted with him, and it was owing to that acquaintance that he was induced, after a long talk over the matter with me during a flying visit to Bombay, to start on his voluminous printed, but not published, Notes in this Journal. He insisted

on re-editing them, and so the publication was slow, and long before he could complete it he died. After his death those in charge of his MSS. thought it best to leave them where they were, to the great loss of scholarship in India and indeed in the world. Since then his former Assistant, Mr. Enthoven, has done something to retrieve his researches from oblivion, and has again attacked the subject in the paper under discussion, "actuated mainly by the hope that some member of the Folk-lore Society may be moved to undertake the task of revising and issuing the Notes in a form adapted to the use of those interested in primitive religion." It is in the further hope that some reader of the Indian Antiquary will be fired to do as Mr. Enthoven desires that attention is now drawn to this remark.

As to the manner in which this should be done Mr. Enthoven writes: "I am of the opinion that, if use is to be made of Campbell's Notes, it would be an advantage to concentrate on the references to India and omit the rest," and he gives his reasons. Then he observes that Campbell "never really developed in a comprehensive statement his conclusions on the meaning of the immense volume of primitive practice which he has recorded for us in his Gazetteers and Notes. The raw material for the student, however, exists. It seems to me of great importance that it should be made more accessible."

On this I would remark that the publication of Campbell's Notes would thus become "evidence" for an anthropologist to work up into a "judgment," and from that point of view all the evidence available is of value. As regards value, old evidence is as good as that which is newer, and it would be a misfortune if the judge—as I presume our assumed anthropological researcher would constitute himself—is to be deprived of any part of it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

TRAVELS IN INDIA, by JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER translated and annotated by V. Ball, edited by William Crooke, with additional notes by H. A. Rose: 2 vols., 1925. Oxford University Press.

The six voyages of Tavernier, first printed in 1676, have indeed been presented in an edition worthy of his invaluable work. The very names of the editors are a guarantee of the excellence of the work put into the two volumes under discussion. We have, besides, first of all Dr. Ball's preface and his introduction, which is really a life of Tavernier after Prof. Charles Joret's French life of the great traveller, and a bibliography of the various editions of Tavernier's Travels. Then we have an introduction by Dr. Crooke, characteristically short and full of information, and in addition a large number of notes, involving immense research, on Tavernier's history and geography by Mr. Rose. So that before he gets to Tavernier's text, the modern student will find much food for his mind and very much that his predecessors missed. In this part of

the book, however, there are some misprints which might have been avoided.

Tavernier's Travels are so well known and he travelled so far and observed so very much that it is inadvisable, and indeed impossible, to go into the story of his wonderful journeys in a review. Suffice it to say that the notes on, and the illustrations of, the text are wonderfully full and illuminating, as three scholars have put all the wealth of their learning into them, and when one of them was the late Dr. Crooke one knows how great and wide that learning has been, and how thoroughly—though not quite exhaustively after all—modern books on the subject have been searched.

Not content with the notes before the text commences, the annotators of Tavernier have added a series of valuable appendices on diamonds and precious stones. The first is on "the Great Mogul's Diamond and the true History of the Koh-i-Nur," containing a large amount of useful information, culled from many sources; followed by the story of the Grand Duke of Tuscany's Diamond and on the weights of other diamonds. Appendix II contains an extraordinarily valuable list of all the diamond mines in India, followed by Appendices III, IV, and V on Diamond Mines in Bengal and Burma, the Ruby Mines in Burma and the Sapphire Washings in Ceylon. Finally there is an abstract of an extremely rare work, Chapuzeau's Histoire des Joyaux.

Altogether we have now a work on Tavernier's Travels, creditable to all concerned therewith.

R. C. TEMPLE.

Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy, 1924. Government Press, Madras, 1925.

There are many points of interest in this Report. which gives an account of good work done in 1924. There are lists of 9 copper-plates examined in the year, of 256 stone inscriptions copied in 1923, and 452 in 1924, besides 94 photographs of antiquarian objects. Considering that all the inscriptions mentioned have been read and their contents and dates ascertained, the above is a good record of work done. But perhaps the most important list in this Report is that in Appendix E, giving the dates of the inscriptions read, where such dates occur, and from this list we see that they belong to the following Dynasties: Pallava, Chagi, Kakatiya, Pandya, Chola, Vijayanagara I, II, and III, Madura Nayaka and Pudukottai Tondaman. There are besides a number of miscellaneous inscriptions with dates recorded. The volume thus contains a great mass of real historical information for the enquirer.

Part II of the Report contains special accounts of certain valuable inscriptions, including a Brâhmî Inscription at Allûrû in the Kistna District, a Ganga Inscription giving an important genealogy, a record of Râjâdhirâja II (Chola) producing evidence of the war of the Pandya succession, an

early Vijayanagara inscription of Harihara II, and a notice of the coronation of Achyuta at Kâlahasti and of many of his officers. The inscriptions of the Chagi chiefs are of great interest and so is one of .Sarfðjî Mahârâja of the Marâtha kings of Tanjore, containing an account of a trial by ordeal. It records an agreement that "if any one of the respondents," in a temple dispute, "dipped his fingers in boiling ghee in the temple unscathed" appellant would wave his rights. "This was agreed to and one of the respondents did dip his fingers in the boiling ghee and remained uninjured, and the appellant then made over the said land to the respondents as agreed." There is, morever, an enormously long inscription of the Bhonsle family, giving a very valuable genealogy, and a remarkably ornate Musalman inscription at Suruguppa translated by Mr. Yazdani "for the peculiar style and high sentiments that it is clothed in." Finally an account is given of those inscriptions that allude to the ancient administration of criminal justice in

Altogether one must congratulate the Superintendent of the Epigraphical Department on producing a volume of real value to all searchers in South Indian history.

R. C. TEMPLE.

JOURNAL OF FRANCIS BUCHANAN (afterwards Hamilton) kept during the Survey of the Districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-12. Edited with Notes and Introduction by. V. H. Jackson, Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, 1926.

This Journal, which is published for the first time, forms a small portion of the manuscripts relating to Buchanan's great Statistical Survey of Bengal, carried out between 1807 and 1815. It represents the official daily journal which he kept during his tour of the Patna and Gaya districts, and must be distinguished from the corresponding official reports which he submitted as the outcome of his survey. As Mr. Jackson, the present editor, points out in an excellent Introduction, Buchanan's Journals form a very useful supplement to his published Reports, and they provide a detailed description of the route which Buchanan followed thus enabling the modern enquirer to identify some of the hills, mines, quarries, caves etc., described in the Reports. Buchanan was a most careful and painstaking enquirer, and, as Mr. Jackson remarks, seems to have adopted the principles of modern scientific research, always testing the truth of any statement made to him, whenever the opportunity occurred. Considering that he had no works of reference to aid him in identifying the antiquities of Bihar and no reliable maps to guide his wanderings, the general accuracy of his statements and conclusions is remarkable. Mr. Jackson has added to Buchanan's text some valuable appendices which have already been published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. These, which comprise notes on Old Rajagriha, the Barabar Hills etc., are so interesting from an antiquarian standpoint that one wishes the editor had found time to annotate Buchanan's text more fully. Apparently this was the original intention; but, as was the case with so many other proposals, the War obliged Mr. Jackson to forego his plans. Even as it is, this edition of Buchanan's Journal is sure of a warm welcome from students of the history and antiquities of Bihar. S. M. EDWARDES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 28. BHASA AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE THIRTEEN TRIVANDRUM PLAYS. By HIRANANDA SASTRI. Calcutta, 1926.

The controversy regarding the authorship of the thirteen plays discovered by Mr. Ganapati Śastri of Trivandrum in 1912 and published by him in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, bids fair to rival the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy in England. The discoverer himself ascribed the authorship to the famous Bhâsa, and his view found favour with many European and Indian pandits, including Dr. F. W. Thomas. Opposed to them are Mr. Bhattanatha Svâmî, Dr. L. D. Barnett, and Professor Sylvain Lévi. A new combatant now enters the arena in the person of Mr. Hirananda Śastri, who states that he has been prompted to investigate the whole question of authorship by the perusal of a drama of Śaktibhadra named Aścharyachûdamani, which bears close resemblance to the thirteen plays ascribed to Bhasa. After summarising and examining the arguments put forward by what I may for the moment call the 'pro-Bhasa' school, he investigates various points of dramatical technique, which bear directly on the question at issue, discusses the title of the Svapnanatakam, and deals lucidly with the structure of the plays, with the archaisms found in them, with the relation of the Charudatta to the Mrichchhakatika, with the epithets of Bhasa, and with the evidence of anthologies. I must leave those interested in the question to study the author's detailed arguments themselves, and content myself with recording his final conclusion that the Trivandrum plays cannot be the work of Bhâsa and that the arguments in support of this opinion can all be shown to be ativyapta or wide of the mark. Published as a record of the Archæological Survey of India and thus bearing the seal of official approvel. Mr. Hirananda Sâstrî's investigation is bound to carry considerable weight among Orientalists, who, even if they remain unconverted, must pay a tribute to the scholarly character of his thesis.

S. M. EDWARDES.

555. On the 25th July 1720 the Cassandra, Indiaman, 380 tons, (Hardy, Register of ships), Captain James Macrae (afterwards Governor of Madras) coming into Johanna Bay with the Greenwich, Indiaman (Captain Richard Kirby), found 14 men belonging to the Indian Queen, 116 a pirate ship of 250 tons, 28 guns and 90 men, commanded by a French man, Oliver de la Bouche (or Levasseur), which had been wrecked and whose crew were engaged in building a new vessel at Mayotta, some three leagues away. As the Company's ships carried commissions to take pirates, Macrae proposed to Kirby to go to Mayotta to seize the freebooters there, but before they could start they saw the Fancy and Victory (Applebee's Original Weekly Journal, 22nd April 1721, says the Victory mounted 40 guns and the Fancy 18) entering the Bay with black flags with the Death's head at the maintopmast head, red flags at the foretopmast head and St. George's colours at the ensign staff (Log of the Greenwich, 7th August 1720). Macrae and Kirby, who had been joined by an Ostender (of 22 guns, Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, 22nd April 1721, N.B. This Journal gives the pirate ships as carrying 34 and 30 guns respectively) resolved to fight. England and Taylor had just taken two (? one) Jeddah ships with goods to the value of £200,000 on board, a booty well worth defending, and were equally determined on an engagement. The Fancy immediately attacked the Cassandra, whose unfavourable position in the Bay prevented her from getting out to join her consorts. Kirby very basely withdrew to a safe distance, an example of discretion which was followed by the Ostender, and ultimately made his way to Bombay, where he reported that he was not sure, when he last saw the Cassandra, whether she had been taken or not. Meanwhile, after a most gallant defence, Macrae was forced to run his ship ashore. The Fancy following, ran herself aground and lay in such a position that Macrae's guns swept her decks and he could have taken her, had not her crew-been reinforced from the Victory which, owing to the flight of Macrae's consorts was now able to assist the Fancy. At last, no resource remaining, Macrae, himself wounded in the head, and such of his crew (he had 13 men killed and 24 wounded) as remained alive, got ashore under cover of the smoke from the guns and took refuge with the native Prince, who very loyally protected them, despite a reward of 10,000 dollars (the Weekly Journal says 40 guineas) which the pirates offered for the delivery of Macrae. To put them off, the Prince said that Macrae had died of his wounds. According to Downing (p. 45) the Cassandra had £75,000 on board. Applebee's Original Weekly Journal says that she had £40,000 of foreign silver "but no part of the cargo was so much valued by the robbers as the Doctor's chest, for they were all poxed to a great degree." After a few days, thinking that the contemplation of their booty would have cooled the pirates' rage at their losses, which were estimated at between 90 and 100 men out of 300 whites and 80 blacks, Macrae opened up communications by means of a passenger, Mr. Cowan, and having been promised good treatment, had the temerity to go on board. Taylor and his party wished to break their safe-conduct, but England, like Macrae, an Irishman, and, it is said, his old schoolfellow, so befriended him that at last the pirates gave him the Fancy, which had been refloated, but was found to be very badly damaged, together with 129 bales of the Company's cloth, for which they had no use. Downing (p. 44) says that Taylor resented this leniency most bitterly and vowed to be revenged on England for his generosity. On the 3rd September the pirates set sail. Macrae followed on the 8th and with great difficulty reached Bombay on the 26th October, where he sold the Fancy to a Bombay merchant named Wake, but ultimately she came to England where she was claimed by her original owners. On the full account of the affair becoming known, Kirby was so ashamed that he died soon after (Downing, p. 45; Post Boy, 22-25 April 1721; British Journal, 14th September 1723; Johnson, I. 119).

<sup>116</sup> Formerly the Defiance, 26 guns and 70 men (Log of the Duke of York, Robert Hyde Commander, 19 Aug. 1720). Apparently she had been some time in the East, as a French ship had brought to Calcutta 2 men, who had run away from the Indian Queen when she was cleaning at Mayotta.

On their way to the Indian coast, England and Taylor took two small Moor ships carry. 556. ing horses, but on the 21st October, when in sight of land, they saw a fleet in shore, whereupon some of the pirates proposed to sink the prizes with the crews and horses on board. Fortunately milder counsels prevailed and they were merely disabled. The fleet which they had sighted had been sent from Bombay to assist in an attack upon Gheria. The senior officer was Captain Upton, but the Admiral of the fleet and Commander-in-Chief of the whole force was a Mr. Walter Brown (Bomb. Gaz. XXVI. i. 151). Naturally a hybrid expedition of this kind had been unsuccessful and the fleet was now returning, towing with it a floating battery, called the Prahm (a Dutch name for a kind of flat bottomed boat), which was armed with twelve 48-pounders (Downing, p. 39). England and Taylor overtook them in the night and though he had a good notion of their character, Upton would not give the order to engage. Why he hesitated is not clear. He had sent Captain Harvey of the Antelope to reconnoitre, and Harvey reported that they had hoisted the bloody flag, whilst some of the pirates brought from Johanna in the Greenwich had recognised the ships. Possibly it was nervousness on the part of Mr. Brown, who had hoisted the Company's flag on the London (Upton's ship), and Downing (p. 49) says that Upton was afraid to attack without Mr. Brown's orders. Upton says in his Log that the other ships would not support him, but his preference for discretion may be judged from another entry in his Log (24th April 1721) showing how, on his voyage to Mocha, having sighted some Sanganian pirates, he carefully let them alone. So far then from attacking the pirates, he ordered the Prahm to be cut adrift and went his way. Quickly realizing the character of the man they had to deal with, England and Taylor sailed through the Bombay fleet, firing right and left on the ships as they passed them. The report of this insult did not fail to excite the anger of Governor Boone, and he placed Captain Macrae, who was only too eager to avenge his losses, in command of operations in the room of Captain Upton (Johnson I. 127), without any civilian on board to hamper his proceedings; but in accordance with Boone's usual bad luck, Macrae never managed to come up with his old enemies. Meanwhile, the Victory being very leaky, the pirates after a short cruise on the Malabar coast, went to the Laccadive Islands, but finding no good anchorage, passed on to the Island of Melindra, where they treated the inhabitants, men and women, with the most fiendish brutality. Thence they returned to the Malabar Coast, and off Tellicherry took a small vessel belonging to the Governor of Bombay and commanded by one John Fawke. They made him drunk and he began to brag of the punishment they would meet with when Captain Macrae should catch them. As they considered Macrae was indebted to them for treating him so leniently, they were highly indignant that he should take any steps against them and swore not only to take vengeance upon him but to treat with the greatest severity Their anger extended to Capall ship's officers who might fall into their hands. tain England, whom they looked upon as the cause of their present danger. However, coming to Cochin, they met with a very friendly reception from the Dutch, with whom they traded secretly, though more openly with the natives, for everything they wanted. The Dutch Governor even accepted presents of clocks and such like articles from their plunder. to be one From Cochin, sailing northward, they suspected every sail they saw of Macrae's vessels, but this did not prevent them from spending a riotous Christmas (1720) in which they wasted two-thirds of the provisions which they had just purchased. In February 1720 they arrived at Mauritius, whither they had been compelled to go by the leaky condition of the Victory—they would indeed have deserted her had she not carried most of their supply of arrack. On leaving this place, they refitted and resheathed the Victory and then, having marooned Captain England and some of his friends (Downing, p. 116 says 60 or 70), sailed for Mascarenhas under Captain Taylor. England managed to build a small boat in which he and his party made their way to Madagascar (Johnson, I. 124). of course, his share of the booty had been taken from him, he arrived in a state of great

poverty, being kept alive only by the charity of some pirates settled there. Soon after he died, conscience stricken and penitent for his crimes (Downing, p. 135). Meanwhile Taylor had been joined by Condent (of the Flying Dragon, Johnson, I. 137), who, having captured a big Jeddah ship, had taken her to St. Mary's and there sunk her. She is said to have had thirteen lakhs of treasure on board, beside an immense quantity of drugs and spices. Ignorant of their value or not knowing how to dispose of them, the pirates left them, with the guns and a large quantity of cloth which had formed part of the cargo, to lie and rot upon the shore (Downing, pp. 46, 94, 112)117. Taylor and Condent arrived at Mascarenhas on the In the port there was lying a large Portuguese vessel, the Nostra Senhora da Cabo, which had been dismasted in a storm and forced to throw overboard all but 21 of her Thinking that the newcomers were English, the Conde de Receira, Viceroy of Goa, who was one of the passengers, together with some of his companions, went to their ship to receive them, but the pirates, running alongside, crowded on board, and the ship was captured without any possibility of resistance. The booty thus taken was estimated at three million dollars in jewels and precious stones, and 500,000 crowns in cash. An Ostender (the Ostend Galley formerly the Greyhound of London), was lying on the other side of the island and this was also taken (Lazenby's Narrative, Misc. Letters Recd., XIII, Nos. 97-99). On the 21st April 1725 it was reported from Lisbon that the King of Portugal had sent a present to the King of China in return for one sent by him about three years previously in a ship which had been taken by pirates (London Gazette, 20-24 April 1725). Possibly this was the Nostra Senhora da Cabo, but it may have been a Moor's ship coming from China, which Downing says (pp. 51, 113) Taylor took in 1722. A French account (Bernardin de St. Pierre, Voyage à l'Isle de France, Let. XIX.,) says that the pirate captain in a fit of generosity released the Viceroy without ransom. Lazenby says that some of the pirates wished to carry him off to Mozambique and make him pay a heavy ransom, but others said that, as most of his fortune was on board the captured vessel, it was not possible to get much more out of him, and so it was resolved to release him for the comparatively small ransom of 2000 dollars. Even this concession must have been a relief and, no doubt, the Viceroy must have been grateful to the particular captain to whom it was due. It is hardly possible that Taylor could have shown generosity to anyone. Colonel Biddulph (p. 158) says it was La Bouche, ex-Captain of the Indian Queen, who, on the deposition of England had been elected Captain of the Victory. Condent, according to Lazenby, settled on the Island 118 and, according to Johnson (II. 143) obtained a pardon from the Governor, Monsieur Desforges, 119 married his sister-inlaw and subsequently retired to St. Malo, where he established himself as a merchant. St. Pierre, on the other hand, says that the generous pirate, owing to some informality in his pardon, was subsequently hanged by a judge whose cupidity was excited by his wealth. St. Pierre also tells us that shortly before his visit in 1770 there died in the Island the last of the pirates who came ashore on this occasion, a man named Adam, at the ripe age of 104. An officer of the British Navy visiting Bourbon in 1763, says that many of the pirates

On the 15th April 1723 the Bombay Council wrote home that they had heard from Mauritius that several pirates had come there to take advantage of a general pardon to all pirates granted by the King of France (Bombau Letters Received.)

<sup>117</sup> The impression created by these pirates may be judged by the fact that two English vessels, the Mary and the Cardonna (? Cardonnel) reported at the Cape on the 5th April 1721 that the pirates had 14 first class vessels at sea, the smallest of 30 guns, and that they intended to form a settlement at Mauritius (Leibbrandt, Précis, p. 283).

Mr. Charles Grant (*History of Mauritius*, p. 147) says that M. de Beauvilliers was Governor of Bourbon from 1715 to 1721, and that M. Desforges Boucher became Governor in 1722.

brought by Avery, England, Condon and Pattison<sup>120</sup> were then alive and that their descendants were numerous (Grant, p. 164.)

557. Leaving behind them the old Victory with all the prisoners and useless hands, Taylor carried off the Portuguese ship, now renamed the Victory, with 200 Mozambique negroes on board, to St. Mary's, taking, says Downing (p. 51), a rich Moors ship from China on the way. Here the Ostend Galley having been sent down the coast for a new mast, when all the pirates but two happened to be ashore, the Dutchmen and Portuguese on board escaped with the ship. Nevertheless, with the help of Captain Macrae's carpenter, whom they had forced to stay with them, the pirates refitted the new Victory (now with 64 guns and 100 men) and the Cassandra (now with 40 guns and 100 men). At St. Mary's it is said that eighty of the pirates had died before the ships sailed. Going to the west coast of Madagascar in Tullear Bay, they took and burned a French ship of 200 tons. Then they went to St. Augustine's, where they arrived soon after Commodore Matthews had left (See para. 558 below) and finding his letters, they wrote with charcoal an impudent message on Captain Carpenter's tomb (on Moreslas Island in Carpenter Bay), saying that on the 28th February (1722) they were leaving for Port Dauphin (Downing, pp. 48, 62, 91), but went to St. John's (east coast of Cape Colony), Delagoa Bay, Mozambique, and so to Massalege (north-west coast of Madagascar? Majanga). Here in December 1722 they separated. The Victory (with 220 men) and a small sloop of 20 guns went to St. Mary's and, according to Johnson (I. 136), was burnt by her crew. The rest of the pirates sailed with Taylor in the Cassandra for the West Indies viâ the Cape, St. Helena, Ascension, Fernando Po, the Island of Aruba and at last to San Blas Keys (? in Mexico, Deposition of John Freeman, March 1723, Ind. Off., Misc. Letters Recd., XIV. No. 162). Then Taylor went to Portobello (on the coast of Panama) and after a, perhaps, pretended attempt to procure a pardon through Captain Laws of H. M. S. Mermaid, he accepted a pardon from the King of Spain and was allowed to sell his booty at Portobello, subject only to the King's duty of 20 per cent. The pirates boasted that they could divide to each man £1200 in gold and silver, besides diamonds and rich goods (Ind. Off., Misc. Letters Recd., vol. XIV, p. 205 et seg.). Johnson (I. 140) says that Taylor obtained a commission in the Spanish service and commanded the man-of-war which in 1723 attacked the English logwood cutters in the Bay of Honduras. If Johnson refers to the Spanish ship which on the 10th March 1723 took nine out of eleven English vessels in the Bay of Honduras and murdered all the crews, it is satisfactory to know that the pirate Edward Low, coming in immediately after this massacre, retook the captured ships and put all the Spaniards to the sword (British Journal, 11th May 1723). According to Downing (pp. 65, 107-8), the surgeon, through whom Taylor communicated with Captain Laws, was one William Moore of the Prosperous of London (Captain James), who had been forcibly detained by England and Taylor throughout their whole cruise in the Eastern Waters. He escaped from Taylor and was taken by Captain Laws to Jamaica and there, his old captain speaking in his favour, he was cleared of the charge of piracy and came to England in the Mermaid. If he is the Chief Surgeon mentioned by Lazenby in his Narrative as having shown him a very doubtful friendship when Lazenby was forcibly detained by England and Taylor, it was fortunate for him that Lazenby was not at Jamaica when his case was enquired into.

558. Mention has been made in the last paragraph of the expected arrival in Madagascar of Commodore Thomas Matthews. That officer with a small squadron composed of the *Lion* (Captain Readish), the *Salisbury* (Captain John Cockburn), the *Exeter* (Captain Robert Johnson) and the *Shoreham* (Captain Covell Maine) left England

<sup>120</sup> This is probably Captain Padison of the St. George who according to a Portuguese complaint (Home Miscellaneous, LX, pp. 31-33) on the 14th July 1719, after burning several ships, belonging to the native prince of Cabinda and Loango, seized a Portuguese vessel (Our Lady Pereres and St. Anthony), put her crew ashore and carried her off to Cong in the Persian Gulf,

February 1720-1 for Madagascar with the object (in compliance requests of the East India Company) of destroying the piratical nests in that island. When he arrived at St. Augustine's, June 1721 (Downing, p. 80), his ships having lost company, he left letters for the Salisbury with the natives and went on to Bombay, where he arrived in September, 1721. The letters remained untouched at St. Augustine's (or at Moreslas Island, Downing, p. 62) until the arrival, at the end of the year, of Taylor, to whom the natives were forced to deliver them. Taylor, according to pirate custom, read them to his crew and, in bravado, left the message above mentioned. Matthews was detained at Bombay for a short time, but in February 1722 he started to cruise round Madagascar. At St. Augustine's he found Taylor's message. At Charnock (? Charrack) Mary's, 18th April 1722 (Downing, p. 92), he leagues from St. Point, found the cargo of the Moor ship taken by Condent lying on the shore, and salved the guns. Here they met with John Plantain<sup>121</sup> (or James or William, see Downing, p. 63 and Dessent's Deposition, H. C. A. 1-18), a native of Jamaica and an old pirate, who had come out with England (he told Downing, p. 117, that he belonged to the Cassandra) and had settled at Ranter's Bay ten or twelve miles from St. Mary's, as a King amongst the natives (Downing, pp. 63-114). According to Downing, he established himself in supremacy over all the other Kings, but later on betook himself to India and entered the service of Angria who made him one of his principal sea officers (Authentic Hist. of Tulajee Angria, p. 52).122 Matthews allowed his men to trade with Plantain, but when Plantain had left on the shore. under a very slender guard, the arrack and goods which he had purchased, the officers of the fleet sent boats at night and carried them off. This story is corroborated by the depositions of two sailors, Charles Larrat of the Lion and Dessent of the Salisbury (High Court of Admiralty, 1-18). At St. Mary's the squadron made friends with the native Prince, confirming the alliance by swearing by the sea and drinking a glass of sea-water mixed with gunpowder, a ceremony which the pirates had taught the natives (Downing, pp. 93, 123). Apparently satisfied that he could do nothing more, Matthews returned to India. After Lawson's fight with Angrians (See para. 561 below), Matthews sailed for England, where he arrived in July 1724.

559. So bad a reputation had attached itself to Madagascar before Matthews' visit, and so little was the palpable result of that visit, that the Company's ships did not dare to go there singly. As every ship's course was strictly prescribed before she left England, the reasons for any deviation had to be certified in the most formal manner by the officers and petty officers, the Captain's opinion not being considered sufficient by itself. On the 13th November 1722 the following document, dated 23rd June 1722, Lat. 36°00 3' from Cape Lagulas [Agulhas], was presented to the Council of Bombay:—

"Whereas the ships Prince Frederick [Captain Edward Martin] and the Hanover, both bound for the East Indies, did as by order keep company together from the Downs to the Latitude of 35°S. and about 400 leagues west from Cape Bona Esperanza, where we met with a very hard gale of wind and a prodigious great sea with very thick weather, the which continued several days, the wind varing [sic] all round the compass, which produced very thick fogs, by which reason we lost company and notwithstanding all our endeavours have not seen her since, and being now in the latitude of 36°S. and about 40 leagues to the Eastward of the said Cape and knowing of the number of

<sup>121</sup> Downing (p. 116) mentions two allies of Plantain's, viz. James Adair, a Scotchman, and Hans Burgen, a Dane.

<sup>122</sup> The author of this pamphlet was probably Downing, who is the only writer, so far discovered, who renders the Indian word Kafila "scaffold".

<sup>123</sup> Such Councils were the last vestige of the old Consultations prescribed by the Laws of Oleron (ascribed to Richard I) to be held by captains with their crews on all critical occasions.

Pyrates that frequent Madagascar and the Main, and more especially in the month of August, which would be the time, should we proceed that passage, of our being near the Island of Johanna, where they took the Cassandra in that month, it being the chief place of their rendezvous till the Monsoons are over in India. Therefore we, John Bond and officers of the ship Hanover whose names are hereunder written, do protest against the said Pyrates and do declare that it is not for any private views or interest of our own, but for the safety of the ship and cargoe, do unanimously agree, conclude and resolve, to proceed the outward passage for the Island Zelone [Ceylon] or the first place in India, where we may get intelligence for our better security, we being now a single ship and not capable of defending ourselves against so great a number of enemies, whose force by all accounts is much superior to ours" (Ind. Off., Log of Hanover). This document is signed by John Quick [Caulker], James Oliver [Carpenter], Griffith Thomas [Boatswain], Christopher Boulter [Gunner], Frankland Lucas, Adam Robarts, Robert Killets [? Midshipmen], John Browne [2nd Mate], George Court [Chief Mate] and John Bond [Commander]. The order in which the signatures were made seems to approximate to the custom of the most junior officer expressing his opinion first in a Council of War, but how far freedom was allowed to sign or not to sign I cannot express any opinion.

560. Though Commodore Matthews appears to have achieved nothing by his visit to Madagascar, it marks the end of the use of that Island as a base for the Anglo-American pirates. Even those who had settled there died out or sank into absolute insignificance, though it continued to be a halting place for merchantmen for many years longer. In regard to the allegation that Commodore Matthews so far neglected his duty as to behave in a friendly way towards the pirates, Captain Thornhill, Chief Mate in command, tells us, under date 12th August 1723, that at Mozambique a Portuguese official asserted that the Commodore, instead of suppressing the pirates, had traded with them and sold them all manner of naval stores, and that he had on board articles which had been taken out of the Portuguese ship (Nostra Senhora da Cabo) but, says Thornhill, the Commodore had visited Mascarenhas. "From this it may be supposed that our men-of-war bought their commodities of the French Governor and at a very cheap rate, which I think any body would do and not slip so good an opportunity." On the other hand, when one of Thornhill's midshipmen recognized on board the Portuguese man-of-war in Mozambique harbour a man who had served with the pirate Hornygold in the West Indies, the Portuguese refused to surrender him (Log of the Duke of York). There does not seem much to choose between the English, French, Dutch and Portuguese in their moral ideas about piracy.

Malabarese.

561. It has been mentioned that Commodore Matthews arrived at Bombay in September 1721. Downing says (pp. 55-59) that he assisted the Bombay Government in an attack on Angria's fort at Alibag, about 40 miles south of Bombay, which was defeated owing to the treachery of their Portuguese allies. This, if Downing has not confused it with the attack on Gheria in 1720, was the last of Governor Boone's many unsuccessful attempts to reduce the Angrian pirates. He left for England in January 1721-2. On his return from Madagascar in 1722, Matthews again offered his assistance to the Bombay Government. Towards the end of the year, Captain Lawson, with men from the fleet, engaged Angria's grabs off Bombay, capturing one, the first of Angria's fighting vessels to surrender to the English. It was commanded by a Dutchman, who was killed in the fight "or 'tis thought he would sooner have blown up the ship than have been taken" (Downing, pp. 67, 152). Another fight took place somewhat earlier, the Victoria Grab and the Revenge (Company's cruisers) taking one of the Kempsaunt's grabs and destroying another, whilst on the 26th February 1721-2, four of Angria's grabs and several gallivats met two other cruisers, viz. the Eagle Brigantine (Captain Martin) and the Hunter Galley (Captain Doggett) off Bassein. The

British were on the point of victory when the Hunter blew up with all on board. Downing (p. 50) says that the Eagle also blew up, but as a matter of fact she escaped with the Bombay Merchant and two gallivats which were under her convoy, after a running fight, to Serigon and thence to Mahim. Soon after, however, she was wrecked and became a total loss (Bombay Letters Received, I. 22nd March 1721-2). On the 5th November 1722 the Victoria and Revenge were sent against Angria's fleet, and off Versivah (Vesava St. John's) they captured his Admiral Galley, his Chief Subadar and 90 of his best people. The rest of the fleet escaped to Rajapore River, but this affair so discouraged Angria that for some time his ships did not dare to leave harbour (Bomb. Letters Recd. 15 April, paras., 7 and 15, May 1723, para. 19). According to Low (I. 101), during the course of this year, Bombay made an unsuccessful attack on Angria's Fortress of Kolaba, a little south of Bombay. At the very time when the Bombay Council was so hard pressed in holding not only the Angrian but also the Sanganian pirates in check, Commodore Matthews chose to exercise his authority as a King's officer by receiving deserters from the Company's ships and by ordering the Company's cruisers to leave the posts assigned to them for his own convenience (Bomb. Letters Recd., 3rd January 1723-4, para. 9). Portuguese.

562. In November 1722 Captain Thomas Smith (Fort St. George Galley) took two pirates flying Portuguese colours. "The Declarants [Smith and his officers] hoisted English colours and hailed her from whence she came and to whom she belonged. Answer was made that their colours showed who they were, to which the Commander of the Bengal (Captain William Jordan) replied that he trusted no colours at sea, but if they were what they pretended, he demanded their sending their boat on board (Bomb. Cons., 11th November 1722).

#### Sanganians.

563. On the 8th November 1723 the Bombay Council informed the Court of Directors that they proposed to form a cruising fleet of the *Victoria*, three galleys and half a dozen gallivats, to hold the sea between Carwar and the Sanganian Coast, and hoped to take many of "the Sanganian boats which cruis" about the high lands of St. John and intercept our trade in small craft." The *Victoria* had recently taken one of these and made 36 prisoners: the boat itself was sold for 300 rupees, which, according to custom, was divided amongst the captors (*Bomb. Letters Recd.*, 8th November 1723, para. 24).

564. On the 3rd May 1724 the Fort St. George Galley brought in a grab which carried no pass, but claimed to belong to the Raja of Porepatam, supposing her to be really a Sanganian. The Raja reclaimed her, saying that he had sent her as convoy to some of his ships sailing to Mocha, and proving that in her passage she had fought two Sanganians. One of these, a grab, had escaped, but the other, a large Surat ship which the Sanganians had taken a year earlier, had been burnt in the fight. Accordingly, the Bombay Council returned the Raja's ship, but only after he had paid up 500 rupees for the tonnage which had sailed out of his port that season without passes, and with the warning that any ship of his found at sea after the 10th September without a pass would be confiscated (Bomb. Letters Recd., 14th Sept. 1724).

V. Suppression of Piratical Communities.

565. The disappearance of European pirates from the Eastern Waters allowed of the recrudescence of indigenous piracy, but the increase of European commerce, especially British, made it necessary for the latter to take the matter seriously in hand. In earlier days the English (like other Europeans) had looked upon the native pirates chiefly as one means of keeping their rivals out of their way, but the impunity thus bestowed upon the pirates only taught them how to fight and whetted their appetites for the fine prey to be got from the English country trade and still more from the British Europe ships.

566. Amongst the native pirates themselves, the Sidis, who held the Mughal commission (See para. 305 above), were so weakened by the rise of the Marathas, especially by the

great defeat which the latter inflicted on them in 1732, when they lost most of their territory and seaports, that they were strongly inclined to seek friendship with the British and retire from piracy (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 161). In June 1758 the British occupied the Sidi capital of Rajapore, and in December of the same year acquired predominance in Surat, whilst in 1759 they were appointed Admirals of the Mughal, with the special duty of suppressing piracy (Anquetil du Perron, L'Inde, II. 30). The petty piratical States south of Mount Deli had been reduced to quiescence before 1750 (See para. 625 below). In 1756 the Angrians were suppressed by the capture of Gheria by Watson and Clive, only to be replaced by the Sivajis or Marathas, who however both indulged in piracy themselves and encouraged it as over-lords of Kolhapur (Malwan) and of the Sawunts (Vingurla), both of whom were reduced by the British in 1812. With the suppression of the Waghers of Gujarat in 1820 the Sanganians practically disappeared, and the lessons given by the British to the Joasmis in 1809 and 1820 culminated in the Permanent Peace of 1843 which put an end to organised piracy in the Persian Gulf.

567. In the Far East the occupation of Rhio by the Dutch in October 1818 and of Singapore by the British, 6th February 1819, made piracy in the Malacca States a very hazardous occupation, whilst the introduction of steam vessels in 1837 sounded the death knell of piracy in the Malay Archipelago; but the Illanuns were not driven out of Borneo until 1846, and their last base in that island, namely Tungku, was not destroyed until 1852. Meanwhile the Suluans had received a shattering blow in the capture of the Island of Balagnini by the Spaniards in 1848, and were finally subdued in 1851. A little earlier, in 1849, Raja Brooke with the aid of British warships had taught the Borneo Malays and Dyaks a severe lesson. These acts of force would, if they had stood alone, have proved as temporary in their results as the previous punishments inflicted by the Dutch, for to destroy towns which could be rebuilt in a few days, to burn prahus which could be easily replaced, to put to flight bodies of pirates, the bulk of whom escaped into jungles into which they could not be followed, could not have had any permanent effect unless supported by more convincing measures. What really put an end to Malay piracy was the use of steam vessels which could run down the swift war-prahus of the Malays, and the restoration of commerce and security which made peaceful trade more profitable than piracy. The first steam-vessel used against the pirates was the English East India Company's Diana in 1836. The man who first showed that a peaceful life was practicable and profitable for the Malays was Raja Brooke of Sarawak.

568. In China piracy was so mixed up with patriotic rebellion and with smuggling that it is difficult often to distinguish between these different forms of illegal activity, but piracy seems to have come to an end as a profession in China with the ordinances of Governor Macdonell in 1867. From this date Hongkong ceased to be a source of intelligence and reprovisionment for the piratical organisations which from time immemorial had been closely connected with the islands lying in the mouth of the Canton River.

569. Sporadic outbreaks of piracy have since occurred in all parts of the Eastern Waters, but none of such importance as seriously to threaten the security of commerce.

#### Malabarese.

570. In 1724 the Dutch made an unsuccessful attack on Angria's fortress at Vijaydurg. In 1727 he took an English ship, and it was reported that the Bombay Government was forced to expend £50,000 annually for protection against the country pirates, of whom he was the most troublesome. In 1728 he retook the grab which Lawson had taken in 1722 (See para. 561 above). In 1729 Angria took the Company's Galley King William, and treated very cruelly Captain McNeale and other prisoners, whom however he released for the paltry ransom of five hundred rupees (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 87; Bomb. Quarterly Review, IV. 72; Low. I. 104).

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- 6. It is desirable, for reasons of economy as well as good typography, that footnotes be kept within moderate limits. References to footnotes should be made by brief series of natural numbers (say from 1 to 10), not by stars, daggers, etc. As to the method of inserting footnotes in the copy; good usage differs. A way convenient for author and editor and printer is to insert the note, with a wider left-hand margin than that used for the text, beginning the note on the line next after the line of text to which it refers, the text itself being resumed on the line next after the ending of the note. But if the note is an after-thought, or if it is long, it is well to interpolate it on a fresh sheet as a rider.
- 7. Contributors are requested to kindly remember that additions and alterations in type after an article is printed in pages, are in many cases technically difficult and proportionately costly, the bill for corrections sometimes amounting to as much as the first cost of composition, and that such alterations entail a most trying kind of labour, not only on editors and compositors, but on the authors themselves as well, and they are accordingly advised that a careful preparation of their manuscript in the manner above indicated will save both the Editor and themselves much unnecessary trouble.

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Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the Indian Antiquary.

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## Digitized by Arya Samai Fewndation Channai and eGangotri

Contributers in India are requested to be so good as to address papers and correspondence to the EDITOR, care of the British India Press, Muzgaon, Bembey.

Contributors in Europe are requested to be so good as to send their manuscripts and corrected proofs to Sta R. C. TEMPLE, BART, C.B., C.LE., F.S.A., c/o Lloyd's Bank Ltd., Cox's and King's Branch, 6, Pall Mall, London.

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mountains, away from the inhabited places; yet they acknowledge their archbishop and bishop; they visit them from many leagues; and by this it appears that they are of those who remained from the Apostle Saint Thomas, although they are allied and married with those who are descended from Mar Thoma the Syrian. And this is what can be gathered about their genealogy.

"It is a very likely thing, therefore, that the Apostle St. Thomas preached and was martyred in India, at S. Thomé, and it is certain too that Mar Thoma the Syrian came to India and that he had the said wives. Hence, these people took the rites and ceremonies of the Syrian Church, because Mar Thoma ordained that Syrian bishops should come, and they have great respect for them, their ancestor having come from them, and because they know that Christ our Lord spoke Syrian, as it was spoken in Jerusalem after the children of Israel came from Babylon."

In another Spanish document, a letter to the General of the Society, dated Cochin, January 12, 1579, Fr. Monserrate touches on the same subject in almost identical terms, yet with certain additions which have their importance in the study of the Malabar traditions.

"My chief occupation has been with the Christians of the Sierra, who commonly call themselves of St. Thomas. As regards the origin of these Christians, there are two opinions: one is that all are descended from the disciples of the Apostle St. Thomas: others say [they are descended] only from one Mar Thoma the Syrian. This word Mar is in Chaldean a sign of honour, and means the same as Don and Saint in Spanish, and the Syrians use this word Mar in both meanings: for they call St. Thomas Mar Thoma and [they use it] for any honourable and noble person, Mariâcob, Don Diego.

"This Mar Thoma the Syrian was a merchant and came by way of Ormuz like other merchants. The first port at which he touched was Paru, where they say he found people of the St. Thomas Christians, who with their families wore wooden crosses suspended from their neck.<sup>5</sup> And from that time (dahy: for that reason?) he made his seat at Curanguluru, which the Portuguese call Cranganor. He had two wives: one, free, the other, a slave; (Fol. 2r) but both of noble birth: for it is the custom in these parts to sell the nobles [children of noble birth], if they are born on evil days (as their manner of speaking is). The proof of this, besides the tradition of the old people, is that among these Christians there are many petty quarrels about caste. And that both were noble, at least Nayr women, is proved by the custom existing in this Malavar that there is no pollution between these Christians and the Nayres, nor penalty of death, if there be marriage or friendship, whereas, according to the custom of the land, there is, if they communicate, stay, or marry with other castes, higher or lower, than custom allows to them. What I have found is that they are not descended only from the said disciples of St. Thomas, nor only from this Mar Thoma, but that from these and those and from many Nayres who are daily converted a people has sprung, of about seventy thousand souls, which was reduced to these two tribes by the lie of the land, and not only from their being descended from them [the two wives of Mar Thoma]: for some live on the south side, and some on the north side.

"Besides what has been said, they say still that, when Mar Thoma the Syrian came to India, he found in Cranganor and Coulam Christians descended from St. Thomas' disciples, who had by then, so to say, but the name of Christians, and that they married promiscuously with the Nayres, having as their device crosses on the doors or walls of their houses, as they

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ibid., fol. 149 r.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Muhalhal, of the tenth century, writes of certain places difficult to identify: "Next they reached Naja, tributary to Thatháh. Here they have wine, figs, and black medlars, and a kind of wood which fire will not burn. The Christians carry this wood away, believing that Christ was crucified upon it." Yule, Cathay, (1866), I. clxxvii. We should think that these Christians used this wood for crosses. Was there at any time in Malabar a notion that wooden crosses were to be made of a special wood? What wood?

have to-day and calling their children by names of Christians. And that this Mar Thoma assembled them, and, filling them with notions of caste (lleuando los por opinion de casta), which in this country prevails much, caused to baptize and himself baptized a great number of all those who by their marriages had affinity or kindred with them or descent from them. In what concerned Religion, he was like their head, both because he had assembled them, and because he was a rich man and in great esteem with the kings, chiefly with him of Curanguluru or Cranganor. This is confirmed by the common saying that St. Thomas built with his own hands the oratories of Cranganor and Coulã, which to-day are churches dedicated to the same Saint. Now, although the Portuguese heard this from the Christians whom they found when they discovered India, that is from these, and though the word Mar Thoma means both Saint Thomas and Don Thomas, it may be much doubted whether the Holy Apostle or the aforesaid Syrian built these oratories. To me it appears more probable that the Syrian built them in honour of the Saint of his name and the Apostle of India: for the truth is that, when this Syrian came to Cranganor, there was no church until he was granted by the then reigning king a place for the settlement of the Christians and for the church, with a privileged boundary and place (con termino & lugar privilegiado), which in Latin we call asylum: a very big place. And it may be that it was so at Coulam: for it does not appear that the Apostle should have built churches dedicated to his name, nor is there proof that they continued to exist so many years when there was no one to repair them.

"However, the tradition is, and it is the common saying, that St. Thomas erected at Coulam a pillar (marco) on some stones from which the sea was then about half a league distant, saying that, when the sea should reach that pillar, white Christian people would come who would reduce (reduziria) them to following the law which he was preaching. On the one hand, what makes one think that this is true is that the stone of the pillar is different from the stone generally obtained in India: for it is white, and like salt, and much weather-beaten, and for half a league from there all is stones and shelves (baxos), showing that the sea has not since long covered this space of ground. On the other hand, what makes one doubt is what we read in the histories of the discovery of India: that, wherever the Portuguese first landed, they set up pillars, and, as they came discovering this coast, it is probable that they should have erected this one: indeed, this sort of stone is found in Portugal, and enough time has elapsed to make it possible for it to be so worn. But I rather think that pillar is there from before the time of the arrival of the Portuguese. Now, whether St. Thomas put it up or Mar Thoma, God knows."

Gouvea (Jornada, fol. 4r) says :-

"Among those who came to these parts, there happened to come an Armenian, named Thomas Cana, or Marthoma, which in their language means Lord Thomas. As he was noble

6 The same thing was said for St. Thomas at Mylapore, though we have no allusion to the existence of such a pillar close to the church of the Saint's tomb. Already in 1322 Friar Jordan de Séverac could write from Thana, near the present Bombay, that the Indians were eagerly looking out for deliverers from the West, for the Latins. Why, said they, should the Pope not launch a few ships on the Indian Ocean and keep in check the daily inroads of Muhammadanism?

7 If this pillar had been a padrão set up by the Portuguese, it would have had some distinctive marks, like those which have been discovered in various places; for instance, the arms of Portugal, or a date. Now, the Quilon pillar has never been described as having anything distinctive. It is said that it disappeared only in the 19th century. Surely, that pillar was not the one erected by Friar John de Marignolli about

1347: his pillar was somewhere at or near Cape Comorin.

"Upon the rocks near the sea-shore of Coulang," writes Baldaeus, "stands a stone pillar, erected there, as the inhabitants report, by St. Thomas, I saw the pillar in 1652." Trav. Man., II. 147. Day, in his Land of the Perumals, 212, says that this pillar still exists, and Howard, in his Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies, 9, note, says "Mr. D'Albedhyll, the Master Attendant at Quilon, told me that he had seen this pillar and that it was washed away only a few years ago."—Trav. Man., II. 147.

8 Fol. 1v-2r of a MS. belonging to the Society of Jesus (Goan. Malab. Ep., 1570-79. Goa. 12).

and rich, and carried on a great trade, he was shown much favour and hospitality by the king of Cranganor, who, as we saw above, was of the most powerful of Malavar. From him he received many privileges and honours for the Christians among whom he lived, and a very spacious ground where to found a big Church, in keeping with the founder's power and wealth, all which he caused to write on copper-plates. One Mar Jacob, Bishop of these Christians, fearing they might be lost, entrusted them to the Factor of Cochim, when the Portuguese made the factory there, in order that, when necessary to them, the Christians might from there make use of them, and they were for many years in the factory, to be kept in the house, until through carelessness they disappeared, which these Christians greatly chafe at, not having writings whereby to defend themselves before the infidel kings, who keep infringing these privileges, which among other things contained that the Christians alone, when marrying, were allowed to wear their hair tied up with a golden flower, to go on elephants, a privilege granted only to the heirs of kings, to sit on carpets, and other honours, which no other caste had, and which are greatly valued and esteemed among the Malavares; and the Christians esteem them so much that, because the king of Paru wanted to grant one of these privileges to certain Moors of his kingdom against a big sum of money, which they gave him, the Christians a very few years ago rose against the Moors, and many were killed, and much blood was shed on both sides."

We shall see that the Malabar Christians at Tevalikara in 1599 complained to Archbishop Menezes of the loss of the Cranganore copper-plates, meaning evidently the Thomas Cana copper-plates.

Gouvea wrote immediately after the Diamper Council of 1599. His *Jornada* appeared at Coimbra in 1606. The MS. was in Portugal by June 2, 1605, when a censor was deputed to examine it. Gouvea dated his preface from Goa on Sept. 27, 1603. In one place, to be shown further, he says he is writing in 1602.

An anonymous Jesuit Missionary, whom we discover to be Francisco Roz, Bishop of Cranganore, writes in 1604 a most valuable "Relação sobre a Serra" from which we ought to quote at some length.

(Fol. 525v; 86v.) "These Christians having no books of ancient histories, but only traditions of the ancients, to which they cling tenaciously, we must help ourselves with the chronicles and chronology (conta de tempos) existing among the Malabar gentios and with reliable surmises (conjecturas certas) which we find in different places of these kingdoms. Accordingly, it appears (consta) first that the last Emperor of Malavar, called Xaram Perumal, was the one who at Cranganor gave land for a Church and a settlement (povoação) to the St. Thomas Christians, and great privileges, as is seen from their ollas, the copper original of which This Perumal was taken to Portugal by the Religious of St. Francis, a copy of them remaining here. died on the first of March, one thousand two hundred and fifty-eight years ago. 10 The witnesses who were present at the writing of the said Perumal's olla, by which he gave the said land of Cranganor, are those who now are kings [1st: Regulos, kinglets] in different parts of Malavar; and, when the olla was written, they were countries belonging to the said Perumal, as is shown by the same ollas. Hence it follows that the dedication of the Church of Cranganore took place more than one thousand two hundred years ago. [Fol. 526r; 87r]. It was founded in the month of April of the said year,11 and presently seventy-two houses were built on the said land (chas). The occasion, as related in the same olla of the Perumal, was that, as the said king was lodging (pousando) on the other side in a big pagoda which was at

<sup>9</sup> Por entrega da casa, do Couto uses the same expression.

<sup>10</sup> Therefore on March 1, 346.

<sup>11</sup> If this is A.D. 346, Bishop Roz contradicts himself. We must take the year to be A.D. 345, according to the cryptogram 'Shovala.'

Parurpatanan, 12 a place over-against Paliporto, the said king wished one day to go a-hunting, and he went to the other side, where Cranganor is now, the whole of which was thicket (mato). And he called for a very rich Armenian, 13 named Thomas Cananeo, who had come from Babylonia. He gave to the said king a good sum of money, bought from him the whole of that thicket, and founded on it the Church of St. Thomas and the bazar (basar). The land which he bought measured 264 elephant cubits (covados de elefante). Now, already many years before the said Church, there was in the said place of Patanan a Church and a big settlement (povoação) of Christians, the date of its beginning being unknown, and still to-day the place where the said Church stood is called Paliparamb, i.e., church-field, and quite near to it there is another place called Palimoe, i.e., church-corner (canto da Igreja); hence, the island opposite is called Paliparam, i.e., other side, outside, opposite to the Church (outra banda de fora de fronte da Igra). That island became visible two hundred and seventy-seven years ago, 14 whence it is clear that in the said place there was a Church; and from the settlement of Christians which was there and a great pagoda there is no doubting why it is called Magoder Patanam, 15 i.e., great city of the great pagoda; and the sea came up to there, and the boats came to anchor there before the island of Paliporto came into existence. Hence the St. Thomas Christians in all the ollas which they write of accounts (em todas as ollas q'escreue de contas) put down the era of Magoder Patanam, without knowing the beginning of it,16 because they consider the place one of the most ancient where St. Thomas Christians lived. The copy of the olla which the said Xaram Perumal gave to Thomas Cananeo, in which he granted him the ground of Cranganor, says faithfully this :-

"May Coquarangon be prosperous, enjoy long life and live one hundred thousand years, divine, servant of God, strong, true, just, full of good works, reasonable, powerful over the whole earth, happy, conquering, glorious, rightly prosperous in the ministry of God, in Malavar,

<sup>12</sup> The priests of Parur showed me a high wall near their Church which they thought was part of an old temple. Some big stones with fine carvings at the staircase leading up to the site of a new church, the foundations of which had been laid by Febr. 1924, also appeared to belong to an old Hindu temple or palace.

<sup>13</sup> Not necessarily Armenian, but Aramean, i.e., Syrian.

<sup>14</sup> 1604 - 277 = A.D. 1327.

<sup>15</sup> I was under the impression that Mahadevarpaṭṭaṇam, from which the Syrian Christians derived their era, was Cranganore, and that the name was connected either with the Tiruvanjikulam temple or some Christian church. Bishop Roz' Magoderpatanam becomes Makôtayar Paṭṭaṇam in an article on Thomas Cana by Mr. T. K. Joseph.

<sup>16</sup> Even now, I believe, the St. Thomas Christians use on occasions the Mahadevarpattanam era conjointly with the Kollam era. Is it not the Vikrama era? Of the Śâlivâhana era Bishop Roz knew something. He says [fol. 525 r; 86r]. "From that time [from the time of St. Thomas' death], when the gentile religion began to wane, and from the said era [of the Saint's death] those who now are gentios count [their era]." That can be only the Śalivahaṇa era as no other era falls close to St. Thomas' death. If Śalivahaṇa can mean cross-bearer or cross-borne, and if according to certain Gnostic notions Thomas suffered instead of Christ, the Śalivahana era could mean only St. Thomas' era. De' Conti (c. 1438) said that the greater part of the Indians counted their era from "Octavian, in whose time there was peace all over India." That could be only the Vikrama era. And do Couto wrote in A.D. 1611 (Da Asia, Dec. 12, 1, 3, c. 4, Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, p. 275): "Before this [the Quilon era] these Malavares counted the era by the course of the Planet Jupiter, which is from twelve to twelve years, as the Greeks did their Olympiads from four to four years; and in their writings, the St. Thomas Christians [of Malabar] place first the era of Patana [Mahadevarpattanam], and then that of Coulao, just as before the coming of Christ they followed in their writings the era of the world's creation [the Kâlî Yuga?] and that of Cæsar." Will our chronologists take note of these statements? Wilford, nearly 120 years ago, held that the Śalivahana era was the era of St. Thomas, and that the Vikrama era was that of Cæsar Augustus. Cf. As. Res., X (1808). If the Mahadevarpattanam era is the Vikrama era, its origin may perhaps be connected with the dedication of the temple of Augustus at Muziris. It may have been started earlier too.

in the great city of the great Idol. While he reigned at the time of Mercury of February, 17 on the seventh day of the month of March, before the full moon, 18 the same king Coquarangon on the seventh day of the months of the mont see the uttermost part of the East. And some men, seeing him as he arrived, went to inform the king. And the king himself came and saw and called the said chief man Thomas, and he disembarked and came before the king, who spoke graciously to him; and to honour him he gave him in surname his own name, calling him Coquarangon Cananeo. And he received this honour from the king and went to rest in his place. (Fol. 526 v; 87v). And the king gave him the city of Magoderpatanam for ever. And the said king, being in his great prosperity, went one day to hunt in the forest, and the same king surrounded the whole forest. And he called in haste for Thomas, who came and stood before the king in a lucky hour. And the king questioned the soothsayer (adivinhador). And the king afterwards spoke to Thomas, [saying] that he would build a city in that forest. And he answered to the king, first making reverence, and said: "I desire this forest for myself." And the king granted it to him and gave it for ever. And at once, the next day (logo outro dia), he cleared the forest and cast his eyes on it in the same year, on the eleventh of April, and gave it as an inheritance to Thomas at the time and day aforesaid,20 in the king's name, who laid the first brick (tijolo) for the Church and for the house of Thomas Cananeo, and made there a city for all [of them], and entered the Church and there made prayer the same day. After these things, Thomas himself went to the king's palaces (passos) and offered him presents, and afterwards he asked the king to give that land to him and to his descendants; and he measured two hundred and sixty-four elephant cubits,21 and gave them to Thomas and his descendants for ever: and at the same time sixty-two houses (sesēta e duas casas),22 which immediately were erected there, and gardens, and trees, with their enclosures, and with their paths (caminhos) and boundaries (terminos) and inner yards. And he granted him seven kinds of musical instruments, and all the honours, and to speak and walk like a king, and that at the weddings the women might give a certain signal with their finger in their mouth,23 and he granted him distinct weight,24 and to adorn the ground with cloths, and he granted the royal fans (abanos, fly-flaps), and to double the sandal [mark] on the arm, 25 and a royal tent [2 or 3 words not

17 W. Rees Philipps, who helped Bishop Medlycott with a translation of Bishop Roz' letter of 1604, failed to decipher the words Mercurio de fewo. Cf. Cath. Encycl., New York, XIV, 680 b.d., and compare with Mackenzie in Travancore State Manual, II. 139. The present translation must be considered more authoritative, as I work on my own rotographs of the MS. copied for W. R. Philipps by another person. Mackenzie used do Couto's text, which differs in some notable points from Bishop Roz'.

18 Compare this with the following: "He [Thomas Cana] also obtained from the Emperor land and high social privileges, as well as a copper-plate document to that effect, on Saturday, 29th Kumbham (Aquarius) of the above-mentioned year [A.D. 345], on the seventh day of the moon, and in the sign Cancer." T. K. Joseph, quoting Ittoop's Syrian Christian Church in Malabar (Malayalam), pp. 88-91, in an article, dated 17-7-1925, on Thomas Cana, which he wrote at my request and of which he sent me the MS.

The year mentioned by Fr. Roz would be 345.

- 19 This would seem to represent Cranganore (Curanguluru, as Monserrate spelt it in 1579, p. 130 supra).
- 20 This would be April 11, 345.
- 21 The covado, a measure used in Portugal, is three-fourths of a yard, a Flemish ell, as one of my Portuguese dictionaries puts it.
- 22 Once before and once after, Roz writes 72. I find that this number is something very sacred among the Syrians. It was likewise so among the Syrians of China, where we hear more than once of the 72 Christian tribes or clans.
- 23 "As do the women of Kings," which we have in Mackenzie, is not in my MS.; but we have it in do Couto.
  - 24 Pezo distincto.
- 25 Mackenzie mentions among the privileges: to use sandals. This is not in my MS. We have however: e dobrar o sandal no braço.

deciphered] in every part of the kingdom for ever, and besides five tributes to Thomas, and to his lineage, and to his confederates, for men, and for women, and for all his relatives, and to the children of his law for ever. The said king gave it in his name. Witnesses: these persons :-

(L. 1.) Codaxericanden.

- (L. 2.) Cherucaraprotachatencomeren, the king's chief door-keeper. Areundencounden, the king's councillor.
- (L. 3.) Amen[atecou]ndeng[ueru]len, Captain of the army.
- (L. 4.) Chirumalap[ro?]tatiriuicramen comeren, Regedor of the East side in Malavar.
- (L. 5.) Peru[i] ualatiata adit[en], . . . singer(?) of the said king.
- (L. 6.) Perubal[atia]tacottocoude, guard of the king's port (?) (gate?).
- (L. 7.) Bichremenchinguen [de Car]turte, the said king's chamberlain.
- (L. 8.) A[nan]iperumcouil, Srivener of (all?) the affairs, with his own hand wrote this sealed (? sedilat[a]?) and also lucky writing.<sup>28</sup>

"This is the writing of the ground (chaõ) of Cranganor, which the Emperor of all Malavar gave to Thomas Cananeo, Armenian, and to the other Christians of St. Thomas. And, as at that time they reckoned from twelve to twelve years according to the course of Mercury, therefore it is said in the olla (Fol. 527r; 88r) that the said town (povoação) was founded in the year of Mercury of February. This manner of reckoning is quite forgotten, because for the last seven hundred and seventy-nine years they count in the whole of this Malavar by the Coulao era.<sup>29</sup> However, since the said Perumal, as we said above, died more than one thousand and two hundred years ago, so the Church and Christians of Cranganor are older than the same number of years: and much before there were Christians at Paru, in the said Magoder-patanam.<sup>30</sup> Afterwards, owing to evil times, the said Church and the settlement of Christians declined with the prosperity of Cranganor and was removed from the said place, and the Church was placed where it now is, on account of a private revelation received by a St. Thomas

<sup>26</sup> E afora disto.

<sup>27</sup> The titles of the witnesses could not be deciphered properly from the rotographs, as the ink has spread. I help myself for the reconstruction of these titles and even for part of the Portuguese translations (1) by means of do Couto, who in my edition has however only the first five titles, the rest being omitted for fear of prolixity; (2) by means of T. K. Joseph's The Malabar Christian copper-plates (Malayalam), 1925, who quotes Mackenzie's Christianity in Travancore, Trivandrum, 1901, pp. 59-61, where we have the other tibles, but imperfectly too. I do not know whence Mackenzie could have got the titles except from the Roz' MS. Possibly Mackenzie and Philipps communicated at this time. The copyist employed by Mr. Philipps at the British Museum may have succeeded better at times to decipher the writing than I can manage from the rotographs. I am now sending to Mr. T. K. Joseph the page with the titles, in the hope that he may succeed in deciphering or reconstructing the Malayalam titles.

<sup>28</sup> This is all I can make of this passage: escri-aõ de (todos) os negoçeos cõ sua [maõ es]creueo [esta es]critura sedilat[a] e [tam]bê afortunada. I do not know what sedilata may mean. All the letters of that word are clear, except the last. 'Sealed' would be sellada.

We may notice that the date of the copper-plate is not given. Perhaps we have to understand that it was April 11, 345, when the first brick of the Church was laid.

 $<sup>^{29}</sup>$  1604 — 779 = A.D. 825, which is the generally accepted date for the beginning of the Quilon era. Mgr. Medlycott says it begins on Aug. 25, 825. Cf. Cath. Encycl., New York, XIV, 681b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> If we can at all rely on the Acta of St. Thomas (Syriac and Greek), on the de Miraculis and the Passio, we get that the king of Sandarûk or Andrapolis, to be identified with Cranganore, was baptised by St. Thomas and became a deacon, called Xanthippus or Xenophôn, and by the St. Thomas Christians Andrew, that his son-in-law (perhaps a Parur prince?) became a bishop, called Dionysius in the Passio, and by the St. Thomas Christians Kephas or Peter, that Dionysius' wife, called Pelagia in the Passio, vowed chastity and was martyred, a Greek inscription on her tomb stating that she was the spiritual daughter of St. Thomas.

Christian of Paru.31 So says a reliable tradition existing among these Christians, which, having been received from the ancients, has been preserved till now. So that, already long before the coming of the said Thomas Cananeo, there were already St. Thomas Christians in this Malavar, who had come from Maliapur, the town of St. Thomas. And the chief families are four in number: Cotur, Catanal, Onamturte, Narimatan, which are known to-day among all these Christians, 32 who became multiplied and extended through the whole of this Malavar, also adding to themselves some of the gentios who would convert themselves. However, the descendants of Thomas Cananeo always remained above them without wishing to marry or to mix with these other Christians, and so up to the present there are among them two lineages: one which is descended from Thomas Cananeo on the father's side, the mother, they say, being a gentile woman who was baptised afterwards, the other lineage is that of those who on both the father's and the mother's side were originally descended from St. Thomas Christians. The latter<sup>33</sup> took greater care than the others to increase the Church; and so they received among themselves many gentios whom they baptised, and even those who at any time served the said children (filhos) of Thomas Cananeo they .likewise took under their protection; and, as these were rich and honourable, they wished to subject the others, saying they were their blacks.<sup>34</sup> Whence there arose between the St. Thomas Christians and the others great discord, and there were anciently among them great disputes: wherefore at Carturte36 and Cotete36 it was necessary to make different Churches, each party keeping aloof from the other. And those of the Thomas Caneneo (sic) party went in one Church, and the others in the other. And last year, 1603, the same was the cause of the quarrels between those of Udiamper and Candanada, each one holding out for his party. And it is wonderful to see the aversion which one party has for the other, without being able to forget their antiquities and the fables they have in this matter. The St. Thomas Christians descending from Thomas Caneneo are few. They are at Udiamper, and at the great Church of Carturte, and at the great Church of Cotete, and at Turigure. 37

(To be continued.)

<sup>31</sup> Was there no Syrian church at Cranganore in 1604? We have to conclude the contrary from de Gouvea and do Couto. How old was the church of Parur in 1604? While I was at Parur, on Febr. 11, 1924, we pulled up from the open-air cross a small stone with a cross on both sides, and found an Indian inscription of Kollam era 728, or A.D. 1553. Did that year record the change from Cranganore to Parur here alluded to? Probably not. I understand from p. 125 n. 14 that Parur had a church in 1327.

<sup>32</sup> I trust some of our Malabar friends will be able to comment on these names.

<sup>33 &#</sup>x27;The latter' seems to mean the Northists.

<sup>34</sup> E ficando estes, ricos, hôrados, os outros os quiserao asopear, dizedo sere seus negros, should mean strictly, I think, "these (the Northists) being rich and honourable, the others (the Southists) wished to subject them, saying they were their blacks." But the Northists were and still are the vast majority! That is true, and I believe the Northist theory is that the Southists are the descendants of the slave woman. Gouvea turns, however, the tables on the Northists, when he says that they, the Northists, are the descendants of the slave woman. Probably it will be said that de Gouvea is based on Roz, which is quite possible, as Roz supplied him with much material (cf. Prologo), and that Roz allowed himself to be circumvented by the Southists.

<sup>35</sup> Katutturutti.

<sup>36 &#</sup>x27;Cotete' was visited by Menezes after Diamper and before 'Caramall ù' (Jornada, fol. 76r and 79r). At Cotete there were two churches in 1599. It is Kottayam. Cf. Whitehouse, p. 298.

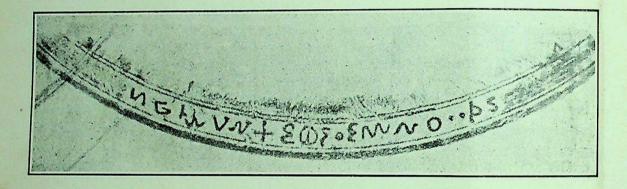
<sup>37</sup> What place is this?



Plate 1

Indian Antiquary

#### KURAVALANGAD BELL INSCRIPTION



Scale one-sixth.

T. K. Joseph.

#### ANOTHER ENIGNATIC INSCRIPTION FROM TRAVANCORE. BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

In the Indian Antiquary, vol. LI, pp. 356-7, I published a rough copy of one line of a seemingly Greek inscription on stone, discovered in the Nilakkal forests in Travancore. There are two other lines above it, much less legible.

Here is another such inscription on the rim of a big bell, long kept unused in the Roman Catholic Church at Kuravalangad in North Travancore. Though not one of the seven churches said to have been founded by St. Thomas the Apostle in the first century A.D., this church is very old, dating from 335 A.D. (if the Catholic Directory, Madras, 1924, can be believed). Fra. Paulinus says in his Voyage to the East Indies, 1776-89, that "the Nestorians<sup>2</sup> had formerly a monastery here," (at Kuravalangâd) "inhabited by people of their order from Persia and Chaldea, who were the spiritual guides of the Christians of St. Thomas." (English edition, London, MDCCC, p. 123).

The epigraph is in embossed characters and forms a single line of 19 or 20 symbols. The cross may stand for a full stop. It is earnestly hoped that the present facsimile3 will be of use to scholars in publishing in this Journal a reading and interpretation of the inscription.

Several scholars have already expressed their opinion on the nature of this inscription. The following are some of the most authoritative.

- (1) "All I can tell from the eye copy is that the inscription is not Greek." (Sir John Marshall's letter to me, dated 5th August, 1925)4.
- (2) "So, the greatest probability is that the language might be old-fashioned Portuguese." (Prof. Ernst Herzfeld's letter to me, dated 15th September 1925)4.
- (3) "It may well be that it represents nothing more than the barbaric result of an attempt to reproduce something like TE DEUM LAUS. ANNO. MDL, in which the year number is the most unsatisfactory part." (Mr. John van Manen's letter to me, dated 17th June, 1926).
- (4) Dr. J. J. Modi says it is not Pahlavi, and Dr. Zwemer, Cairo, says it is not Cufic. inscriptions in both of which characters have already been discovered in Malabar. Could it be Armenian or Himyaritic?

<sup>1</sup> I got a copy of it for decipherment three years ago on 14th December 1923.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the Malabar Christians of St. Thomas entertain the notion that their church has never been under the influence of Nestorianism, and try to explain away the term Nestorian very frequently applied to the Malabar church in Portuguese and other records, by saying that to the writers of the Portuguese and Dutch periods a Nestorian church simply meant a church using the Syriac language and liturgy. But says Dr. Medlycott, some time Roman Catholic Bishop in Malabar: "By the year 530 the Christians in Male, Malabar, had been captured in the Nestorian net." (India and the Apostle Thomas, 1905, p. 199, note 1). Again the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., says in his letter to me dated 2nd October 1923: "I know the tendency of absolving the St. Thomas Christians of Nestorianism. It does not appeal to most of us."

Now let us hear Professor Dr. F. C. Burkitt, Cambridge. "If I may say so, all the trustworthy evidence connecting the old Malabar Christians with earlier bodies in the West connects them with the Nestorians, i.e., with the Christians most numerous within the Sasanian Empire."

<sup>&</sup>quot;It cannot be too often repeated that the Melabar Liturgy which the Jesuits revised and altered was a Nestorian Liturgy, and substantially remains so. It simply is a form of the Liturgy now best known to scholars as 'The Liturgy of Adai and Mari.'" (Letter to me, dated 4th January 1926.)

Further, "There can be little doubt that there was a time (say 9th or 10th century) when the Nestorian fully-developed rite was observed by the Christians of S. India." (Letter to me, dated 14th February 1927.) 3 This is an enlargement of the facsimile opposite p. 333 of the Young Men of India, Calcutta, for May

<sup>1926.</sup> 

## THE MEANING AND ETYMOLOGY OF PUJA. By PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, UPSALA.

(Continued from page 99.)

IV.

It can easily be observed that in all the more or less primitive cults spread all over India from the Himâlayas to Cape Comorin perhaps the most common way of adoring the various gods, i.e., of performing their  $p\hat{u}j\hat{a}$ , is to smear the wooden logs, uncarved stones or idols which represent the deities with oil, or rather with lac, cinnabar, turmeric or other red or yellow dye stuffs<sup>37</sup>. Materials concerning this form of cult are to be found in overwhelming masses in European sources; and in the following only a few instances relating to various parts of India, and which seem to the present writer rather typical, will be quoted.

In the Himâlayas the five Pândava brothers are often called Panj pîr and sometimes taken to be one single person; generally they are adored in the form of five stones put up beneath a pipal tree and smeared with red ochre<sup>38</sup>. Hanuman, of whom more presently, all over the Punjab has his image smeared with red-stuff<sup>39</sup>. During the nine days' festival of the serpents (Naganavamî) in the month of Bhâdon the women in the Panjâb make images of Nagas from dough and smear them with red and black colour; and it is also usual to smear the brass images of the serpents with ghee<sup>40</sup>. When, in the Panjab, the women perform pûjâ to the cows, they smear not only the forehead of animal, but also their own with sandal and minium<sup>41</sup>. In Pehowâ (Karnâl District) there is a temple of Swâmî Kârttikeya whose image is always smeared with oil and red ochre 42. There is a special sect of Jogîs, who are followers of the terrible god Bhairon, who anoint themselves with oil and red ochre and go alms-begging in the name of the god43—apparently pretending themselves to be manifestations of Bhairon. The goddess of small-pox, in Hissâr generally called Devî Mâtâ, has her abode in a pîpal or in some sort of small shrine; this is festooned with red rags and painted with red colour-stuff<sup>44</sup>. Buffaloes which are to be sacrificed to Durgâ Mahişâsuramardinî are adored as deities by the pûjârîs, who smear their frontheads with saffron and rice-grains 45. In the Kângrâ District the god Nârsingh (who is, perhaps, not always identical with the fourth avatâr) is adored in the shape of a coco-nut which is daubed with sandal and rice-grains 48.

In Eastern parts of the United Provinces the adoring and daubing with red ochre of a drum belongs to the ceremonies preceding a wedding<sup>47</sup>. The late Dr. Crooke ingeniously suggested that the drum (especially perhaps the hour-glasslike drum attributed to Siva, the damaru) belongs to "the very primitive fetishes of the aboriginal races<sup>48</sup>." The

<sup>37</sup> That this way of adoring the deities is spread over practically the whole of India seems to suggest that, before the Aryan invasion, a somewhat uniform religion prevailed over greater parts of the subcontinent. In this connection stress may be laid also upon the great similarity between myths of deities in the Himâlayas and myths of demons amongst the Tuluvas in the Far South (On the Devil-worship of the Tuluvas, cf. I.A., vols. XXIII-XXVI), cf. Rose, A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab, vol. I, p. 443 n. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Punjab Notes and Queries, vol. III, § 159; Rose, l.c., vol. I, p. 121.

<sup>39</sup> Rose, l.c., vol. I, p. 119 (cf. p. 284).

<sup>40</sup> Rose, l.c., vol. I. pp. 144, 149. In the Râvi valley the idols are often washed with milk, curds and ghî, ibid., vol. I, pp. 232-233.

<sup>41</sup> Punjab Notes and Queries, vol. III, §§ 480, 837. 42 Rose, l.c., vol. I, p. 324.

<sup>43</sup> Rose, l.c., vol. I, p. 317; cf. Crooke, Popular Religion, vol. I, p. 109.

<sup>44</sup> Rose, l.c., vol. I, p. 356; Crooke, l.c., vol. I, p. 135.

<sup>45</sup> Rose, l.c., vol. I, p. 359. That sacrificial animals and men are treated as gods before being killed is a well-known fact and need not be dwelt upon here. Let us only remember the way in which the Khonds, before performing the horrid Meriâh sacrifices, treated the poor victims. It is sufficiently clear that they were looked upon as some sort of divine beings; amongst other things they were smeared with oil, ghî and turmeric. Cf. e.g., Russell, Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, vol.! III, p. 475; Thurston, Omens and Superstitions of S. India, p. 200 sq.

<sup>46</sup> Rose, l.c., vol. I, p. 376.

<sup>47</sup> Crooke, l.c., vol. I, p. 28.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Elmore, l.c., p. 67.

godling Bhimsen at many places in the Central Provinces is adored in the shape of an uncarved stone daubed with red ochre; and a grâmadevatâ called Porû Mâî in Nadiyâ is represented by "a little piece of rough black stone painted with red ochre, and placed beneath the boughs of an old banyan-tree<sup>49</sup>. Scattered about at the very simple places of worship of the grâmadevatâs are generally a few rough stones, the tops of which are rubbed by the country people with oil and red ochre "as an act of worship<sup>50</sup>". Around the place sacred to Gausâm Deo, a Dravidian deity, are seen some boulders smeared with red ochre 61. Mahisôbâ, a godling considered to be identical with Mahisâsura and chiefly revered throughout the Bombay Presidency, is represented by a rough stone daubed with red ochre; amongst the Santals several deities are thus represented: Mahâmâî, the daughter of Dêvî, by an oblong log painted red at the top, Burhiyâ Mâî by a white, red-daubed stone, and Hanumân (who is generally red-coloured) by a red-painted trident<sup>52</sup>.

Since times of yore it has been common belief in India that certain trees are inhabited by demons who must be propitiated by bloody sacrifices; the Jâtakas frequently tell us about human sacrifices to trees, e.g. the Dhonasâkhajâtaka (No. 353)53. Trees are still frequently adored, but the blood-at any rate human blood-has mostly been exchanged for red colour. In Shâhâbâd the holy tree is the karam (Kadamba, Nauclea), twigs of which are planted in front of the houses and smeared with red ochre and ghi54. The pîpal, in which live the three great gods but also a number of lower beings, on certain days has its trunk daubed with red ochre and sandal by high-caste women; at the frequent weddings of trees daubing with red and yellow dye-stuffs are of common occurrence 55.

The materials collected by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson in her very valuable book The Rites of the Twice-born (1920) mostly originate from Gûjarât and Kâthiâwâr; the authoress especially seems to have drawn her information from Nagar Brahmans. She tells us how Ganeśa is washed with the pañcâmrita (milk, curds, ghî, honey and sugar) and is sprinkled with red powder at the upanayana (p. 29); and the same god is smeared with ghi and red ochre every Tuesday and Saturday (pp. 293-321). On those same days Hanuman is wholly or partly painted red and smeared with oil (pp. 327-406)56. The image of Pârvatî is daubed with red-stuff at the Holî (p. 285), and the roughly carved idols at the entrance of the Siva temples are likewise painted red (p. 372 sq.). The earth, as an act of worship, is strewn with red powder (p. 353) 57 and the snake-stones which are so common (especially in the South) are painted with red ochre (p. 407). The Nâgar Brahmans look upon bride and bridegroom as being manifestations of Siva and Pârvatî (p. 68); consequently they are daubed with red powder (p. 70), and the bride daubs the big toe of her husband with red paint in order to show that she worships a divine being (p. 73, cf. also p. 79 sq.)58. The head of a dead man is smeared either with gopîcandana or with red sandal (p. 143), a ceremony which would seem senseless if we did not, at the same time, learn that the dead body is looked upon as a deity until leaving the house (p. 145).

But not only this. In the daily devapûjana (p. 231 sq.) as well as in the worship of the cow (p. 312), the images of the Nâgas (p. 314), the threshold (p. 316), the Krishna-idol (p. 317)

49 Crooke, l.c., vol. I, pp. 90, 108, 114 sq.

50 Ibid., p. 96.

51 Ibid., p. 117.

52 Ibid., pp. 237, 181.

53 Cf. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 7, n. 3; Vogel, Verslagen en Mededeelingen, Afd. Letterkunde, 5; IV, p. 228 etc. Nothing more can be said about this topic here.

54 Crooke, l.c., vol. II, p. 95; this reminds us of the description by Broughton, Letters Written in a Mahratta Camp (ed. 1892), p. 214, of the behaviour of Marâthâ Brahmans at a certain festival.

55 Crooke, l.c., vol. II, pp. 99, 116 sq.

This throws a clear light on the primitive character of gods like Ganesa and Hanuman.

57 Cf. Crooke, Folk-lore, vol. XXX, p. 292.

<sup>58</sup> The faithful wife should every morning worship the big toe of her husband (p. 248 f.) but this seems to have gone out of use nowadays (p. 251).

or the different idols in the Siva temples (p. 380 sq.) there always recurs the daubing or painting with red sandal, etc. The foreheads of the idols are generally daubed in a way which reminds us of the putting on of the tilakas amongst their worshippers. The image of Vishnu is daubed with gopicandana (p. 406), the sacred Sâlagrâma is washed in pañcamrita (p. 270). We need not doubt for a moment that what we see here is in reality the constitutive element of the  $p\hat{u}j\hat{a}$ .

Very extensive materials from the Bombay Presidency (with the exception of Sindh) have been collected by Mr. Enthoven in his book The Folklore of Bombay (1924). We read there how the low-castes in Konkan (Mahârs, etc.) daub stones with oil and red ochre and give them the names of mostly evil godlings such as Vetâl, Khandôbâ, etc., (p. 112). A certain species of tree in Kâthiâwâr have fruits like a human face and are consequently worshipped with red ochre and oil (p. 125). Âhîrs and other cattle-breeding castes in Gûjarât erect stones called pâlios at the village frontiers in remembrance of dead caste-fellows; and these on certain days are daubed with red ochre (p. 143). In the Ratnagiri District holy men are worshipped with sandal paste, etc., (p. 146). The grâmadevatâs are represented by stones on which are painted triŝûlas with oil and red ochre. In or by wooden tridents the tops of which are painted trisûlas with oil and red ochre. In the Navarâtra the "Mothers" are daubed with oil and red ochre (p. 170). On the eighth day of the Navarâtra the "Mothers" are daubed with oil and red ochre (p. 171), and on the last day of Âsâdha the members of the low castes wash their idols with water and milk and smear them with oil and red ochre (p. 172). On other occasions the house godlings are washed in pañcâmrita (p. 180).

The goddesses described as the "Mothers"  $^{62}$  are sometimes represented simply by red spots on the wall which are daubed with  $gh\hat{\imath}$ , etc., (p. 185 sq.). The image of Gaṇapati, here as in other parts of India, is smeared with oil and red ochre, the remnants of which are then put on doors and windows (p. 187 sq.);  $^{63}$  and it goes without saying that Hanumân is regularly painted with those same substances (pp. 175, 188, 191 sq.) $^{64}$ . On the first day of  $M\hat{\alpha}rga\hat{s}irsa$  in the Deccan the domestic animals are worshipped like deities, their horns are washed and painted red, lamps are swung in front of them, etc., (p. 221). Sîtalâ, the goddess of small-pox, is mostly represented by a rough stone daubed with red ochre (p. 265). Chedâ, a granadevata of the Thana District, is represented by a stone or a stake erected at the village border and painted with red ochre (p. 303), and Mhâsôbâ, another godling, is worshipped with red ochre at the time of ploughing and sowing (p. 304). In other places the sacred stones are daubed with red ochre at the re-planting of the rice (p. 308). On the twelfth day of the dark half of  $K\hat{\alpha}rttika$  the inhabitants of certain villages of the Thana District worship Wâghôbâ, the tiger godling, by daubing his stone in the jungle with red ochre and bringing him food (p. 310).

Proceeding southwards we find that already Pietro della Valle, who journeyed from Surat to Calicut in 1623–1624, remarked how the Hindus painted the faces of their idols red. 65 About a century later Alexander Hamilton speaks about the red-painted stones representing godlings. 66 Also the good old Abbé Dubois had noticed how the idols were painted with various colours. 67 In our own day we learn that bulls and cows are daubed with red and yellow powder, 68 that pots which often seem to represent gods among the

<sup>59</sup> Cf. JRAS., 1925, p. 796 sq. 60 Cf. also p. 196 sq. 61 Cf. Stevenson, l.c., p. 374. 62 On their worship, cf. Crooke, Folk-lore, vol. XXX, p. 302 sq. 63 Cf. also p. 327.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. also the description of a curious ceremony (p. 259) where Bhangis (scavengers) sprinkle the image of Hanuman with the blood of a cow.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Professor Zachariæ's extremely valuable Kleine Schriften, p. 247 sq.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Powell, Folk-lore, vol. XXV, p. 157.

<sup>68</sup> Thurston, Omens and Superstitions in S. India, p. 166.

Dravidians, 69 are painted with saffron and turmeric, and that snake stones are daubed with oil and red ochre. 70 A grâmadevatâ called Usaramma is often washed and smeared with saffron; and this is also the case with other godlings. 71 The blood of the sacrificial animals is smeared on the stones or the rough idols, or these and the animals themselves are sprinkled with water and red paint. 72

We might also remember that the eastes in general seem to worship their various tools on certain occasions. Tod<sup>73</sup> tells us how the Râjpûts painted their guns with the blood of sacrificed goats before the battle. The ill-famed Thugs at certain times performed a regular  $p\hat{u}j\hat{a}$  to the pick-axe, which was not only one of their most important tools but also one of their deities; they washed it with plain and sugared water, curds and liquor and then daubed it in seven places with red ochre. <sup>74</sup> In the Deccan agricultural tools are sometimes worshipped; they are then washed and smeared with red ochre. <sup>75</sup> From other regions is reported the painting of cart-wheels with red or white colours. <sup>76</sup> Also the weapons of the soldiers are daubed with red powder on certain occasions <sup>77</sup>; and at Jeypore in Vizagapatam a sword is smeared with red sandal and worshipped at the Dasahra, and the weapons are sprinkled with the blood of the sacrificial animals. <sup>78</sup>

Already the material quoted above which has been collected at random from various works is quite sufficient to show us that all over India a wide-spread form of worship consists in daubing or painting the sacred objects with oily and red-coloured stuffs. Nor can it be doubted that this rite has its origin in very primitive conditions as it is still mostly practised by low-caste people, who worship as their gods rough stones and uncarved logs of wood. We should also notice that this rite is frequently used in the worship of those gods of advanced Hinduism, who, like Ganeśa and Hanumân, still betray their low origin, though they have long dwelt within the pantheon of Brahmanism. The present pûjâ has long been at home in Brahmanism and has become very complicated, as have most of the rituals of the Brahmans; but, notwithstanding that, one of its main elements is the daubing and smearing of the idols with sandal, etc. and washing them with honey, sugar, ghi etc. Consequently, I can see no obstacle to the suggestion that this rite originated long ago with the primitive and still very wide-spread daubing and painting of the stones, logs or idols with oil and red dyestuffs. From this it follows that the only etymology of the word  $p\hat{u}j\hat{a}$  which can possibly be correct is the one which derives it from the Dravidian pûçu-, pûsu- "to paint, to daub, to smear." The rite and the name of it alike must, however, have been introduced into Hinduism at a very early date; this is proved by the fact that already Yaska and Panini use  $p\hat{u}_j$  and  $p\hat{u}_j\hat{a}$  in a sense which is no longer the original one.

V.

I have now only to say a few words concerning the religious or magic ideas that may possibly underlie this smearing and daubing with red and yellow colours.

The explanation nearest at hand would undoubtedly be that the red colour is used instead of blood which, during an older and more brutal age, was only and alone used for smearing the idols. Such an explanation seems quite obvious and has probably been propounded more than once. And it is quite true that the daubing of idols and other cult

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Elmore, l.c., p. 24, etc.

<sup>70</sup> Thurston, l.c., pp. 170, 176, 178

<sup>71</sup> Elmore, l.c., pp. 35, 42. 72 Elmore, l.c., pp. 56, 60.

<sup>73</sup> Annals and Antiquities of Rájasthán (ed. Crooke), vol. II, p. 1041 sq.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. e.g., Crooke, Popular Religion, vol. II, p. 184 sq.

<sup>75</sup> Enthoven, l.c., p. 304.

<sup>77</sup> Stevenson, l.c., p. 332.
78 Crooke, Folk-lore, vol. XXVI, p. 34. Herodotus, V, 62, tells us that the chief god of the Seythians was a sword which they worshipped with human sacrifices; cf. what Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI: 2, 23, tells about the Alans.

objects with blood is so well-known from different parts of the earth—and not least from India—that it would be simple waste of time to speak of it again here. But, according to the present writer's opinion, we must not always think of the red paint as a substitute for blood owing to the milder habits of a more modern time. It is true that human sacrifices which were, a century ago, of not unfrequent occurrence in India are now strictly prohibited; just as it is true also that under certain conditions they would undoubtedly revive in places. But, notwithstanding this, it may well be doubted whether the humanitarian attitude in religious matters has become greater amongst the great masses of the population, and, at times, the blood of the animal victims flows in streams at various places from Nepâl in the North to the extreme South. Consequently, it seems to the present writer that we must suggest that red paint was used since times of yore instead of and besides blood. Animal and still more human sacrifices are always an expensive business while some red paint does not belong to very extravagant things. There is a utilitarian point of view even in religion.

The daubing and sprinkling of the idols with blood originally meant to sate them with the precious liquor and thus avert their malignant activities<sup>79</sup>; this is well-known and need not be further dwelt upon here. This would thus account for the daubing of the idols<sup>80</sup>, but scarcely for the smearing with blood of South Indian  $p\hat{u}j\hat{a}r\hat{i}s$ , etc., nor for similar ceremonies in which it is not the god but his worshippers who get their share of the blood or are smeared with the red colour-stuffs. We must try to find out another explanation for this; and it must not be only the old one which tells about the establishment of a blood covenant between the god and his worshippers.

Red is the colour of blood, and it seems as if here the colour were the important factor. I do not enter upon any discussion of all the literature where this question has been dealt with; in this connection it is sufficient to point to two papers by Professor Zachariæ<sup>81</sup> in which he has emphasized the fact that red (and blue)<sup>82</sup> are looked upon, in India and elsewhere, as apotropaic, devil-scaring colours. This eminent scholar here, as in other of his papers, has dealt with his subject in a very exhaustive way. In the following remarks will only be given a few instances from books published during later years, instances that make things still clearer<sup>83</sup>.

In Gûjarât when a new village has been founded and the usual ceremonies are brought to an end the village headman, accompanied by a Brahman, walks round the village dragging with him a red thread with which he, in a way, encircles the whole area<sup>84</sup>; this is doubtlessly done in order to avert evil influence. The Kammâlans in Madras, when a house has been completed, smear the walls and the ceiling with the blood of slaughtered fowls<sup>85</sup>; it also occurs that the door-frame is daubed with saffron and red powder<sup>86</sup>. The following

<sup>79</sup> Cf., e.g., Crooke, Popular Religion, vol. II, p. 19 sq.; Elmore, l.c., p. 130, etc.

<sup>80</sup> Human victims (from whom criminals condemned to death cannot, during an early period, be sharply separated) were undoubtedly considered as deities; the Sanskrit literature tells us that they were daubed with red, hung with garlands of red flowers, etc.

<sup>81</sup> Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. XVII, pp. 147 sq., 211 sq.

<sup>82</sup> In this connection we need not speak about blue colour. We may only remember that Hindus seem to have a strong objection to blue stuffs and indigo, cp. Panjab Notes and Queries, vol. III, §§ 581, 715; Rose, l.c., vol. I, pp. 137, 239. It is an artificial explanation that this is because blue is a favourite colour with Muhammadans. Black apparently is also a devil-scaring colour, cf. Rose, l.c., vol. I, p. 210.

<sup>83</sup> Dreaming about red things is dealt with by Zachariæ, l.c., p. 213 sq. To this add several passages in Jagaddeva's Svapna Cintâmani ed. von Negelein, as e.g. II, 25, 51, 62, 69, 72, 75-76, 104, 105, 120, etc.

<sup>84</sup> Enthoven, l.c., p. 302.

<sup>85</sup> Thurston, Castes and Tribes of S. India, vol. III, pp. 113, 127.

<sup>86</sup> Crooke, Folk-lore, vol. XXIX, p. 142 (following Padfield, The Hindu at Home, p. ii).

instance seems to me a very characteristic one: in the Simla Hills—as well as elsewhere—it sometimes occurs that a Brahman or a Sâdhu prohibits a man from taking possession of his own house; but this interdict can be raised if the owner of the house sprinkles it with a few drops of his blood.<sup>87</sup> The curse of the holy man has brought the house under the influence of evil spirits, but they are sated and driven away by the red blood. In the Panjâb, when there is an outbreak of cholera in a village, the plague may be cured by painting a young buffalo red and driving it into the next village<sup>88</sup>; it seems a bit doubtful whether it is only intended to drive away the plague demon or the animal is also looked upon as a sacrifice (scape-goat)—for, with red paste and red garlands one adorns the sacrifices to the god of Death, the condemned criminals<sup>89</sup>.

When amongst low-castes in Northern India the parting of the bride's hair is daubed with red paint, this, according to my opinion, does not mean "a survival of the old blood covenant," but that there is a desire to protect her from evil influences at a very critical moment of her life. It is tempting to suggest, in view of this, that the tilakas which are in use all over India and are daubed on the forehead with red sandal, gopicandana, etc., were originally meant to avert demons and the evil eye. I had long conceived this hypothesis, when, to my great pleasure, I found it suggested also by the late Dr. Crooke, Popular Religion, vol. II, p. 29.

Averting of evil influences no doubt is the idea underlying the mutual daubing with red powder and sprinkling with red-coloured water at the Holi<sup>91</sup>; on this occasion the face is painted red <sup>92</sup>, or red handprints are imprinted on one's own body and that of others <sup>93</sup>—all apparently with the same intention.

Extremely wide-spread amongst Aryan and non-Aryan peoples inside and outside India is the sacrifice connected with the erecting of buildings and bridges, the digging of tanks, etc. It formerly generally took the form of a human sacrifice, sometimes of horrible proportions. It is well-known that the Sultân Alâu'd-dîn Khiljî of Delhi (A.D. 1316) at the foundation of his new capital, Sîrî, had its walls sprinkled with the blood of thousands of Mongolian captives<sup>94</sup>. Dr. Crooke<sup>95</sup> and Mr. Enthoven<sup>96</sup> tell us about a curious habit: at the foundation of a house a red-painted wooden peg is driven into the ground and afterwards worshipped with lac, sandal paste and rice. It is called "the peg of Shesh Nâg", and the idea is said to be that Seṣa, who carries the earth and, like other snakes, has a tendency to turn towards the right and thus cause earthquakes, should be made to keep steady. But this explanation is a late and artificial one. There is scarcely a doubt that the fixing of the red-painted peg was originally a sacrifice to the evil spirits of the earth who had been disturbed by the new foundation.

<sup>97</sup> Rose, l.c., vol. I, p. 204 n. The author expressively states (I, p. 208) that in the Himâlayas any demon can be scared away by some red paint or red ochre deposited under a pîpal tree, at a cross road, at a tank or on a cremation ground.

<sup>88</sup> Rose, l.c., vol. I, pp. 140, 356.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Zachariæ, *l.c.*, p. 212. Scapegoats are still adorned with red flowers. Enthoven, *l.c.*, p. 266, tells how in Konkan and the Deccan at the outbreak of an epidemic a cock or a goat adorned with red garlands is led outside the village. Hanging with garlands is generally looked upon as an initiation to sacrificial death, *cf.* Rohde *Psyche*, vol. I, p. 220; Samter, *Geburt*, *Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 184 n.

<sup>90</sup> Crooke, Popular Religion, vol. II, p. 173 (cf. also what is said, ibid., p. 257).

<sup>91</sup> Crooke, Popular Religion, vol. II, p. 173; Folk-lore, vol. XXV, pp. 68,72, etc.

<sup>92</sup> Folk-lore, vol. XXV, p. 64.

<sup>93</sup> Stevenson, l.c., p. 286 sq. Cf. also Vogel, Verslagen en Mededeelingen, Afd. Letterkunde 5: IV, p. 219 ff.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 234.

<sup>95</sup> Folk-lore, vol. XXIX, p. 130.

<sup>96</sup> Cf., l.c., p. 302.

Though infinitely more could be added, this may be sufficient for the present purpose. The Everywhere we meet with the same idea: the red colour is a devil-scaring one—often, but not generally, a substitute for blood—and serves the purpose of averting the influence of the evil spirits present everywhere. Thus the painting and daubing of the idols and of one's own person with red colour-stuffs originate in the same idea; and from these rites which belong to a very primitive stage of religious development the central elements of the pûjâ, which has for long been of so great importance within Hinduism, draw their origin.

#### VEDIC STUDIES.

By A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., Ph.D. (Continued from page 116.)

#### 4. Phaliga.

This is a rare word which occurs but in four passages of the Rgveda (1, 62, 4; 1, 121, 10; 4, 50, 5; 8, 32, 25) and except in a repetition of one of these passages (4, 50, 5) in the TS., MS., KS., and AV., does not occur elsewhere. The meanings assigned by the commentators to this word are various. The Vedic Nighanțu 1, 10, 17, includes this word among the meghanâmâni; and it is divided in the RV. Padapâtha (but not in the TS. Padapâtha) into phalis-ga. Sâyana explains the word, RV., 1, 62, 4, as phalam pratiphalam pratibimbam tad asminn astîti phali svaccham udakam tad gacchaty âdhâratveneti phaligo meghal || 19 This etymology is repeated in his comment on TS. 2, 3, 14, 4 (p. 1663 of the Ânandâśrama ed.); but phaliga is here made out to be equivalent to pratibandha, obstacle, thus: phaligam | phalam asyâstîti phalî yajamânah | tam gacchati prâpnotîti phaligah tâdṛśam . . . pratibandham. In RV., 4, 50, 5 he explains the word as ñiphalâ viśaraṇe | phalir bhedah | tena gacchatîti phaligam | valam valanâmânam asuram. 20 Bhattabhâskara too, on the above passage of the TS. explains (p. 102) the word as phaligam | svacchodakapûrṇam balavadudakam vâ raveṇa śabdena upalakshitam valam | raveṇa vâ phaligam giriguhâdishu pratiphalavantam.

Böhtlingk and Roth in their dictionary say that the word means a cask, bag, or similar receptacle of a liquid. So also does Grassmann in his Wörterbuch where he however gives a second meaning, 'cloud'. In his Translation he has further interpreted the word as 'cave' (1,62,4;4,50,5?). Ludwig has translated it variously as 'flaming' (1,62,4), 'dark' (4,50,5), 'water-cloud' (8,32,25), and as a proper name (in 1, 121, 10). In this last respect he is followed by Geldner (Ved. St., 2, p. 173) who, however, in his RV. Glossar suggests the meaning

<sup>97</sup> As Professor Zachariæ, l.c., p. 153 n. 2, has also said something about the devil-scaring power of the yellow colour, a few additions to this may be given here. The Raja of Bastar in the Central Provinces, who at the Dasahra functions as a priest, is thus smeared with sandal and dressed in yellow clothes, Crooke, Folk-lore, vol. XXVI, p. 33; a man who on his death-bed becomes a Sannyasi dons a saffron-coloured robe, Stevenson, I.c., p. 139. The clearest instance is perhaps furnished by the Rajputs by their well-known habit of donning saffron coloured robes when going to battle and especially when trying their last outbreak from a besieged fort, cf. Tod, Annals ed. Crooke, vol. I, p. 226 and passim; at the same time their womanfolk committed the horrible holocaust called jauhar (cf. on this word the remark of Sir G. Grierson in Smith, Akbar the Great Moyul, p. 72 n.), and all became satis. In this connection it seems possible to suggest that the yellow or orange-coloured robe (kashaya) of the Buddhist monk was originally meant to be a means of scaring the evil spirits; like several other implements, etc., it may have its origin in pre-Buddhist monkhood. As demon-scaring colours are at the same time often considered to be ominous, this may account for the circumstance often alluded to in literature, that the meeting with a Buddhist friar was considered unlucky. Saffron, just as well as turmeric, is looked upon as demon-scaring, cf. Folklore, vol. XXXVI, p. 42. According to Tod, l.c., vol. II, p. 1050, men condemned to death were smeared with saffron; in the South, walls are at times daubed with saffron or yellow clay in order to drive off the evil spirits, cf. Elmore, l.c., p 66; and the Matangi, the curious priestess of certain Dravidian castes, daubs the foreheads of her worshippers with saffron and turmeric, cf. ibid., p. 44 n.

<sup>19</sup> This is the explanation given by Devarâja in his commentary on the Nighantu.

<sup>20</sup> This is the explanation of Madhava as cited by Devaraja, loc. cit.

of 'robber' in 4, 50, 5 and 8, 32, 25. Hillebrandt suggests (Ved. Myth., 3, p. 262, n. 5) that of 1000 of the word sphatika, and Oldenberg (RV. Noten, I, p. 121), that it is another form of the word parigha. 21 Bergaigne (Rel. Ved., II, p. 292; 320) interprets the word as 'reservoir' and Macdonnell (Ved. Reader, p. 87) as 'cave.'

Of these meanings mentioned above, it is improbable that phaliga denotes the name of a person in one out of the four passages in which the word occurs. It can also be readily seen that none of the meanings proposed, like 'cave', 'cloud,' 'robber' fits in in all the four passages. It is otherwise with the suggestions of Oldenberg (that phaliga=parigha) and Hillebrandt (that phaliga=sphatika). The latter is indeed the correct explanation; but perhaps because it remained as a mere suggestion and was not followed by an exposition, in the light of that suggestion, of the passages in which the word occurs, it has not found favour with later writers (Oldenberg, Geldner in his RV. Glossar, Macdonnell) who have preferred to suggest other interpretations of their own.

Pischel, in his Prakrit Grammatik, p. 167, § 238, has given references to many places where the Sanskrit word sphatika appears in Prakrit as phaliha with cerebral la. He has also noted the occurrence of the form phaliha with dental la. The dental la appears in the Pali form phalika also. I believe that the Vedic word phaliga is but another form of the abovementioned phalika, the surd ka of the latter being changed into the corresponding sonant in the former (for examples, see Pischel, op. cit., § 202). The course of transformation of the Sanskrit sphatika into Prakrit would therefore be as follows:

Similar is the case with the Sanskrit word parigha also. This, too, appears in Prakrit as phaliha (for references, see Pischel, op. cit., § 208); and an alternative form phaliga may with probability be posited for this phaliha also (for examples of the unaspirated sonant replacing an original sonant aspirate, see ibid., § 213). And further, this meaning would fit in in all the passages where the word occurs. For, parigha, which originally means 'the pin of a door', has the sense of 'weapon' and of 'hindrance, obstacle', also. The last mentioned of these senses would be not unsuitable in 1, 62, 4; 4, 50, 5; and 8, 32, 25 (compare 1, 51, 4: tvám apá'm apidhâ'nâ vmor ápa) while that of 'weapon' would pass well in 1,121,10. This interpretation however is open to the objection that it is not in the least connected with the meaning mentioned in the Nighantu.

As this is not the case with the meaning sphatika (crystal; quartz) which denotes a kind of stone and is therefore not improperly associated with the words adri, gotra, asman, parvata, etc., in the Nighantu, and as moreover 10, 68, 8 seems, as I shall show below, to point to this meaning, I believe that this is the correct meaning of phaliga. I shall now show that this meaning yields good sense in all the passages where the word occurs.

1, 62, 4: sá sushtúbhá sá stubhá' saptá víprais svarénáldrim svaryò návagvaih saranyúbhih phaligám Indra śakra valám rávena darayo dáśagvaih ||

'He, the roarer, with the well-praising, lauding (throng), the seven seers, and the Navagvas, cleft the rock with his roar. Thou, O mighty Indra, hast with the Dasagvas, cleft the enclosure of crystal with thy roar.' There is a transition here from the third person in the first halfverse to the second person in the last which makes it necessary to supply the word adârayat with third person ending, in the first half. The word sah that occurs in it, I have here taken as referring to Indra who is mentioned in the third pâda. It is however possible to understand

<sup>21</sup> This suggestion was originally made by M. Regnaud in the Revue de l'histoire des religions, 1890.

the word as referring to Brhaspati who is mentioned in the last half of the preceding verse, Br'haspátir bhinád ádrim vidád gâ'h sám usríyábhir vâvasanta nárah. Further, I have, on the analogy of 4, 50, 5 (see below), understood the words sushtubhâ and stubhâ as referring to the gana of Aigirases mentioned in the preceding verse. See also Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 68.

The enclosure of crystal mentioned in the second half of this verse is the same as the rock, asman, parvata, giri, adri, that Indra (or Bṛhaspati) is elsewhere mentioned as having, with the Aigirases and others, broken open in order to set free the imprisoned waters and cows; compare the first half of this verse; compare also 10, 68, 4: Bṛ'haspatir uddhárann ásmano gâ' bhû'myâ udnéva ví tvácam bibheda; 5, 30, 4: ásmânam cic chávasâ didyuto ví vidó gávâm ûrvám usríyâṇâm; 4, 16, 6: vísvâni śakró náryâṇi vidvâ'n apō rireca sákhibhir nikâmaiḥ | ásmânam cid yê bibhidúr vácobhir vrajáṃ gómantam uśijo ví vavruḥ; 10, 68, 3: Bṛ'haspátiḥ párvatebhyo vitû'ryâ nír gâ' ûpe yávam iva sthivíbhyaḥ; 1, 57, 6: tváṃ tám Indra párvataṃ mahâ'm urúṃ vájreṇa vajrin parvaśáś cakartitha | ávâsṛjo nívṛtâs sárlavâ' apāḥ; 4, 17, 3: bhinád gíriṃ sávasâ vájram ishṇánn âvishkṛṇvânás sahasâná ójaḥ | vádhîd vṛtrāṃ vájreṇa mandasânás sárann â'po jávasâ hatávṛshṇîḥ; 10, 68, 11: Bṛ'haspátir bhinád ádriṃ vidád gâ'ḥ; 10, 112, 8: satînámanyur aśrathâyo ádriṃ suvedanâ'm akṛṇor bráhmaṇe gâ'm.

4, 50, 5: sá sushtúbhá sá r'kvatá ganéna válam ruroja phaligám rávena | Br'haspátir usríyá havyasú'dah kánikradad vá'vasatîr úd âjat ||

'He, with the well-praising jubilant throng has shattered the enclosure of crystal with his roar. Brhaspati, roaring, drove forth the lowing cows that sweeten the oblation (with their milk).'

8, 32, 25 : yá udnáh phaligám bhínan nyák síndhûn avá'srjat | yó góshu pákvam dhûráyat ||

'Who (Indra) cleft the crystal containing the waters and discharged the rivers downwards; who put the ripe (milk) in the cows.' The construction here is somewhat peculiar; it is similar to that in 4, 16, 8: apó yád ádrim puruhûta dárdaḥ, and 3, 20, 21: â' no gotrâ' dardrhi gopate gâ'ḥ, where the verb seems to govern two objects. It is possible to regard udnaḥ in this passage as genitive singular (so Grassmann does with regard to apaḥ in 4, 16, 8 in his Wörterbuch) governing the word phaligam; but I am inclined to think (as does also Geldner, Ved. St., 2, p. 275) that these words are really in the accusative plural, and that we have to supply here the word vavrivâmsam or other similar word.

1, 121, 10 : purâ' yát sû'ras támaso ápîtes tám adrivaḥ phaligáṃ hetím asya | Śushṇásya cit párihitaṃ yád ójo divás pári súgrathitaṃ tád âdaḥ ||

'Hurl, O thou (Indra) with the dart, thy weapon of rock-crystal before the disappearance of the sun in darkness: shatter the consolidated might of Sushna which has spread over heaven even'. Indra's 'weapon of rock-crystal' mentioned here is the well-known Vajrâyudha which is frequently referred to as adri, parvata, aśman; compare 1, 51, 3: tvám gotrám ángirobhyo vinor ápotâ'traye śatádureshu gâtuvít | saséna cid vimadâ'yâvaho vásv âjâ'v ádrim vâvasânásya nartáyan; 6, 22, 6: ayâ' ha tyám mâyáyâ vâvrdhânám manojúvâ svatavah párvatena | ácyutâ cid vîlitâ' svojo rujó ví drlhâ' dhrshatâ' virapśin 4, 22, 1: yó (Indrah) áśmânam śávasâ bíbhrad éti; 2,30,5: áva kshipa divó áśmânam uccâ'. Compare also the word adrivat 'he who has the stone (as a weapon)' used almost exclusively of Indra in the RV.

The characteristic that specially differentiates sphatika, rock crystal, from ordinary stone or rock (adri, aśman, parvata) is its transparency. In the last passage of those given above (1, 121, 10), the context is such that it is sufficient to note that the weapon is of stone; its transparency or otherwise is not material. In the other three passages, on the other hand, which mention the enclosure of crystal that imprisons the waters and cows, it would seem, to judge from 10, 63, 8, áśná' pinaddham má'dhu páry apaśyan mátsyam ná dîná udáni kshiyántam | nísh táj jabhâra camasám ná vrkshá'd Br'haspátir viravēnā vikr'tya that the transparency of the walls of the enclosure should also be taken into consideration. For, in this verse we read: 'Brhaspati saw the sweet (water) enclosed in the stone, as (one sees) a fish in shallow water. Having with his roar, broken (the stone) open, he brought it out as (one does) a goblet from a tree.' Thus the water could be seen by Brhaspati through the enclosing stone as a fish in shallow water can be seen through the water; in other words, the stone was transparent, it was a sphatika or crystal.

The rock that imprisons the waters and cows, represents, as is well-known, the cloud; see Bergaigne, I, p. 257f. and Macdonnell, Vedic Mythology, p. 60. The author of the Nighantu has therefore rightly included this word, along with adri, grâvan, gotra, aśman, parvata, giri, upara and upala—all meaning 'stone', 'rock', etc., among the meghanâmâni.

(To be continued.)

#### MISCELLANEA.

#### DOM MARTIN, THE ARAKANESE PRINCE.

The April number of the Journal of the Burma Research Society (vol. XVI, pt. I), 1926, contains an article of great interest on Dom Martin, 1606-1643, the first Burman to visit Europe, by Mr. M. S. Collis and San Shwe Bu. It is as romantic a story as one could wish and it might be said as one could find even in Burma, the land of romance. Dom Martin-observe the high Portuguese title-was born in 1606 as a son of Min Mangri, himself a younger son of Rajagri, king of Arakan. Min Mangri became Viceroy of Chittagong in 1610. His elder brother was Min Khamaung, afterwards a famous king of Arakan. The two brothers were not on good terms, and Min Mangri feared for his position. About 1610 the celebrated Portuguese corsair Gonsalves Tibau established himself in Sandwip and with him the disaffected Min Mangri consorted. Gonsalves saw his chance and sent Father Rafael of Santa Monica to convert Min Mangri's family to Christianity. In this errand Father Raphael succeeded and Min Mangri's daughter was married as a Roman Catholic to Gonsalves' son. All this naturally did not please Rajagri of Arakan, and Min Khamaung was sent against Chittagong in 1612. That was the end of Min Mangri, but his little children, a boy and a girl, were spirited away by Father Raphael to the convent of St. Nicholas at Hugli. Here they were brought up, the boy as a Christian prince named Dom Martin, and the girl as Princess Petionilla. In due course Min Khamaung became king of Arakan and the future looked black for Dom Martin, but he was sent to Goa, where he did well and became,

as an Oriental Christian of high standing, a Portuguese military cadet.

In 1622 Min Khamaung died and Thivithudhamma succeeded him, while Dom Martin was still a Portuguese officer. In 1627 he greatly distinguished himself in the defeat of the king of Achin off Malacca, and then continued to serve with distinction about the Indian coasts from Jacatra (Batavia) to Ormuz (Bandar Abbas) until 1640. In 1638 Narapatigri had usurped the throne of Arakan, and in 1641 the Duke of Braganza had recovered the Portuguese throne from the Spaniards and ruled as John IV. So Dom Martin proceeded to Portugal to see if he too could get back his rights from the usurper of Arakan with the help of John IV. John knew his story and could feel for him, and thus he equipped Dom Martin for the purpose in 1642. Dom Martin duly set out with high hopes, but in 1643 he died on the voyage out and never even reached Goa. What a story!

R. C. TEMPLE.

#### NAUGAZA TOMBS TO THE WEST OF INDIA.

Tombs known as naugaza, of inordinate length, more or less approximating nine yards, and dedicated to saints, are not uncommon in Upper India and have frequently been noticed by European observers: e.g., ante, vols. XXV, pp. 146, 254; XXVIII, p. 28. They are no doubt a Semitic importation from lands to the West of India during the Muhammadan invasions.

In the course of some amusing notes on "discoveries" by Lord Curzon in his Leaves from a Viceroy's Note-book, p. 363, occurs the following passage: "I had, I thought, already left Noah safely buried

at Hebron, when later on in the neighbourhood of Baalbek I came upon him again, and this time he was interred in a tomb forty yards long by two or three feet wide . . . Noah must have been a person of exceptional stature, even in a part of the world where the Sons of Anak, 'which come of the Giants,' and compared with whom all other men 'were as grasshoppers,' would appear to have abounded. But even in his day the standard of human height must have been rapidly deteriorating. For the

grave of Eve, near Jeddah in the Hedjaz, which corresponds accurately to the measurement of her body is no less than of 173 yards long by 12 yards wide: so that in comparison with the Mother of Mankind the builder of the Ark was only a pigmy. At Jeddah, however, the guardians of the tomb have a ready and indeed a plausible explanation of the decline, for they say that when Eve fell, with her fell the stature of the race she originated."

R. C. TEMPLE.

#### BOOK-NOTICE.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA FROM THE ACCESSION OF PARIKSHIT TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY, by HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D. University of Calcutta, 1923.

In the issue of this Journal for January, 1924, I reviewed Professor Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India from the accession of Parikshit to the coronation of Bimbisara. That work forms the first part of the present volume, which continues the story of India's past history to the end of the Gupta age. As the author states in a foreword to the second part, he claims no originality for his treatment of the period from Bimbisara to Aśoka, but he has added fresh material from epic and Jain sources and occasionally arrives at conclusions differing from those adopted by previous workers in this field. As an indication of the suggestive and interesting character of his succinct resumé of the political features of this obscure period, a few of his views and conclusions may be here recorded. He accepts the Ceylonese tradition that Sisunaga was later in date than Bimbisara: he rejects Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's suggestion that the headless Patna statue is that of Nandivardhana, and that the Nandarâja of the Hâthîgumpha inscription is also Nandivardhana. He considers it more likely that Mahâpadma Nanda is referred to by Khâravela. He accepts the date of Buddha's death as 483 B.C., and believes that the earlier date, 543 B.C., must have gained currency by being confounded with the era which commenced with Bimbisara's accession. He suggests that Chandragupta belonged to the Moriyas (Mauryas), the ruling Kshatriya clan of Pipphalivana in ancient times, and corrects Vincent Smith's view of the character of the Mauryan Uttarådhyakshas. The epithet Rûshtriya, applied to Pushyagupta in the time of Chandragupta, he regards as equivalent to imperial high commissioner, and suggests that the Rashtriyas, who are not mentioned either in the Arthasastra or in Asoka's Edicts, were probably identical with the Râshtrapâlas, who drew the same salary as Kumâras or princely viceroys of the blood royal.

Tushâshpha, the Yavanarâja, he considers to have been a Greek, not a Persian, as originally stated by Vincent Smith. But had the author consulted the

recently published fourth edition of Smith's work, he would have found his own opinion duly recorded in a footnote qualifying Smith's original opinion, He does not accept the view that Pushyamitra, who slew the last Mauryan ruler, was the head of a Brahman reaction against the Mauryan empire, and attributes the fall of the Mauryan power to (a) the oppression of the state officials, which was rampant long before 185 B.C., (b) the feebleness of Asoka's successors, and (c) the decay of the State's military power owing to the spread of the Asokan doctrine of Dhammavijaya. Pushyamitra, according to this view, merely gave the coup-de-grace to a moribund power. This may be so: but at the same time it does not preclude the possibility of Pushyamitra having been the protagonist in a conservative Brahman reaction against a system which had obviously rendered the empire powerless to cope with foreign invasion.

The author's arguments as to the identity of the Indo-Greek invader of India during Pushyamitra's reign are well martialled and deserve study, as also do his views on the Saka Satraps of Northern India. He proposes a new chronology for the early Sâtavâhanas or Andhrabhrityas, placing Simuka in the 1st century B.C., and the end of his dynasty in the 3rd century A.D., while the Kuntala or collateral Kanarese line of Sâtakarnis continued to rule till the 4th or 5th century A.D. He suggests that the Sâtakarni of the Nânâghât inscription is identical with the Sâtakarni who defied Khâravela, with the Sâtakarni of the Sanchi inscription, and with the elder Saraganus mentioned in the Periplus. He has much of interest to say about the Saka and Pahlava rulers of the Panjab, the Kushans, and the Western Kshatrapas. I have perhaps said enough to show that Professor Raychaudhuri's book forms a solid contribution to the discussion of the various problems implicit in the early history of India. The book is succinetly written, partaking rather of the nature of an outline than a literary essay in history: but it furnishes the evidence upon which the author relies for his views and contains a good bibliographical as well as a general index. It is well worth a place on the bookshelf of the student of Indian history.

S. M. EDWARDES.

#### Sanganians and Arabians.

Basra is inhabited by people addicted to piracy, such as the Malays [? Malvans] the Sangaries [Sanganians] the Kulis, the Arabs, with other petty nations. It might be easy for the English to exterminate these pirates, as they showed in 1765 by possessing themselves of the territories of the Malayans [See para. 654 above] . . . but it is the English Company's interest to leave these plunderers to scour the seas and hinder other nations from sailing in the same latitudes. The English are therefore content with protecting their own trade, for which purpose they maintain in the Government of Bombay eight or ten small ships of war with a number of armed barks. The Indians dare not travel from one port to another otherwise than in caravans and under the protection of an English vessel, for which they are obliged to pay very dear." Grose (p. 43) asserts (See para. 625 above) that no one grumbled at the price of the English passes, and Niebuhr does not explain what right foreigners had to expect English protection for nothing. On the 30th October 1771 Bombay reported that the Sanganians had captured and taken into Jagat an Express Boat carrying Despatches.

#### Malabarese.

658. In 1766 the Marathas of Cheria attacked a Portuguese frigate but were beaten off after a two days' fight. In 1768 they took the Dutch Company's sloop Mosselschulf (Colombo to Surat) and some other vessels in Calicut Roads (Ind. Off. Dutch Records, XIII. 168-70).

659. In 1772 Maratha pirates took, off Mount Deli, a Portuguese and a Macao ship. A Portuguese frigate and two well armed ships being sent against them were themselves captured off Anjediva but, with the exception of the frigate were quickly recovered (*Ind. Off., Dutch Records, XIII.* 168-70).

660. In 1774 the Marathas drove off a Portuguese frigate and carried her convoy of six ships into Gheria (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 107).

661. On the Sth January 1775 a fleet of 24 Maratha vessels attacked the Dutch ship *Vrouwe Gertruijda* (Surat to Cochin. Captain W. Bruelli) but were beaten off after a two days' fight (*Ind. Off., Dutch Records, XIII.* 168-70).

662. About this time the Marathas of Gheria began to interfere with English commerce. If complaints were made immediately after a ship had been seized, she was restored with apologies; otherwise she was retained (Duff, III. 95-96). Drastic measures were necessary, and on the 1st February 1775 the Revenge (Captain Moore) and the Bombay Grab (Captain Sheriff) engaged off Gheria the whole Maratha fleet of nine ships and ten galleys. The rest managed to escape, but the Maratha Admiral, who covered the retreat, was unable to do so. His ship, the Shamsher Jang, of 44 guns, blew up with most of her crew, her Commander refusing to surrender when some of his officers suggested that he should do so, on the ground that if he did, he would certainly lose his head when he returned home (Home Misc., 120. 5-14). Parsons (p. 244) says that the Admiral flew a red flag at his maintopmast head, but this must, I think, have been the Maratha flag and not that of 'No Surrender.' The Bombay Grab and Revenge had no casualties, their fire being so heavy that the Maratha sailors could not stand to their guns.

663. On the 31st January 1776, near Mangalore, a Muscat Snow fought two Malabar ketches (one of 14 guns), a galliot of 10 guns and two gallivats. Though she carried only 16 guns and 95 men, she took the two ketches and two gallivats and destroyed the galliot, herself losing 9 men killed and 17 wounded, but inflicting a loss of 150 men killed and wounded on the Malabarese, who apparently hailed from Vingurla (Parsons, p. 239).

#### Portuguese.

664. In November 1768 the Portuguese, on the coast of Goa, seized a ship trading under English colours and worth £20,000. This they detained in spite of all remonstrances. (Gentleman's Magazine, May 1769, p. 265).

#### Arabians.

665. In 1769 the Muscatees refused any further payment of tribute to Persia (Bomb. Sel., N. S. XXIV. 122).

666. On the 25th January 1775 three hundred men serving the Shaub, or Chaub, a piratical Prince on the Persian side of the river between Basra and the Persian Gulf, scaled the walls of Basra and plundered the principal bazaar (Parsons, p. 162).

667. In 1775 some of the Uttobee Arabs, who had settled in Koweit in 1716, transfer.

red themselves to Zobara (Bomb. Sel., N. S. XXIV, p. 140).

668. In 1783, or 1784, the Uttobee Arabs of Zobara took Bahrein, but the four sons of Jaubir-bin-Uttobee, dissatisfied with their share of booty, betook themselves to Khor Hassan and, under the leadership of Rahmah, the ablest but not the eldest of them, began to practise piracy not only against strangers, but also against their fellow tribesmen (Bomb. Sel., N. S. XXIV. 141. See para. 812 below).

#### Malays.

669. In November 1769 the Dutch cruiser Zeeleuw, with a crew of 24 men, was attacked in the Bay of Lampong by a corsair of Mandhar, manned by 48 pirates, who boarded her and massacred the whole crew (Parl. Papers, 1851, LVI. i. p. 63). In the same year <sup>133</sup> Captain Sadler, an Englishman, with his boat's crew, was murdered by pirates of Sambas in Borneo off Mompava. The pirates seized a large quantity of gold dust, but apparently the ship escaped (Mal. Misc., I. viii. 45).

670. According to Marsden, Sumatra was in 1771 infested by Javanese pirates (*History of Sumatra*, p. 261). Sonnerat says (III. 127) that in this year the Moors (i.e. Malays) of Yola (? Jolo) used to raid the Spanish Settlements and even cut out vessels from the har-

bours of Antique and Manila.

671. In 1773 the Dutch threatened with summary punishment the Sultans of Johor and Pahang for sheltering the pirates who plundered on the Java coast and for sharing their booty. The Sultan of Johor was able to satisfy the Dutch of his innocence (Parl. Papers, 1851, LVI. i. 65). At the same time the Dutch established permanent posts throughout the Malay Archipelago in order to hold piracy in check (Temminck, II. 228).

672. On the 26th February 1775 the English were expelled from their Settlement at Balambangan (in the Sulu Islands) by what was supposed to be a Sulu insurrection, but the rebels were Sulu and Mindanao (i.e. Illanun) pirates, and it was strongly suspected that they were instigated by both the Dutch and the Spanish. The rebels seized booty variously estimated at 400,000 and 920,000 dollars, but Sultan Israel and the chiefs of Sulu, who shared the spoil with the Datoos Temongam and Teling, the actual leaders of the insurrection, insultingly offered only 10,000 dollars in restitution, and finally none could be exacted. Of the 40 Europeans in the Settlement, one half was killed. The remainder, with the Chief, John Herbert, escaped in the ships which were in the harbour to Labuan, where they were murdered by pirates. (Bengal Pub. Cons. 11th October 1775; Bomb. Letters Recd. 28th November 1775; Mal. Misc., I. viii. 44, 1820, X. 17; Temminck, II. 445).

673. On the 31st July 1775 Captain T. Forrest measured at Mindanao an Illanun pirate prahu, which had attacked and burnt a Dutch sloop and had brought back 70 slaves to Mindanao. It was 91 ft. 6 in. long, 26 ft. broad and 8 ft. 3 in. deep. It steered with two rudders, had 40 or more oars on each side arranged in two banks, and carried a crew of 90

men (Voyage to New Guinea, p. 228).

674. According to the Batavian Chronicles, in 1780 Raja Ismail of Siak in Sumatra was the greatest pirate in those seas (Marsden, p. 356).

<sup>133</sup> The Revue de l'Orient et de l'Algérie (2nd Series I. 86) puts Captain Sadler's murder with that of Captain Ross in 1810, See also para. 701 below.

- Island) on the 30th November 1780. Captain Doveton remarks in his Log that the Bay would be a perfect place for refreshment, but that it is surrounded with high land and is sultry and hot and that one is "entirely at the mercy of the natives and intreagues of the Dutch, for (while your people all tired and fateagued after their day's labour are fast asleep) they might in ten minutes with great ease board you from different parts of the shore and in a dark night be alongside of you or cut your cables before the watch could perceive them, and those who know the Dutch in these Eastern Seas, know they are equal to the most villaneous acts to keep us out of them." They were visited by the Dutch Chief of Bima (ten hours by land from Sappy) "who by his appearance had been a common soldier," who made all kinds of promises of assistance though, after his departure, no provisions at all could be obtained from the natives. He seemed desirous of delaying the Glatton, but as they were within six days' sail of Batavia and he was certain that the Dutch would assist any French ships that might be there to intercept her, Captain Doveton left as soon as he could. That this fear was not idle may be seen from what is related in para. 693 below.
- 676. On the 18th February 1782 the Fox (Jonathan Court Commander), in Latitude 3° 10′ N. and Longitude 130°. 56′ E. of London, was becalmed off some islands and was surrounded by a number of prows, some of them large and double banked, and the smallest containing seven men. They were seen to be handling lances and blowing conches so, an attack being anticipated, Captain Court fired "a few swivels and two six-pounders among them, which made them all jump overboard several times." After about two hours they gave it up and withdrew. The Fox (See Hardy's Register) was only 240 tons. In 1782 or 1783 a boat belonging to the Snow Industry of Calcutta (Captain MacEwen) was cut off at Pulo Varela (off the north-east coast of Sumatra). The first officer, Mr. Mac Intosh, and several lascars were murdered by the Malays" (Horsburgh, in Naval Chronicle, XV. 469).
- 677. The Antelope (Henry Wilson Commander) was at Cagayan, Sulu, on the 30th April 1783. There they met the Datoo of the Island who spoke a little Spanish, having been a prisoner in Manila and released by the English in the last war "as was also the present Datoo of the Island (See para. 638 above)." The officers of the latter gave the natives a very bad character for treachery. Their Captain flew the Datoo's colours "being a red field with a white gate in the body next the staff, intended I suppose, for the gates of Mecca."

#### Sanganians.

678. In 1772 Vakhtsingji of Bhavnagar took Talaja from the Nawab of Cambay and reduced to order the piratical seamen of the south-east coast of Kathiawar (*Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII. 153).

#### English.

- 679. The relations between the English and Dutch in the Far East were never very friendly. On the 19th January 1771 two men of the Company's ship Harcourt (Captain Nathaniel Paul) deserted at Bencoolen. It being reported that they had gone on board a Dutch Snow, Captain Paul sent his second Mate, Thomas Price, with an armed boat's crew on board her. Captain Day, the Commander, gave his word of honour that the men were not on his ship, but Price insisted on making a search and found both of them, one being down a scuttle in Captain Day's cabin. The Council of Bencoolen fined Captain Day "a day's Demorhage for his bad behaviour" (Journal of Thomas Price: Ind. Off., Marine Records).
- 680. If the Company's officers were high-handed with foreigners, they were themselves exposed to rough treatment by the King's officers and did not discourage their men from resistance. On the 12th December 1773 thirty-two of the crew (petty officers and tradesmen 134)

<sup>134</sup> That is, carpenters, caulkers, painters, sailmakers.

included) of the Indiaman Houghton (William Smith Commander), being at Injili, when they were going ashore, in defiance (?) of Captain Smith's orders, armed themselves first, for fear of being pressed by H. M. S. Dolphin (Log of the Houghton).

681. "Accounts are received of a pirate ship in the China Seas of great force; the Captain is said to be an Englishman and that he has been very successful" (Lloyds' Evening Post and British Chronicle 8-10 April 1776). As in the case of the French pirate mentioned in

para. 685 below, I have not been able to identify this freebooter.

682. On the 31st August 1780 some of the crew of the Stormont (John Rivers Rogers Commander) in the Canton River refusing to be pressed on H. M. S. Seahorse, the latter came up close and fired shotted guns between her masts until she sent a boat on board, the officer of which was informed by the Captain of the Seahorse that, had not the boat been sent, he would have sunk the Stormont. He took out the crew of the boat, filled it with his own men and sent it back with two other boats manned and armed and carried off as many men as he wanted. "Our people had no arms nor did they make any resistance. Our boat was returned with their proper crew" (Log of the Stormont).

683. In December 1781, when a number of the Company's ships were at Whampoa, the crew of the Belvedere (Captain William Greer) mutinied but were suppressed by the crews of the other ships. The ring-leaders were formally tried by a Court martial held on the Commodore (the Fitzwilliam, Captain James Dundas). Some of them were sentenced to lighter punishments, but the chief two, with the approval of the Supercargoes at Canton, were flogged round the fleet (Log of the Belvedere). I do not know of any other instance of this punishment being inflicted in the merchant service.

### Hungarian.

684. A curious incident connected with Madagascar is the adventure of Count Maurice Benyowski, a Hungarian, who escaped with a number of other prisoners from Russia in May 1771. He first attempted to establish himself in Formosa, but giving that up, he accepted the proposal of the Duc d'Aiguillon to settle in Madagascar. This he did and was Governor for three years, but, differing from the French as to the extent of the autonomy to which the Settlement was entitled, he resigned his office and was elected King by the natives. In 1783 he made an unsuccessful attempt to conclude a commercial treaty with England, and in 1786 was killed fighting against a party of troops sent from Mauritius (Imbault-Huart, L'Ile Formose, p. 116).

#### French.

685. The Gentleman's Magazine for 1776 (Hist. Chron., p. 235, under date 2nd April) says:—"Advices have lately been received at the East India House that H. M. S. Seahorse [Captain George Farmer], has taken a French pirate on the coast of India after a close engagement of five glasses, in which the pirate was so disabled that she could not make her escape. She is said to have been a French frigate, that she sailed about four years ago from Mauritius, that in her passage the crew mutinied, murdered her Captain and appointed the second lieutenant their Commander, that she then sailed to the South Seas, where she made many captures: that she had been equally successful on the coast of India and that she is immensely rich." I cannot find any mention of this pirate in the Company's or Admiralty Records, but if she really existed, possibly she is the same vessel as the French man-of-war of 50 guns which is mentioned as having turned pirate in the West Indies in 1775 (British Chronicle, 3-5 July and 11-14 August 1775).

### Malabarese.

686. In June 1780 Khem Sawunt took Vingurla from the Marathas, and it immediately resumed its character as a base for piracy (Duff, III. 107). The same year the Marathas captured a ship carrying despatches from the Court of Directors and took her into Vijaydurg (Gheria), (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 107). Of the Maratha pirates Adriaan Moens writes in 1781:—

They give an appearance of right to their piracy by pretending to command the sea along this side of the Peninsula, or to speak more precisely, by pretending that all those who wish to pass there must come to an agreement with them about it or take passes from them for a certain payment: in default they seize their vessels, if they can, as being forfeited. This privilege is sold by them to those adventurers and daredevils who offer most for it. These people then buy or hire and maintain at their own expense ships and vessels, ammunition, crews and whatever else is necessary to a pirate fleet. They must make good their expenses out of the vessels and booty which they take. The Marathas themselves keep some of their officials on such a fleet in order to give the fleet more dignity and authority. Among these officials is also the head of the whole fleet. The bid for this privilege has not yet been higher than one lakh of rupees and it is astonishing that so much is given, because most of the booty they make consists only of native wares. It is true most of the bombaras and other native vessels which have to pass Gheria take passes from them at a high price, but, one thing and another, cannot amount to so much that, after deducting expenses, much can be left, for first class prizes seldom fall into their hands" (Ind. Off., Dutch Records, XIII. 169).

- 687. In 1783 the Ranger, Lieutenant Pruen Commander, of 12 guns, on a voyage from Bombay to Calicut, fought a small Maratha squadron of two ships and one ketch (all of superior force) and eight gallivats under the Maratha Admiral Anandrao Dhullup, and was taken after a most desperate defence. This affair took place in April, though Anandrao was well aware that peace had been concluded in February. The Marathas had one ship sunk and suffered very heavy losses (Low, 1. 157-9.).
- 688. On the 14th March 1792 the Snow Codabux (Captain Taylor, Bengal to Bombay) was attacked near Anjediva by two large grabs and eight gallivats. After three hours fighting, in which one of the gallivats was sunk, the pirates drew off. The Snow was damaged but suffered no casualties. Frequent piracies were reported on the Malabar Coast (Madras Courier, 22nd March 1792.)
- 689. Captain Robert Eastwick, writing in 1798, says of the Maratha pirate vessels:-"There are three kinds of craft in the fleets of these Angria pirates, viz., gallivats, shebars and grabs. The first have, in general, two masts and are decked fore and aft, being rigged in the European fashion with square topsails and top gallant sails. The shebars are also twomasted vessels but are not decked and have shoulder-of-mutton sails extending on single yards several feet higher than the top of the masts. Many of these are over 100 tons burden and sail very swiftly and exceedingly close to the wind. The grabs are rigged in European fashion..... These ships belong to the Rajah of the place from whence they sail out. Each ship carries eight or ten small guns and from 60 to 100 men. The pay of a lascar is about two rupees a trip and the serang or headman receives eight. In addition to this they are given food to support themselves and their families. They seldom stay out at sea more than fifteen days, and if the cruise has been a good one, each lascar gets three or four rupees extra as prize money. The plunder taken at sea becomes the sole property of the Raja who fits out the squadron, pays the men, feeds them all the year round and runs all risk of failure or success." In 1798 they attacked H. M. S. Centurion (Captain Romer, of 50 guns), mistaking her for a merchantman, and were very severely punished, but those that were not sunk escaped, owing to the Centurion's steering gear being out of order. A few months earlier they surprised a country ship (Captain Haig), plundered it and treated the crew very cruelly, the Captain and his men being made slaves (Journal, pp. 112-114).
- 690. In 1799 Lieutenant Hayes landed on the Island of Kenery (Khanderi) and forced the pirate Raja to give up a British vessel which had been carried in there and to pay 500 per cent. upon all such part of the cargo as had been plundered and could not be recovered (Low, II. 8). In 1800 Lieutenant Hayes in the Fly (10 guns and 75 men) was employed in harassing Gheria, Melundy Island or Sindeedurg (near Malwan) and Raree, all which ports

were engaged in piracy. At Vingurla he landed, stormed and dismantled the chief battery and forced the Prince to restore all British property with, according to his custom, 500 per cent. interest on whatever was missing (Low, I. 204).

691. In 1803 the British blockaded the ports of Malwan (Kohlapur) and Vingurla (Sawunt), (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. p. 112).

692. Buchanan (III. 138) says that in 1801 Maratha pirates hovered round Pigeon Island and so paralysed the coastal trade that the people were afraid even to build boats. In February of this year they carried off boats from Honavar, Manki and Bhatkal. Governor Duncan of Bombay, writing to the Marquis Wellesley on the 29th June 1804, says that owing to the piracy of the people of Malwan and the Sawantarees, the English had been forced in the last three years to blockade Malwan in Kolhapur every fair season. In 1793 they had taken two or three country vessels and one European (or Botany Bay) ship and the Company had ordered their punishment, but owing to the difficulties of the times this had been neglected (Ind. Off., Home Misc., 479, pp. 401–402).

### Malays.

693. According to Thomas Graham, Member of the Bengal Board of Revenue, about 1756 the Kings of Johor forced the Dutch to grant them a license to trade in every species of goods, including those of which the Dutch claimed the Monopoly, and removing to Rhio (in Bintang) established under the Monopoly of the Kings and their nobles so great a trade that by 1779-1780, when it was interrupted by the American War, it caused great anxiety to the Dutch but was a great convenience to the English. At this time, however, the French privateers made matters so hot for the English that private merchants were afraid to send their ships, and the Company accordingly was forced, in 1782, to hire the Betsy, Captain Geddes, to take a cargo of opium to China. Being pursued, she took refuge in the harbour of Rhio and was there blocked by French and Dutch privateers. The latter offered Haji, the Bugis Raja, one-third of the cargo for permission to seize the Betsy, which offer he accepted, and the ship was seized accordingly. However the Dutch delaying to pay him the reward for his treachery, Haji made a sudden attack on Malacca in January 1784 and would have taken it, had it not been for the opportune arrival of Admiral van Braam. Haji was killed in the fight and in 1785 the Dutch drove the Bugis from Rhio and garrisoned the Island. Thereupon Haji's successor, Sultan Mahomed, with his followers, betook himself to a wandering life amongst the islands between the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Banka, until at last he settled at Linggi, having acquired so much influence that he was acknowledged as the leader of all the pirates in these parts. He was so strong that he attacked several of the Dutch cruisers and before 1795 had captured some of them (Graham's Sketch of the acquisition of Penang, 1795, MS. in Home Misc., 437 pp. 139-140; R. A. S. Straits Journal, 22nd Dec. 1890 pp. 174-176; Wilkinson's Papers on Malay Subjects, I. 53.. See also Home Misc., 176, p. 231).

694. In 1785 the East India Company purchased Penang or Prince of Wales Island from the King of Queda and took formal possession of it on the 11th August 1786 (Low, I. 221). The necessity of occupying such strategic points as a means of keeping piracy in check is shown by the following extract from an Account of Queda as it was in 1789, by Michael Topping:—"The Islands Lancavy or Ladda and Trocklon lie west of this port about five leagues. The Great Ladda is inhabited by a race of Malays, who are, in general, thieves, and commit frequent piracies. These islands are dependent on the Luxamana [Admiral] of Queda, who governs here absolutely. They are mountainous, have little pasture and do not yield rice sufficient for the inhabitants" (Oriental Repertory, I. 399).

695. In the same year (1785) at Pedir a number of Malays on pretence of trade came on board the *Floyer* and murdered Captain Bain and his officers whilst they were sitting at their breakfast (Horsburgh in *Naval Chronicle*, XV. 648).

- 696. After 1785 the Island of Banka became exposed to the piratical attacks of the subjects of the Princes of Rhio and Linga, who had themselves been driven from Johor by the Dutch. The pirates were of two classes: (1) the Lanuns, who inhabited several islands on the north and north-east coast of Borneo and made a regular profession of piracy. (2) The Orang-laut (i.e. sea-folk) or rayads (See para. 811 below), who were part of the inhabitants of Johor, Linga and Rhio. Neither of these classes had previously attacked Banka (T. Horsfield in Logan's Journal, II. 314-5).
- 697. In 1786 the May of Calcutta (450 tons) was cut off on the coast of Borneo. Captain Dixon, 3 officers and 10 Europeans were murdered at a dinner to which they had been invited by the Sultan. The ship was plundered and burnt, and the lascars retained in slavery (Malayan Miscellanies, I. viii. 45).
- 698. In 1788 at Pulo Varela an officer and boat's crew belonging to the Dadaloy of Bombay were seized by some prahus from Battabara in Sumatra and sold as slaves. About the same time a number of Malay Hajis on board the Grab Snow Generous Friends (from Mocha to Coromandel, Captain Lunn) murdered the Captain and two of his officers and ordered the lascars to take them to Sumatra. The lascars however took them to the Maldives and themselves escaped ashore, but the Hajis were never afterwards heard of. In March 1789 two Chinese junks bound to Rhio were captured by Malays off Cape Romania and many of the crews murdered. The remainder were rescued by the British and sent to Malacca. About the same time Manila helmsmen on board a Snow murdered Captain Robb the Commander and carried the vessel to Battabara, where they sold the lascars as slaves. In 1789 or 1790 the Maria (Captain Wilcox) being in Madras Roads, Manila seacunnies murdered the Chief Officer and threw him overboard (Horsburgh, pp. 470-2).
- 699. The Lanuns began their regular attacks on Banka in 1789. In 1790 they attacked Jebus (one of the Philippine Islands) but were defeated by the Chinese. About 1792 the Rayads, encouraged by the success of the Lanuns, began to act boldly under the leadership of Panglima Ramon of Linga, 135 who even attacked two small Dutch vessels. Ramon, however was driven from Pangkal-pinang by the Arab Abdullah-Djalel and also defeated by the Chinese at Robo. His principal headquarters were at Koba which he seized in 1793 (Horsfield, p. 316).
- 700. The Madras Courier of the 19th July 1792 reports a mutiny in April 1791 of the native erew (the gunner, seacunnies and some Malays)<sup>136</sup> of the ship Betsy (Bombay to Sumatra). Captain Nelson, the other European officers and three "Coffreys," whom the gunner mistrusted, were murdered. The Serang, learning that the mutineers intended to go to Manila and expecting to be murdered himself as soon as his help in navigating the ship could be dispensed with, took the opportunity of most of the mutineers being ashore one day to overpower and kill the others. He then put out to sea and obtaining assistance from the first English vessel he met with, namely the Jane, which met them near Java Head, took the vessel back to Bombay (Calcutta Gazette, 26th July 1792).
- 701. About 1791 Captain Stewart, commander of a Prince of Wales Island Snow, was assassinated and Captain Gray wounded by Malays on the Pedir Coast. In March 1793 the natives on the Maloza River (Island Basilan near Mindanao) made a vain attempt to entrap the boats' crews of the Ann. About two years later they seized and murdered most of the crews of boats belonging to the Gloucester of Bombay. In the same year a boat belonging to an American ship was seized on the west coast of Celebes and the crew sold as slaves (Horsburgh, p. 472).

136 Horsburgh (p. 472) ascribes the mutiny to Java passengers.

<sup>135</sup> His father was a Bugis who had married the daughter of one of the chief Rayads of Linga (Horsfield, p. 317).

- 702. The Madras Courier of the 15th November 1793 says that the Straits of Banka were infested by piratical Malay prahus, some 20 in number, commanded by a man who had served on board some English country ships (i.e. English-owned ships trading in the East only and not with Europe). Their attacks were aimed chiefly at the Dutch.
- 703. In 1794 Captain Gray, commanding a Snow belonging to Madras, was murdered at Pedir and his ship seized. So also Captain Piercy on the same coast. About the same time an English gentleman, commanding a vessel from Manila, was murdered by his crew of Bassias, i.e., natives of the islands south of Lucon, who were noted for their cruelty and treachery.
  - 704. In March 1795 the British occupied Malacca.
- 705. In 1796 Captain Sadler (of the *Transfer*, of Calcutta) was murdered at Pontiana or Mompawa, but his ship escaped (*See para*. 669 above). About the same time Captain Stalker and his crew were surprised and murdered. About 1797 Captain Page, Commander of an American ship, was assassinated by Malay pirates in the Straits of Banka (Horsburgh. p. 473).
- 706. Early in 1798 (Horsburgh says 1799) eight seamen belonging to H. M. S. Sybille (Captain Edward Cooke) were seized at Bongo Bay near Mindanao, whilst getting water. They were ransomed in 1799 by Captain Lynch of the Bangalore (As. Ann. Reg., 1801, Chronicle, p. 33).
- 707. On the 27th July 1799 two Malacca Malay lascars murdered Captain Wilson of the Limbee and his Chief Officer, Mr. Davies, and then took possession of the cabin and started drinking. The gunner and two Dutch seacunnies, who had fled to the rigging, were induced to come down on a promise of their lives if they would take the ship to Macassar. Watching their opportunity, they killed the Malays and, being picked up by an English ship, the Limbee was brought to Penang (As. Ann. Reg., 1800, Chronicle, p. 40).
- 708. About 1799 some Manila men made an unsuccessful attempt to seize a ship belonging to Captain Drysdale from Calcutta. In February 1800 passengers on board the *Anna* of Calcutta (Captain Gilmore) plotted to murder the Europeans, but were discovered in time (Horsburgh, p. 474).
- 709. On the 16th March 1800 Captain Pavin of the Ruby, whilst drinking a cup of chocolate in the palace of the Sultan of Sulu, was treacherously murdered with his boat's crew, but his ship managed to escape capture (As. Ann. Reg., 1800, Chronicle, 132). This outrage was said to be in reprisal for the action of a British ship, which about two years earlier had cut out a vessel from the harbour (Mal. Misc. I. viii. 44; As. Ann. Reg., 1801., Chronicle, p. 21). It would appear that, amongst Muhammadans, the Malays alone pay no respect to the laws of hospitality. "The Malays who inhabit the whole coast of Borneo are noted for piracy which they do not think dishonourable. They attack not only Europeans and Chinese but also other Muhammadans. They seldom attack a European vessel except by treachery, pretence of friendship and murder during a feast (Chinese Repos., IV. 508)." About the same time the First Officer of Captain Henderson (on a Madras ship) was murdered by the natives of the Eastern (?) Islands (Horsburgh, p. 474).
- 710. In 1800 the Javanese crew of a small Calcutta ship mutinied, but were beaten almost single-handed by Captain Langland, who with a few lascars carried his ship back to Amboyna and there secured a new crew. In November 1800 the Manila gunner and seacunnies of a small ship from Prince of Wales Island murdered Captain George, his officers and a female passenger near Chittagong. They then prepared to leave the ship after having arranged that it should blow up with the lascars on board. This roused the lascars to desperation. They overpowered and killed the Manilamen and carried the ship back to Chittagong (Horsburgh, p. 475).

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Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the Indian Antiquary.

### THE DATE OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. By K. G. SANKAR, B.A., B.L.

Kerala is the part of South India inhabited by people who speak Malayâlam (an off-shoot of Tamil). It is now split up into the Indian States of Travancore and Cochin, and the British district of Malabâr. But in ancient times it was undivided and owned the sway of a single dynasty of emperors. Bhâskara Ravivarman was one of such emperors. His inscriptions and copper-plates have been found in all parts of the Kerala country. They reveal to us the fact that Malayâlam was already developing into a distinct language, with its own grammar and diction. Bhâskara Ravivarman was moreover the earliest emperor in India to give special privileges to the Jews, which he did in his 38th year, as we know from his Cochin plates published in the Epigraphia Indica (vol. 3, No. 11). His date is therefore of peculiar importance for the history of the Malayâlam language and also of the Jews in India.

But unfortunately scholars are not yet in agreement as to his date. The vast majority of them place it in the eleventh century A.D. But recently (Indian Antiquary, vol. 53, pp. 220–223) Mr. K. N. Daniel has attempted, relying mainly on astronomical evidence, to take him back to the sixth century A.D. If his conclusion be accepted, we shall have to revise the current notion that Malayâlam branched off from Tamil as a distinct language only in the ninth century A.D. This notion is based on a comparison of the Tiruvallâ plates (eighth century A.D.) of Râjaśekhara, published in the Travancore Archæological Series (vol. 2, No. 1), which are entirely free from Malayâlam forms, with the Koṭṭayam plates of Sthâṇu Ravi (circa 900 A.D.). Mr. Daniel's arguments therefore deserve careful scrutiny.

He has recently admitted that arguments based on linguistic and palæographic evidence are, taken by themselves, inconclusive, and he therefore mainly relies on the astronomical evidence. I shall therefore confine myself here to examining his astronomical argument. But, before doing so, it would be well to consider whether there is no other definite historical evidence that may throw some light or the date of Bhâskara Ravivarman.

Mr. A. S. Râmanâtha Ayyar has recently pointed out in the Indian Antiquary and elsewhere that the Tirukkadittânam inscription of Bhâskara Ravivarman (Trav. Arch. Ser., vol. 5, No. 61) refers to a festival instituted by Srî Vallabhan Kodai of Venâd (i.e., Sout Travancore). But he concludes that Śrî Vallabhan was a feudatory of Bhâskara Ravivarman. This, however, is by no means certain. The inscription does not say that the festival was instituted in Bhâskara Ravivarman's time. We can therefore only infer that Srî Vallabhan lived at or before the date of the inscription, and that Bhâskara Ravivarman was not earlier in date than Śrî Vallabhan. Now the Mâmpalli plates of Śrî Vallabhan Kodai of Venâd date themselves definitely, through their astronomical data, on the 10th November 973 A.D. (Trav. Arch. Ser., vol. 4, No. 1), and as we know of only one Srî Vallabhan Kodai of Venâd, it is almost certain that Bhâskara Ravivarman did not live before the end of the tenth century A.D. Mr. T. K. Joseph, on the other hand, told me that he was able to read the word pandu (i.e., of old) in the original inscription, in connection with the festival instituted by Srî Vallabhan Kodai. But, as his statement is not supported by the plate published by Mr. Râmanâtha Ayyar, and as he himself has not yet thought fit to publish his reading of the inscription, we cannot for the present rely on his statement. We can therefore only conclude that Bhâskara Ravivarman lived in or after the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

To this conclusion Mr. Daniel opposes his astronomical argument. He says that the astronomical data given in the Perunna inscription (*Trav. Arch. Ser.*, vol. 2, p. 34) and the Tirunelli plates (*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 31) of Bhâskara Ravivarman agree only with dates in the sixth century A.D., in a period of 5000 years starting from the Kali era. If this statement were correct, we should have to assume the existence of an earlier Śrî Vallabhan Kodai of Veṇâḍ, however unwilling we might be to postulate so early a date for Bhâskara Ravivarman. Messrs. Râmanâtha Ayyar and Joseph, no doubt, fight shy of the astronomical

argument, and the latter urges that astronomical data need not be always correct or reliable. But he forgets that the burden of proof is on him to show why the astronomical data should be discredited, when they work out correctly, as they do in the present instance, and he has not even attempted to discharge that burden. We have no alternative but to disprove Mr. Daniel's statement, or, if we cannot do so, to accept his conclusion. I shall therefore examine Mr. Daniel's astronomical argument in detail.

To begin with, several of the inscriptions of Bhâskara Ravivarman give the positions of Jupiter at the times when they were engraved. The following is a list of such positions given in the order of the dates of the inscriptions:—

(1)	6th	year	Jupiter in	Rishabha	(Trav. Arch. Ser.,	vol.	3,	p. 180).
(2)	15th	,,	,,	, ,,	( ,,	,,	2,	p. 36).
(3)	23rd	,,	,,	Makara	( ,,			p. 39).
(4)	31st	,,	,,	Dhanu	( ,,			p. 43).
(5)	,,	,,	"	Kumbha	(	,,	3,	p. 183).
(6)	33rd	,,		Rishabha	( 3,		3,	p. 44).
(7)	43rd	,.	,,	Tulâ	( "		2,	p. 31).
(8)	48th	,,		Simha	(Ind. Ant.			p. 290).
(9)	50th	,,	,,	Tulâ	(Trav. Arch. Ser.	,,	5,	p. 190).
(10)	58th	,,	,,	Simha	( ,,	,,	2,	p. 49).

Now Jupiter moves approximately over one râsi (solar sign) every year. The reader can therefore calculate for himself and easily find out that these positions cannot be reconciled with each other, unless we postulate the existence of at least four different Bhâskara Ravivarmans. Since there is no justification for doing so, we have no alternative but to give up the problem as for the present insoluble.

Mr. Daniel however claims to have solved the fiddle. He does so by assuming (1) that some of the given years are current and some explicitly ed, and (2) that some of them refer to the king's age, while others to his regnal years. The former of the assumptions is barely possible, but the latter is clearly gratuitous. This is not all. He has some of his facts wrong. For instance, (1) in the 15th year inscription he reads 13th for 13+x(=2)nd year; (2) in the 23rd year inscription he reads 13th for 23rd year; and (3) in the 48th year inscription he reads 46th for 48th year. It is therefore clear that, in spite of Mr. Daniel's praiseworthy efforts, we are as far as ever from a solution of the riddle.

I shall now examine the data of the Perunna inscription and the Tirunelli plates. Allescholars, including Mr. Daniel, have hitherto assumed that the former is an inscription of Bhâskara Ravivarman. But there is no justification for it in the inscription itself. The portion referring to the king's name is missing, and there is in it no mention either of Bhâskara's feudatory Govardhana Mârttânḍa of Veṇâḍ. The style, palæography and language no doubt resemble those of Bhâskara Ravivarman. But this fact is not inconsistent with the ascription of the inscription to the immediate predecessor or successor of Bhâskara instead of to that king himself. Mr. Daniel has made much of the condition that the interval between the two inscriptions should be exactly 45 years and challenged Mr. Joseph to produce any other couple of dates satisfying that condition in the said period of 5000 years. It is therefore necessary to point out that there is no warrant in the inscriptions themselves for any such condition. It is entirely his own creation, based on the fact that the interval between his dates is exactly 45 years, and on his assumption that the Perunna inscription is an inscription of Bhâskara Ravivarman.

Coming now to the data themselves of the two inscriptions, they are :-

(1) Perunna inscription—14th year, 20th Mîna (solar month), Sunday, Punarvasu (nakshatra), Jupiter in Makara;

(2) Tirunelli plates-43rd year, 8th Mîna, Wednesday, Uttara Phalgunî, Jupiter in Tulâ.

Mr. Daniel says, and I agree, that the data of the Perunna inscription are satisfied by both 526 and 1060 A.D. But, as to the data of the Tirunelli plates, he says that, between 1 and 1400 A.D., only 571 and 666 A.D. satisfy them, and that therefore Bhâskara Ravivarman cannot be placed so late as the tenth or eleventh century A.D. He notices the suggestion of the late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai that A.D. 1116 is a likely date for the Tirunelli plates, but dismisses it as a mistake and even claims that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai himself agreed with him, shortly before his death. If Mr. Swamikannu Pillai had done so, I believe it must be due to his ignorance of the prevalence in ancient times of the Malabar rule that, if the sankrama of a solar month (the point of time at which the sun passes from one solar sign to another) occurs after eighteen ghatikûs (one ghatikû = two-fifths of an hour) from sunrise, the next day should be the first of that month. Mr. Daniel has himself pointed out that this usage was prevalent as early as circa 1200 A.D. and that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai was not aware of it, when he suggested 1155 A.D. as a suitable date for the Perunna inscription. For myself, I contend that 1st March 1116 A.D., satisfies the data of the Tirunelli plates in all respects. The Mîna sankrama of that year fell on 24 ghațikâs after sunrise of the 22nd February. The 1st Mîna therefore, according to Malabar usage, was the 23rd February, and, as 1116 A.D. was a leap year, the 8th Mîna fell on 1st March. It was a Wednesday, and the nakshatra Uttara Phalguni ended on that day shortly after daybreak, allowing for an error of one ghatika at the most. Uttara Phalgunî was therefore most probably the nakshatra of that day, and the geocentric longitude of Jupiter was 196°. It was thus in 16° of Tulâ râsi. The 1st March 1116 A.D. therefore completely satisfies the astronomical data of the Tirunelli plates, and there is no need to assume, without evidence, the existence of an earlier Śrî Vallabhan Kodai of Venâd, or to take Bhâskara Ravivarman back to the sixth century A.D. We can therefore safely conclude that the 43rd year of Bhâskara Ravivarman was 1116 A.D., and that he ruled from 1073 to at least 1131 A.D.

It is agreed on all hands, with the single exception of Mr. Joseph for reasons which he has not revealed, that the Perunna inscription and the Tirunelli plates could not be removed from each other by any long interval, though of course it is not necessary that they should belong to the same king or that the interval should be exactly 45 years. It is therefore almost certain that, of the two astronomically suitable dates for the Perunna inscription 526 and 1060 A.D., the latter is more probable, if we place the accession of Bhâskara Ravivarman in 1073 A.D. The 14th year of an unnamed king was therefore 1060 A.D., and, as this is only thirteen years before Bhâskara Ravivarman's accession, the unnamed king was most probably Bhâskara's immediate predecessor.

Now there is evidence to show that Indukodaivarman was the immediate predecessor of Bhâskara Ravivarman. One Perumanaikkoṭṭattu Keśavan Śaṅkaran is known to have been the contemporary of both Indukodaivarman and Bhâskara Ravivarman (*Trav. Arch. Ser.*, vol. 3, pp. 173, 181). But Velliyâmpalli Polan Śâttan and Panṛitturutti Kaṇṇan Polan are known to have been the contemporaries of Indukodaivarman (*ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 165–168), while Velliyâmpalli Śâttan Kumaran and Panṛitturutti Polan Kumaran, who were evidently their immediate successors, are known to have been the contemporaries of Bhâskara Ravivarman (*ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 49,53). It is therefore almost certain that Indukodaivarman was the immediate predecessor of Bhâskara Ravivarman, and, as he is known to have ruled for at least sixteen years, while the interval between-the Perunna inscription and the accession of Bhâskara Ravivarman was only thirteen years, he must almost certainly be identical with the unnamed king of the Perunna inscription. As his fourteenth year was 1060 A.D., his accession must be placed in 1046 A.D.

The result, therefore, of this brief inquiry is that we are now able definitely to place Indukodaivarman in 1046 to 1073 A.D., and Bhâskara Ravivarman in 1073 to at least 1131 A.D.

# MOSLEM EPIGRAPHY IN THE GWALIOR STATE.1 By RAMSINGH SAKSENA. (Continued from page 104.)

These inscriptions belong to one of the many cities of historical importance which lie within the territories of the Sindhias of Gwalior. This sacred city of hoary fame and mysterious origin rightly deserves the name of Ujjain (the City of Light). It has been given a dozen names in the Hindu scriptures, viz., Avantî, Kanaksharanga, Kush-sthalî, Vishala, etc.; but is more extensively styled Ujjayinî, and has been noticed by every known historian or traveller. The present town, however, though enjoying its ancient historic attributes and traditions, is devoid of any remains earlier than the tenth century A.D. It lies two miles south of its ancient site, the remains of which still yield interesting antiquities, whenever tapped. It lies in 23° 11' North and 75° 50' East, on the Sipra river, and is still, as in the past, the Government head-quarters of the Mâlwâ Division and is reached by the Bombay Baroda & Central India and the Great Indian Peninsula systems of Railways.

Unfortunately Ujjain has escaped expert antiquarian survey by the modern archæologists. Even Sir A. Cunningham and his successors seem to be content with the undisputed identification of the site and by its mention in different epigraphical records, with brief descriptions thereof published in various journals from time to time. An authoritative, systematic and well-linked history of the old and new sites is a keenly felt need, and let us hope that the Gwalior Archæological Department will try to fill this gap. Scientific excavations at the site may yield startling discoveries, which may be as valuable as those of Mohenjo-daro (Sind) and Harappa (in the Panjab).

The Muhammadans laid their hands on Ujjain (Mâlwâ) as early as A.D. 724 under Junaid,<sup>2</sup> governor of Sind, but they actually occupied it only from the time of Qutbu'd-dîn, A.D. 1196-97, up to the fall of the Mughals. The following are a few of the many unnoticed and unpublished Moslem inscriptions to be seen at Ujjan.

A.—Inscription on Binâ-nîm-kî Masjid (or Moque without Foundation), Ujjain.

This epigraph though belonging to one of the interesting monuments of Ujjain, has remained unnoticed for the reasons given above. The building is wittily known locally as Binâ-nîm-kî-Masjid (the mosque without foundation) on account of its having been erected on the (still visible and intact) plinth, and from the materials, of some Hindu temple. Though numerous mosques of this type are extant all over India, the adoption of this fanciful name in this case baffles explanation, except as a local joke.

The inscription is said to consist of a piece of slaty stone of the bluish colour common in Mâlwâ, measuring 2' 7" by 2' 4" and to have been fixed over the only entrance of the mosque. It consists of raised letters and contains five lines of Persian verse,<sup>3</sup> each of which has been relieved by a plain line ½-inch in breadth. The style of writing is Naskh, but poor in execution. It has been difficult to fully decipher it, because the small photographic reproduction, which though apparently neat, has apparently been made after inking over the original inscription, and the ink has run into the curves of already crude letters. However, as I have been able to make out the salient points, I feel no hesitation in publishing this small record, since I believe that the undeciphered portion of it would probably reveal nothing more than a mere eulogy of the Prophet or the king, couched in elegant and forcible words. The record refers to the completion of the mosque in A.H. 806 (A.D. 1403) and names Dilâwar Khân as king. Dilâwar Khân Ghorî (whose real name was Hasan, a descendant on his mother's side from Sultân Shihâbu'd-dîn Ghorî) is a well-known personage in history. He was appointed Governor of Mâlwâ by Muhammad IV ibn Firôz of Delhi about A.H. 794, asserted his independence in A.H. 804, and proclaimed himself Dilâwar Khân Ghorî, Sultân of Mâlwâ. As

<sup>1</sup> See ante, vol. LV, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Elliot, H.I., I, 126.

<sup>3</sup> In mujatteth muthmin wafi mazahif makhbun maqsur metre. (معجدت مدفن وافي مواحف مخبون مقصور)

<sup>4</sup> Briggs, Ferishta, vol. IV, pp. 167-173.

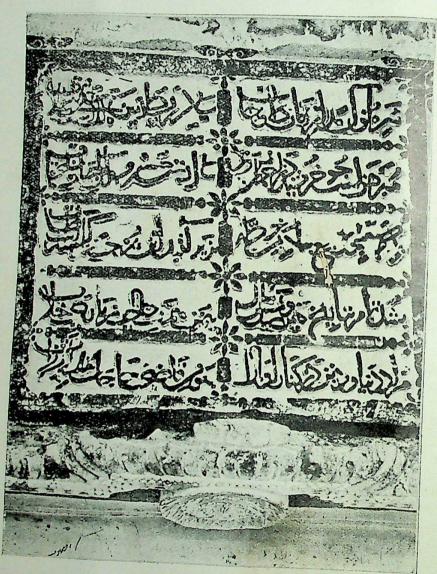


Plate A

Indian Antiquary

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF SULTAN DILAWAR KHAN GHORI, FIRST SULTAN OF (MANDU) MALWA, ON THE BINA-NIM-KI MASJID AT UJJAIN, GWALIOR STATE

A.H. 806 = A.D. 1403.



R. S. SAKSENA.

the mosque was completed in A.H. 806, only two years after the assumption of kingship, it is certainly the outcome of the early orders of this king, though the temple itself may have been pulled down by some previous invaders of Mâlwâ.

I read the text as under:-

Inscription	on Binâ-nîm-kî	Masjid,	Ujjain.
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شه ملوک مدار زمان دلاورخان	1.
بدهر گشت چو خورشید در آخرین	2.
	3.
بزیر گنبد این برج گنبد است زبان ؟ بشر تمام بهاریاخ صیصد و شش سال	4.
به يمن ممت صاحب زمان دلاورخان ؟	-
مراد دنیا و دین در کنار او بادا بعونِ قاضیِ حاجات و خالق دوران	5.

### Translation.

- 4. (1) Was completed in date eight hundred and (sixth) year.
  - (2) Through the felicity of the valour of the master of the times (world) Dilawar Khan.
- 5. (1) May the desires of the world and religion be in his skirt.
  - (2) Through the aid of the Disposer of necessities (God) and the Generator of the times.

B.—A Loose Inscription picked up from débris at Ujjain.

This fine epigraph was picked up from the débris, during operations in the heart of the (modern) town under a town improvement scheme, and is stored in a collection of antiquities maintained by the Mâdhav College, Ujjain. It consists of raised letters on a piece of basalt stone available locally and is reported to measure 18 inches by 10 inches. A line running round the margins at the top and both sides contains a quotation from the Qurân in elegant Naskh characters, with an air of Tughra. The rest consists of ten lines (five couplets) of Persian verse in neat Nastâliq characters. The metre of the verse is Hazaj mulhmin wafi salim.

The record after a eulogy of Emperor Akbar refers to the construction of a strong sarâî in Akbar's reign—a portion of which still exists. The date, as found from chronograms contained in it, works out to A.H. 987=A.D. 1579, while that given in eiphers reads A.H. 986 = A.D. 1578.

My reading of the text is as under :-

A loose inscription picked up from débris at Ujjain.

Left. - ومافي الارض من ذي الذي يشفع عندة الا باذنه يعلم مايين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولاياحيطون Right - بشي من علمه الابماشاء وسع كرسيم السموات والارض ولا يورة حفظهما وروالعلى العظيم بدوران جلال الدين محمد اكبرغازي 1. (2) كم عالم را مسافر كرد اقبال فرا دادش (3) شه پاکیزه سیرت شاه فغرالدین که پیوسته (4) جرانے را باصان بنرہ وارد طبع آزادش (5) پی آسایش مروم سرائی ساخت زینگونه 3. كم خواند آسمان از محكميها حصن فولادش چو ور وقت بنایش استعانت خواست از ایزد 4. (8) خرد زان استعانت یافته تاریخ بنیادش وگر تاریاخ جویی از پی اتمام این بقعه 5. (10) بجو از بقعهٔ خیر اید بین در کار استارش Translation.

Line on margin. God, there is no God but He, the living, the self-subsistent. Slumber takes Him not, nor sleep. His is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth. Who is it that intercedes with Him save by His permission? He knows what is before them and what is behind them, and they comprehend not aught of His knowledge, but what He pleases. His throne extends over the heavens and the earth and the guarding of both of them wearies Him not. And He is Exalted and Great.

- 1. (1) During the reign of Jalâlu'd-dîn (the Dignity of the Religion) Muhammad Akbar, the victorious.
  - (2) Whose (God)-gifted fortune subdued the whole world.
- 2. (3) The king of refined temperament (who is the) pride of religion, who always
  - (4) By his liberal disposition, keeps the world bound (as a slave) through obligation.
- 3. (5) Caused to be built a sarâî (mansion) for the comfort of mankind in such a way
  - (6) That the sky calls it, by (virtue of) its stabilities (a) "steel castle";
- 4. (7) When at the time of building it, divine help was invoked,
  - (8) Wisdom found the date of construction through that (invoked) assistance,
- 5. (9) And if (thou) seekest the date of completion of this edifice,
  - (10) Seek it in (the words) بقعة خير (the house of welfare = 9876) and look for it in

کار استادش (the work of its expert = 9876).

(To be continued.)

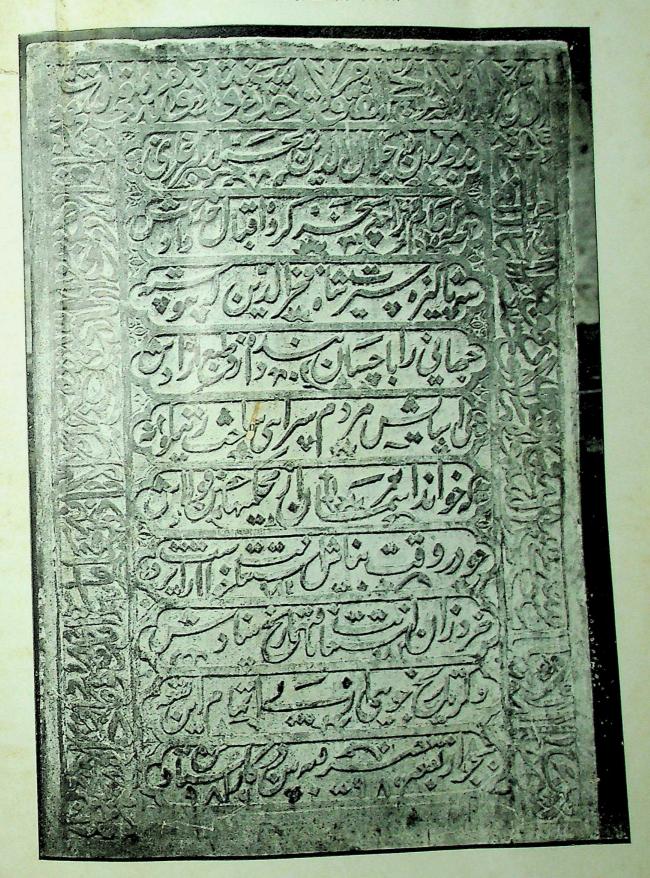
<sup>5</sup> From the Quran (Ayatu'l kursi), Sura II, v. 255.

<sup>6</sup> According to the Abjad system.

Plate B. Indian Antiquary

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR THE GREAT, MUGHAL EMPEROR OF DELHI, AT UJJAIN, GWALIOR STATE.

A.H. 986-87 = A.D. 1578-79.



R. S. SAKSENA.

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# THOMAS CANA AND HIS COPPER-PLATE GRANT. BY THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

(Continued from page 128.)

"From what has been said it can be seen that wrong information was given to the author who, treating of the origin (fol. 527; 88v.) of the St. Thomas Christians, [says that it was] from the foundation of the [ . . . and . . . ] of Cranganor and [gives?] the said Thomas Cananeo as the beginning of the St. Thomas Christians in Malavar. In this it seems that he had not full information, [since it appears?] from very ancient traditions and reliable surmises that there were St. Thomas Christians in Malavar already before the said Cananeo. Xaram Perumal's olla bears clear witness to this: for it says that on the said ground of Cranganor seventy-two houses (setenta e duas casas) were established, which were of Christians, together with the Church, and it is clear that the said Thomas had not [other?] people with him, since he came to trade; 38 and, as between this arrival and the foundation of the city of Cranganor there was no longer interval than from the seventh of March to the eleventh of April,39 it is clear that the said city could not have been built by his descendants; hence, the fact is clear and strongly established that there were already St. Thomas Christians in Malavar, and this the other Christians who descend from the said Thomas Cananeo also confess: and also that (assy que) through this Thomas Our Lord greatly helped the Christians who in this Malavar were forsaken, although before and after they were sometimes visited by some Armenian pilgrims 40 who were going on a visit to the sepulchre of the Apostle St. Thomas, and some would remain at Maliapur, and others in Malavar.

"In this Church of Cranganor there was, before the coming of the Portuguese, a Bishop called Mar Johanan, of whom it is said in an old manuscript book written in Chaldean that he restored to life the sacristan of the said Church, who had died of a fall.<sup>41</sup> I found moreover the name of the said Thomas Cananco among the names of the Saints which the Deacon names in the Mass, and it was said of him that he gave a large sum of money to the king of Malavar to buy that ground of Cranganor. Hence, I consider as a fable what these Christians relate, when they say that the said Thomas had a wife and a concubine, <sup>42</sup> from whom are descended the two kinds of Christians living in this Malavar of whom we spoke above. In the old manuscript book of prayer (livro da resa) of a (?) Church of Mangate <sup>43</sup> I found written at the end how the said book was made and written at Cranganor, where it says there were

<sup>38</sup> It is passing strange that neither Monserrate, nor Gouvea, nor Roz in 1604, nor do Couto mentions the 400 who are said to have come from Mesopotamia with Thomas Cana, nor the vision of the Katholikos of Edessa. How is that? When do we first hear of that vision and migration? Certain Christian songs sung during a religious dance which I witnessed at Kottayam were full of Thomas Cana, the vision, the migration, etc. Are these songs later than 1604? Who will publish a translation of these songs?

Bishop Roz therefore clearly understood that March 7 and April 11 belonged both to a year other than the Perumal's death on March 1, 346. We should take it that he means A.D. 345.

There are places in Malabar where real Armenians, not Arameans, are said to have settled. Palayur near Chavakat is one, I believe.

Church of Cranganor, there was, before the arrival of the Portuguese, a Bishop called Mar Johanan (Mar means Lord), who resuscitated the sacristan of the said Church, who had died from a fall. Such is the story which the *Illustrissime* Archbishop of Angamale, D. Francisco Roz of the Company of Jesus, read in an old Chaldean manuscript." It is on the authority of this passage in de Souza, who at Goa had before him the MS. now in the British Museum, that we identify our anonymous Jesuit author with Bishop Roz, appointed Bishop of Angamale by a bull of August 4, 1600.

There is some similarity between the stories related by the Northists about the Southists, and vice versa, and those which the Navâyats relate of the Labbâis. "The Lubbè pretend to one common origin with the Nevayets, and attribute their black complexion to inter-marriage with the natives; but the Nevayets affirm that the Lubbè are the descendants of their domestic slaves." Wilks, Hist. Sketches, 1. 243, quoted in Yule's Hobson-Jobson. s.v.. Lubbye.

<sup>43</sup> Em o liuro atigo da resa scritto da mao dhña (?) Igr a de Manyate.

three Churches, one of St. Thomas, another of Our Lady, and another of St. Cyriacus, 44 I say St. Quirce, a martyr-child, the son of St. Julita, and very famous (muy celebrado) among these Chaldeans, whose feast they celebrate on the fifteenth of July. According to the era in which the said book was written, it was written ninety-seven years before this year 1604."45

Diogo do Couto, who died in 1616, and was some 40 or 50 years in India writing the history of the Portuguese in the East, says:—

"Many years after that, there landed at that harbour of Patana a ship, (p. 283) in which came an Armenian Christian, called Thomé Cananeo, a very rich man: and, on meeting that king, he gave an account of himself and he gave the place of Patana for him to settle with his people, who brought their wives; and after that the same king gave him the field of Cranganor, where now is our Fortress, where Thomé Cananeo ordered to make the Church at the place where it now is, under the invocation of the same Apostle; and afterwards he made two others: one of the title of Our Lady, and another of St. Cyriae, Martyr. And, as the grant of these fields, which the king ordered to pass, is remarkable and declares many things which deserve knowing, it appeared good to me to put them here word for word, as they were found in certain copper-plates, to which I refer in my seventh Decada, which disappeared from the Factory of Cochin, and from them I conclude that this king was a Christian and was called Cocurangon." 46

In his Decada 7 do Couto writes :-

(P. 14) "The Bishops whom he (St. Thomas) left in those parts of Malavar, governing that Christianity, founded Churches in the City of Cranganor and in that of Coulão, which still to-day are seen in the same places, and they keep (p. 15) in many things their memory and antiquity,<sup>47</sup> and, among them<sup>48</sup> on certain padrões (memorials),<sup>49</sup> and on plates of metal, of lands and revenues, granted by those kings for the building of those Temples, which we<sup>50</sup> still found in the Factory of Cochin a very few years a 30,<sup>51</sup> which, from the beginning of that Fortress, had passed from Factor to Factor to be kept in the house.<sup>52</sup> And, when I wished to know about them, in order that, according to duty, we might place them in the Torre do Tombo,<sup>53</sup> considering they were such an ancient thing, and so greatly worth keeping and

Correa (Lendas da India, I. 509) says that the Christians of Cranganore asked of Lopo Soares (1504) not to burn their Church. "Some Christians of the land came to the Captain-in-chief asking mercy, that he might not order to burn the settlement, because (p. 509) they had there a Church and crosses in their houses, being Christians of the teaching of St. Thomas; wherewith the Captain-in-chief was pleased, and therefore he would not burn the settlement, which was depopulated, as all the people had fled with the King."

When the Portuguese came to India, "there was still in existence at Cranganore an old Christian Church called The House of St. Thomas. This was destroyed in 1536 by the troops of the Zamorin of Calicut, and the Portuguese then built two churches under the title of St. Thomas and St. James. (Lendas da India)." Trav. Man., II. 192.

- 45 1604-97 = A.D. 1507.
- <sup>46</sup> Dec. 12, 1. 4, c. 5 (Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, pp. 282-283).
- 47 Sua memoria e antiquidade, i.e., the memory of their antiquity.
- Among the things of the antiquity of which they keep the memory.
- 49 Does he refer to padrões like the pillar of Quilon?
- 50 Do Couto means himself.

51 Ha bem poucos annos.

52 Por entreya da casa.

53 The record-room of Goa.

<sup>44</sup> Barbosa wrote before 1516: "Further along the coast [than Chatua] is another river which forms the frontier with the Kingdom of Cochim, on the hither bank of which is a place called Cranganor [p. 89] where the King of Cochim holds certain dues. In these places dwell many Moors, Christians, and Heathen Indians. The Christians follow the doctrine of the Blessed Saint Thomas, and they hold here a Churchededicated to him, and another to Our Lady. They are very devout Christians, lacking nothing but true doctrine whereof I will speak further on, for many of them dwell from here as far as Charamandel, whom the Blessed Saint Thomas left established here when he died in these regions." Dames, Duarte Barbosa, II. 88-89.

honouring, they could no longer give an account of them, nor can the Factors who come from there give an account of them."54

Do Couto wrote his Decada 7, liv. 10, c. 10, in 1610. Cf. Tom. 4, Pte. 2, Lisboa, 1783, p. 528. Mr. T. K. Joseph, in *The Magna Charta of the Malabar Christians* (Asiatic Review, April 1925, p. 300) writes: "In 1544, Mar Jacob, the then Bishop, in distressful circumstances, pawned the two copper-plates to the Portuguese treasurer in Cochin, and obtained two hundred reals. . . . So says Manuel de Faria y Sousa of the seventeenth century, in his *Portuguese Asia*, vol. 2, p. 506."

Faria y Sousa was a compiler, writing in Europe. He must have found his statement somewhere, as historians, if conscientious, remain within the limits of their materials. This notwithstanding, I believe that the Jesuit of 1604, being on the spot, must be regarded as our best authority.

Father Lucena (Hist. da vida do P. Fr. de Xavier, Lisboa, 1600, p. 162, col. 2) speaks of "tablets of metal which were found in India in one of the first three years that Father Master Francis was in India. They presented them to the Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa, with the writing already almost spoiled by age, and the letters and the language were new to all, as they were very old. However, there was found (p. 163, col. 1) a Jew, (who as such is herein less suspect), who, being curious of antiquity, had great knowledge of it and various languages. He, though with much trouble, translated it into Portuguese. It contained the grant which the then king made to the Apostle St. Thomas, of certain fields to build a Temple and a Church on."

This discovery was therefore made in 1542-1545. St. Francis Xavier came to India with Dom Martin Affonso de Sousa, and arrived at Goa on May 16, 1542. Dom Affonso governed three years and four months, his successor leaving Lisbon on March 28, 1545. We know from his history that he visited Cochin and Quilon. Did he perhaps take these copper-plates with him to Lisbon on his return? Other arthors should be consulted on this incident, for instance Polanco's *Chronicon*, and Maffei; but I cannot now consult these here.

As Lucena opposes this discovery to others in Narsinga, and as Cranganore and Coulam are mentioned by him immediately before as possessing ancient memorials of the St. Thomas Christians, it would seem we have here an allusion to the Thomas Cana copper-plates, and a confusion between his name and that of St. Thomas.

Three copper-plates, supposed to contain a donation of lands by Bukka Raja to the Church of St. Thomas at Mylapore, were produced by a Brahman in or before 1552 and sold for 300 pardaos. They were probably forged. A Brahman of Kanjiviram was called to decipher them. These plates are not now found at Mylapore. Where could they be? At Cochin, Goa or Lisbon? (Lucena, pp. 172–173; do Couto, Dec. 7, 1. 10, c. 5, Tom. 4, Pte 2, Lisboa, 1783, pp. 482–487, where we have a translation of the three plates, which were written on one side only.)

Do Couto says that Thomas Cana's arrival was put down in A.D. 811, "as is found in the Chaldean books of these Christians; and, from many conjectures, it seems to me that he is the king of whom St. Antoninus writes in his history that he sent every year a present of pepper to the Sovereign Pontiff." 55

I do not think that we need pay any attention to do Couto's date of A.D. 811, no more than to de Barros, who states of the 'Sarama Pereimal,' who was said to have gone to Mecca, *i.e.*, the last Perumal, as he is generally called, that he reigned 612 years before the arrival of the Portuguese, i.e., in 1498—612 = A.D. 886.

<sup>54</sup> Dec. 7, 1. 1, c. 2 (Tom. 4, Pto 1, Lisboa, 1782, pp. 14-15).

De Barros, Da Asia, Dec. 1, 1. 9, c. 3 (Lisboa, 1777, p. 324). Do Couto's date and that of de Burros may refer correctly to later Perumals.

Dec. 12, 1, 3, c. 5 (Tom. S, Lisboa, 1788, p. 285). Could the passage in St. Antoninus and perhaps others like it touching the Christians in India be discovered and translated? It might throw light on the history of the St. Thomas Christians.

Do Couto himself has stated that the last Perumal, who would be the Perumal of the Thomas Cana copper-plates, ceased to reign in A.D. 347, according to the calculations of the Brahmans of Calicut, in A.D. 588 according to the Brahmans of Cochin.<sup>57</sup> The date A.D. 347 is remarkably close to that of the Jesuit of 1604, who gives March 1, 346, as the date of this Perumal's death. At first sight the Jesuit's date appears to be wrong by at least one year: for, if the king who welcomed Thomas Cananeo died on March 1, 1258 years before 1604, i.e., on March 1, 346, how did he, as the Father also states in one place, lay the first brick of a church in April "of the said year," the year immediately preceding being A.D. 346? It is clear, however, that the Jesuit Father meant the April of 345 for this ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone. This latter date is therefore April 11, 345, and the date of the king's death is given as March 1, 346. The year 345 for Thomas Cana's arrival is the date regularly ascribed to that event by the St. Thomas Christians. They have it in a chronogram, "Shovala." Probably they had that chronogram in 1604. They, must however, have had other data to determine the time of the Perumal's death.

It is a fact that, though copper-plates were found by Col. Macaulay in the Cochin record-room in 1806, the plates of which the Jesuit (1604) and do Couto (1610) quoted similar translations, did not appear. We might, therefore, doubt whether the copper-plates of Thomas Cana were ever deposited in the Cochin record-room. If they were in that room, when do Couto saw Christian copper-plates there, it would seem that the Thomas Cana copper-plates were removed before 1599, when the Christians complained of their disappearance. The Jesuit's reflexion in 1604 that the Franciscans sent these particular plates to Portugal, a copy of them remaining here, would be based on actual enquiry. The identical translation given by the Jesuit and do Couto would be based on the copy kept by the Franciscans, or on copies from that copy. It may well be, therefore, that when do Couto saw copper-plates in the Cochin record-room, the Thomas Cana plates were not there. There is no need to think that do Couto obtained his translation on the occasion of a visit to the Cochin record-room.

My surmise is, therefore, as expressed in the Catholic Herald of India, December 17, 1924, p. 801, "that the Magna Charta of the Malabar Syrians lies now in the Torre do Tombo of Lisbon, or in some old Franciscan Convent in Portugal."

It does not mean that, before making an enquiry in Portugal, it would not be wise to examine again the Cochin record-room. Do Couto's complaints were not about the disappearance of the Thomas Cana plates only; yet, 200 years later, several Syro-Christian copperplates supposed to have disappeared were found.

We have still to compare the story of Thomas Cana with that of another merchant in Conversão de um Rei da India ao Christianismo. Homilia do Archanjo S. Michael por Severo Arcebispo de Antiochia. Estudo de critica e historia litteraria por F. M. Esteves Pereira. (Lisboa, Imprensa Lucas, 93. Rua do Diario de Noticias, 1900.) There the scene is laid in India, apparently in the days of Thomas Cana, the story of the merchant Ketsôn (Qesôn, Qîsôn, after

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Do Couto, Da Asia, Dec. 7, 1. 10, c. 10 (Tom. 4, Pte 2, Lisbon, 1788, pp. 523-525).

<sup>58</sup> Mar Jacob had died in the Franciscan Convent of Cochin in 1549. Cf. Travancore State Manual, II. 160.

Fr. Nicolo Lancilotto, S.J., wrote from Cochin, Dec. 26, 1548, about Mar Jacob: "To us it appears that some heretical Christians went to China to preach, because of the similarity of their customs and ours. Here in Cochin there is a very old Hirmeni (Hirmenio) bishop, who these forty-five years has been here, teaching the things of our faith to the Christians of St. Thomas, who are in this land of Malavar. This bishop says that in the primitive Church the Hermeni went to China to preach and that they made a big Christianity there." L. Delplace, S.J., Selectae Indiarum Epistolae nunc primum editae, Florentiae, 1887, p. 65. St. Francis. Xavier wrote from Cochin, Jan. 26, 1549: "A bishop of Armenia, by name Jacob Abuna, for forty-five years has served God and Your Highness in these parts, a very old, a virtuous and a holy man.

. He is noticed only by the Fathers of St. Francis and they take so good care of him that nothing more is wanted." Trav. Man., II. 157.

baptism Matthew) of Qonya, of his wife Helena, and of his four sons (John, Stephen, Joseph, and Daniel) being possibly a mixture of the story of the merchant Thomas Cana and that of Meropius and his nephews Frumentius and Edesius. King Kasititos or Kesanthos, before whom a dead man is brought to life to establish the innocence of Ketsôn's sons, would be the king of Kerala or Malabar: for doubtless Ketsôn's story resembles greatly that of Thomas Cana. The moment king Kesanthos, at the instigation of Ketsôn's son, John, wrote to Emperor Constantine the Great for a bishop from his dominions, John, the Archbishop of Edessa (sic), came to India with three deacons and a priest, the homily goes on to say, and with church-books and ornaments. He built a church at the king's capital and baptised the king and his people. Next he ordained John, Ketsôn's son, a bishop, one of his brothers a priest, and the two others deacons. Agelas or Echillas, the king's son, was also ordained a deacon. After that the Archbishop of Ephesus returned home.

This story is found in a Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic text, and, according to E. Drouin, writing to Senhor F. M. Esteves Pereira (18-11-1909), it is also found in a Georgian chronicle. No Greek, Syriac, or Armenian text is yet known to exist. The homily in which it is found is, it would seem, falsely attributed to Severus, Archbishop of Antioch (A.D. 512), who died in exile at Alexandria in Egypt (A.D. 539). The author of the homily says he had the story from trustworthy persons. If Constantine, who reigned from A.D. 308 to 337, was really written to, and if the identification of Thomas Cana with the merchant Ketsôn of Qonya could with sufficient plausibility be established, we should have to shift Thomas Cana's arrival in Malabar to a period somewhat earlier than the generally accredited date A.D. 345, and the homily would contain proofs of the existence in India of Christians and of a bishop before Ketsôn's arrival at Kesanthos' capital, the name of which, Qalonya, in the Coptic text, appears to be identifiable with Coulam, Quilon, the country of Philippois (Coptic text), where it was, being perhaps the country of the Pahlavas. I have translated into English the whole of Senhor F. M. Esteves Pereira's study, and hope to publish it with the necessary comments as a contribution to the Thomas Cana episode.

In 1599 there was at least one more set of copper-plates which was not deposited in the Cochin Factory, but was in the treasury of the Tevalikara Church, near Quilon.

Let me quote Gouvea's Jornada:-

"To the increase secured by their descent from the Armenian Thome and the privileges he obtained, was added another, which greatly enhanced the Christian community. It was this. Not many years after the foundation of Coulão (that is the era by which the Malavars count, as this city was the noblest (nobilissima) among the people of Malavar: for just as we count our era from the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, so do they count the year of the foundation of Coulão: hence, the year in which we are, that is the year six hundred and two, 59 is for them the year seven hundred and eighty from the foundation of Coulão): 60 at this time there came from Babylonia two Chaldeans, (Fol. 5r. col. 1) Mar Xabro and Mar Prod, who, it is understood, were Nestorians by sect, and they went to Coulão, where the king received them with many favours, because he saw them much honoured by the Christians. And he

<sup>59</sup> Understand 1602.

<sup>60</sup> Sic. We expect 783, as the occasion for the era should be computed to fall in A.D. 825. The occasion for the era is far from clear. Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Quilon, will not admit that Quilon did not previously exist. There must be question of a new foundation or the foundation of something new. The Maduraittala-Varalàru (Account of the Sacred City of Madura) dates a certain fact in Salivahana Saka 1246, 501 years "after the destruction of Kollam". Cf. Indian Historical Records Commission. 1924, p. 108. This would place the fact in 1246 + 78 = A.D. 1324. But 501 + 825 gives A.D. 1326, or 2 years in excess. The author of this chronicle wrote in A.D. 1801, and, as he did not compute the beginning of the Kollam era correctly, his explanation about the origin of the era, a destruction of Kollam, is perhaps to be neglected. Might not the occasion have been the dedication of a church or a new settlement of the Christians under Mar Sapor and Mar Prodh, as Yule suspected?

allowed them to build Churches and temples in the places where they might choose, and to make Christians of those who wished to be: wherewith they made many and much increased the Christianity; wherefore, the king gave them a site at Coulão to build a Church, in the same place where the Portuguese have it to-day, and much revenue for it, together with many great privileges for the whole Christianity; which privileges were written on ollas of copper, like the ollas of Cranganor, in different letters and characters, Malavar, Canarin, and of the Tamul, and letters of Bisnagaa. And at Tevelacare these ollas were produced and shown to the Archbishop by the Christians, among the most precious things of the Church, as inestimable treasures of their honours and privileges. For all these things these Christians regard these two Chaldeans as holy men, and call them gadejagal, which, in their language means "the saints," and twice every day make the commemoration of them in their divine office, and they have dedicated many Churches to them: all which, at the Synod, the Archbishop suppressed, ordering that they should not pray to them, since it was not allowable to reverence as saints men of whom no one knew who they were or how they had died and lived, and since there was much probability and indications that they were Nestorian by sect, having come from its fountain-head, Babylonia, and had been received by these peoples; for they were of the same sect as that which they professed." (Fol. 4v, col. 2—Fol. 5r. col. 1.)

De Glen, the French translator of Gouvea's Jornada, has a curious mistranslation, which on former occasions, when I could not consult the Portuguese text of 1606, gave me much trouble. De Glen says of the privileges that they "were engraved on copper-plates (as we have said those of Cranganor were) in different forms of characters, Malabar, Canarin, of Tamul, in letters also of Busnagaa, which (lesquelles) were translated in the Tanalerate tongue; and these plates were exhibited and shown to the Lord Archbishop."61

The relative 'lesquelles' can refer to the 'plates' or to the 'letters'. The only word with which I could compare 'Tanalerate' was 'Tolina' in Duarte Barbosa, 62 i.e., Tulu-nada, Tuluva, i.e., Tulu of S. Canara. I now find that de Glen has grossly misunderstood his text, as he often does, to the extent that one should never use him for translation. The words "which were translated in the Tanalerate tongue . . . "correspond to the Portuguese "as quais em Teualechre fozam trazidas, and mostradas ao Arcebispo"; and this means: "which (copper-plates) at Tevalecare were brought out, and shown to the Archbishop." De Glen read "traduzidas," "translated," when it was a question of bringing the plates out of the church treasury, which in Malabar is an enormous safe, often as big as a room.

When Archbishop de Menezes left the Church of Tevalikara, in the kingdom of the queen of 'Changanate', to go to 'Gundara', "the Christians brought to him, for him to see, three big copper ollas written in divers characters, which contained many privileges and revenues, which the king who founded Coulão (Quilon) gave to the Church which the two who came from Babylonia, Mar Xarão and Mar Prodh, built there, as we said above: which ollas the Christians of this Church keep as an inestimable Treasure. And so, before showing them to the Archbishop, they asked him to swear never to take them from that Church; and he did so: for they feared he might take them to Angamalle, because it is the headquarters of the Bishopric, where its Archives are. And about others, like these, granted to the Church at Cranganor, (Fol. 97v, col. 1) the Christians complained that they were lost in the hands of the Portuguese in the factory of Cochin, where an Archbishop of the Serra, Mar Jacob, deposited them on a certain occasion. And they value these ollas so highly, because in them are contained their privileges and honours, in which they want the Malavar Kings ever to maintain them. And each one was two palms long and four fingers broad,

<sup>J. B. de Glen, Hist. Orientale des grans progres, . . . . . Bruxelles, 1609, p. 21.
Dames, Duarte Barbosa, I. 182.</sup> 

and was written on both sides; and all three hung from an iron ring." (Gouvea, Jornada, 1606, fol. 97r—97v.

While I was at Quilon, at the end of January 1924, I motored to Tevalikara, to inquire about these copper-plates; but, as in the time of Fra Paolino, no one there knew anything of them. From the description given, some one in Malabar might be able to tell us whether these plates are possibly any of those now known to exist.

Friar Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo sought in vain for the Quilon and Tevalikara plates

mentioned by Anquetil Du Perron. He writes:-

"Matay Matay, a Cassanar, born at Angicaimal, and secretary at Verapoli to Dom Florentius a Jesu, Bishop of Areopolis, wrote Lives of Saints. But uncertain and supposititious is a copy of the privileges granted by Emperor Ceramperumal to the Christians of St. Thomas, which Anquetil du Perron produces in his Zend-Avesta, Dics. prêl. p. clxx sqq., as having been received from that priest in 1758 (p. 190). For:

"1. D. Florentius, Bishop of Areopolis, in his letter to Anquetil, does not mark the

place whence that copy was taken, or where it was found.

- "2. La Croze and Raulin, in his history of the Diamper Synod (ch. 1, p. 8), tell openly and clearly that the copper-plates, on which were written the privileges of the Christians granted by Ceramperumal, were lost through the carclessness of the Portuguese Procurator, with whom Mar Jacob the Bishop had deposited them. Such too is the general tradition of the learned in Malabar.
- "3. The Christians never produced this copy before the king of Cochin and of Travancore, when there was question of the privileges [of the Christians], of their infraction, of the dignity of the Christians, or the honour of the churches, or when any persecution was moved against the churches.

"4. I made a diligent enquiry for these privileges at Collam and at Tevelicare, where Anquetil had thought these writings were hiding, and I could not find them.

"Therefore, that copy of the Priest Matay is uncertain and supposititious, like two apocryphal letters by him: one of the Blessed Virgin Mary, written to St. Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, and another of the B. V. M. to the people of Messina, which Matay circulated (venditabat) as true and genuine at Verapoli." 63

Friar Paulinus is mistaken if he thought there could not be copies, more or less exact, of the privileges granted to Thomas Cana. In 1924 the Rev. Fr. J. Panjikaran and Mr. T. K. Joseph collected in a short time 13 versions of these privileges. I am afraid many are not genuine, and have been made to air the peculiar views of the Northists against the Southists, and vice versā. One such version which came to light at Gothuruti during my journey would have deserved being printed at once. Will it be suppressed, because it recites the origin of most of the Seven Churches of St. Thomas and attributes them to Thomas Cana? St. Thomas' claim on India is built on stronger grounds than the Seven Churches. Such is precisely the state of the St. Thomas Christians that, if the publication of the different versions of these privileges now current were attempted, it might be viewed by one section of the community as an attack on their dignity. All the old antipathy of Southists and Northists would blaze up again, and who knows whether new faked documents would not be produced! There is still a class of professional bards, who go about the houses of Christians singing these privileges, and from whom variants of the privileges could be extracted. These songs should be compared, translated, published on their own merits, and without any regard for the susceptibilities of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, India Orientalis Christiana, Romae, 1794, pp. 189-190.

<sup>&</sup>quot;From him [Bishop Florentius] Du Perron got a Sanscrit (?) version of the copper-plate grant by Cheraman Perumal to the Syrian Christians. Du Perron showed this to a Syrian priest at Matancheri, who in bad Portuguese gave him an oral translation, which Du Perron produces at page 175 of his book [Zendavesta]. This version in no way resembles the Portuguese version which has already been given."—Trav. Man., II. 193.

certain classes of the Christian community. We complain of the dearth of materials for a history of the Malabar Churches. The materials are plentiful. They are to be found in songs, religious or patriotic, in the songs of the different churches, for many churches have a song of their own recording their beginning, their traditions, etc. The scholars in Malabar now know that they can compare the present songs or versions of the privileges of Thomas Cana with a copy published by Anquetil Du Perron. An English translation of Du Perron's contents of the plates was sent by me to Mr. T. K. Joseph for study and comment. The contents appear to be valuable.

Friar Paulinus' reflections on Matay Matay's two apocryphal letters are unjustified. That priest may have thought these two letters genuine. They may have been current in Syria and Malabar as they were in the West. The Epistle of the B. V. M. to St. Ignatius Martyr has only nine lines in the Fabricius edition of the apocrypha. It exhorts to faith and courage. Equally short is the letter to the people of Messina: it conveys an exhortation to faith and a blessing.

To suppose that Matay's copy of the privileges was supposititious is ungenerous. We cannot imagine that the present copies of these privileges of Thomas Cana all derive from Matay's copy, or that the institution of the bards is posterior to Matay.

Two Portuguese versions of the Thomas Cana Copper-plates.

Do Couto's version.

seia prosperado e tenha Dec. 12, 1. 3, c. 5, Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, pp. 283–285.

Copia da doação que ElRey do Malavar fez a Thomé Cananeo.

Cocurangon seja prosperado, e tenha longa vida, e viva cem mil annos, divino servo de Deos, forte, verdadeiro, cheio de boas obras, racionavel, poderoso, (P. 284) sobre toda a terra, ditoso, vencedor, glorioso, prospero no ministerio de Deos direitamente. No Malavar na Cidade do grande idolo, reinando elle em tempo de Mercurio, no dia setimo do mez de Março antes da Lua cheia, o mesmo Rey Cocurangon, estando em Cornelur, chegou Thomé Cananeo, homem principal, em huma não com determinação de ver a derradeira terra do Oriente, e vendo-o chegar alli, deram recado ao Rey, que o mandou ir perante si, fallou com elle amigavelmente, e lhe deo o seu proprio nome, chamando-se dalli por diante Cocurangon Cananeo, a quem ElRey deo a Cidade Patana pera tudo sempre. E estando este Rey em sua grande prosperidade, foi um dia á çaça, e mandou cercar o mato, tendo comsigo o Thomé Cananeo, e fallou ElRey com hum grande Astrologo, que lhe aconselhou que désse todo aquelle mato, que era grande, ao Cananeo, como fez, que elle mandou logo roçar, e alimpar. Foi isto no mesmo anno, em que alli aportou aos onze dias do mez

Bishop Roz' version.

Coquarangon seia prosperado longa uida e uiua ce mil annos, diuino, seruo de D's, forte, uerdadeiro, iusto, cheo de boas obras, racionauel, poderoso sobre toda a tr. a, ditoso, ueçedor, glorioso, prospero no ministerio de D's direitam. te, no Malauar na cidade gr.de do grãde Idolo. Pejnado elle no tepo de Mercurio de feu.ro no dia septimo do mes de Março ates de lua chea o mesmo Rej Coquarangon estando ë Carnel[ur] chegou Thome Cananeo home prīcipal ē hūa nao determinado de uer a derradr.a parte de Oriente. E uedoo algus homes como chegara forao [a] diser a Elrej. E ueo o mesmo Rej, e uio e chamou ao dito Thome home principal, e desebarcou, e ueo diate delRej, o qual falou co elle amigauelm.te e lhe poz sobrenome p.a o honrar, o seu proprio, chamadoo Coquarangon Cananeo. E elle recebeo delRej esta hora e foy se apousar no seu (Fol. 87v) lugar. E elRev lhe deu a cidade de Magoderpatanam p.a todo sepre. E estado o dito Rej nesta gr.de prosperid.e foy hũ dia a caça ao mato, e o mesmo Rej cercou [o] mato todo. E chamou de pressa a Thome, o qual veo, e esteue diate delRej č hora ditosa. E pergutou ElRej ao diuinhador. E depois falou ElRej co Thome, q' edifica[ria] hua cidade naquelle mato. E respondeo aelRej64 fazedolhe p.ro reuerecia, e disse: Eu quero este mato p.a mī. E o Rej lho cocedeo, e deu p.a todo sempre. E logo outro dia alimpou aquelle mato e póz os olhos nelle no mesmo anno a onze de Abril, e deo por herãça a Thome & tepo, e dia ditoso, e nome delRej, o qual póz o pr. o \*tijolo<sup>65</sup> p.a a Igr.a e p.a a casa de Thome Cananeo, e féz alli hua cidade a todos e čtrou na Igr.a e fez alli oração no mesmo dia, depois destas cousas Thome mesmo foy aos passos delRej e lhe offereçeo presetes e depois disto dice alRej, q' lhe desse a elle e a seus descedetes aquella t.ra. E mediou dozetos e sesenta e quatro couados de Elefante, e deu a Thome, e as seus descedetes p.a todo sempre. E iũtam.te seseta e duas casas, q'alli se fizerad logo, e hortas. e aruores, cò seus circuitos, e cò seus caminhos e terminos e pateos interiores. E cocedeolhe sete modos de instrom.tos muzicos e todas as honras, e falar (?), e andar como Rej, e nas bodas fasere as molheres certo sinal co o dedo na boca, e cocedeo lhe pezo distincto. e ornar o chao co panos, e cocedeolhe abanos reales, e dobrar o sandal no braço, e tabernaculo . . . eal (?) e toda parte de seu Rejno p.a todo sempre, e afora dista cinco tributos a Thome, e a sua geração, e a seus cofederados p.a homes e p.a molheres e p.a [to]d[os] seus paretes e aos f.os de sua lej p.a todo sempre. O dito Rej e seu nome o deu testemunhas estes principes (The rest as above in the translation.)

de Abril. E neste mato mandou logo o Cananeo fabricar huma Igreja, em que ElRey lançou a primeira pedra, e assim fundou alli huma mui arrezoada Cidade, e deo a ElRey muitos, e mui ricos presentes; pelo que o Rey lhe (P. 285) concedeo mais sete modos de instrumentos musicos, e todas as honras que se faziam ao mesmo Rey. E concedeo-lhe mais poder pera em suas bodas poderem as mulheres fazer certo sinal com o dedo na boca, que só as mulheres dos Reys podem fazer. Concedeo-lhe mais pezo distinto sobre seu real, e todas as mais, como a sua propria pessoa, e que pudesse pôr tributos a seu povo. As testimunhas que estavam assignadas nestas pastas sam as seguintes; Cadaxericandi, Cheracaru, Putanchate, Comese, porteiro mór de ElRey, Arcundem Coundem, do seu Conselho. Amenate, Condem, Gerulem, Capitão do campo, Chiranmala Portati Resvoramen, Regedor da banda do Oriente no Malavar, e outros muitos que deixo por fugir prolixidade.

(To be continued.)

# THE INTERPRETATION OF THE UPANISADS. BY UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A., B.L.

(Continued from page 92.)

We have seen thus far that the manner in which Deussen and others are building a modern philosophy of the Upanisads, implies a more or less arbitrary choice and is not free from ambiguity. It is further open to question whether a modern philosophy of the Upanisads, as distinguished from, and as independent of, the Vedânta-sûtras, is not altogether an anomaly, leading to unintended misconceptions. We ought not to forget that the attempt of Deussen and others is not the earliest attempt to construct a philosophy out of the Upanisads. The Vedânta-sûtras themselves are another such attempt—the most important, the most classical and the most authoritative of such attempts. Our analysis of the situation, it may be hoped, has given us this result that the philosophy of the Upanisads as it is usually presented to us is not, strictly speaking, a homogeneous system. Either we have the philosophy of this or that group of Upanisads—a group, be it remembered, formed more or less according to our taste, or according to materials available to us;—or we have what is incorporated in the Vedânta-sûtras. The most authentic and historical philosophy of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> This word, blurred in the text, is repeated more clearly in the margin.

Upanisads is what is contained in these Sûtras. If we take the liberty of going beyond the Sûtras, we may find ourselves landed in a congeries of philosophies, instead of being blessed with a truer synthesis.

Even the interpretation that we find in the  $S\hat{u}tras$ , was a gradual growth. We have evidence within the  $S\hat{u}tras$  themselves that the interpretation of the Upanisads attempted therein was not a sudden discovery which flashed from the brain of one man; on the contrary, we have evidence that it was a gradual and perhaps a slow process, which ultimately culminated in the system that we find in the  $S\hat{u}tras$ .

The nucleus of this system is of course those  $S\hat{u}tras$  which refer to specific texts of the Upanisads and interpret them. The texts are not named in the  $S\hat{u}tras$ , but the commentators are almost always unanimous as to which of the texts the author of the  $S\hat{u}tras$  has in view in any particular place. Thus  $S\hat{u}tras$  i. l. 22, etc., refer to specific texts; but it is interesting to note that, though they otherwise belong to different schools, both Sankara and Râmânuja in explaining these and similar  $S\hat{u}tras$  quote, almost without exception, the identical passages of the Upanisads.

These Sûtras of interpretation, as we were saying, are the nucleus of the system. The Sûtras which discuss rival systems of thought and attempt to refute them (e.g., ii. l. l. etc.), are logically an added buttress to the system, and chronologically, may have been later. It may even be supposed that these latter Sûtras increased in number and variety, as attacks began to be made upon the system from different quarters.

Even so far as the interpretation of the Sûtras go, there are signs of a gradual growth. In different connections, the author of the Sûtras refers to earlier authorities by name, obviously implying that there have been other interpreters of the Upanisadic texts before him. Thus in Sûtra i. l. 24 et seq., the author proposes to ascertain the meaning of Chândogya, v. 11, especially the expression 'Vaiśvânara' used therein (cf. Śankara and Râmânuja); and incidentally he refers to three other earlier interpreters, viz., Jaimini (i. l. 28), Âśmarathya (i. l. 29), and also Bâdari (i. l. 30)—the last being the name of his father (cf. Pâṇini, iv. l. 101).

Again, in i. 4. 19 et seq., while deciphering the meaning of the word 'Âtman ' in Brhadâ-ranyaka Up., iv. 5. 6 (cf. Śankara, Râmânuja and Vallabha), he again refers to Âśmarathya (i. 4. 20) and also to Audulomi (i. 4. 21) and Kâśakṛtsna (i. 4. 22).

There are two other teachers to whom a reference is made in the Sûtras. These are Kârṣṇâjini (iii. l. 9) and Âtreya (iii. 4. 44). The first is referred to in connection with the interpretation of the passage, Chândogya, v. 10. 7; and the second name is cited in connection with a particular doctrine involved in passages like Br. Up. i. 3. 28, Ch. ii. 3. 2, etc. All these references show that the author of the Vedânta-sûtras was heir to a more or less unbroken tradition of interpretation of the Upaniṣadic texts.

Besides these  $S\hat{u}tras$  of Bâdarâyaṇa and the authorities quoted by him, other attempts at interpretation of the Upanisads also appear to have been made. For instance, there is a  $G\hat{u}\hat{u}$  called the  $Brahma-g\hat{u}\hat{u}$ , which devotes several of its chapters to an interpretation and summarisation of the teachings of some of the leading Upanisads. These stray attempts may have preceded or may have followed the  $S\hat{u}tras$  of Bâdarâyaṇa; but they have all been eclipsed and overturned by the  $S\hat{u}tras$ . And to-day these  $S\hat{u}tras$  represent the acme of all traditional attempts of ancient and mediæval India to understand and to explain the Upanisads. Have we any right to overlook this classical attempt in building our own theories?

We have perhaps been encouraged in such an attempt by the divergence of views of the interpreters of these  $S\hat{u}tras$ . But we should not ignore the fact that even these divergent interpreters, though they had their own individual systems to build, yet took their start invariably from the  $S\hat{u}tras$ . They knew the texts of the Upanisads well enough. Deussen's statement that Sankara 'had in his hands no collection of Upanisads ' (op. cit., p. 31), is misleading.

It cannot be insinuated that Sankara did not know the Upanisads he was quoting from; Deussen's meaning seems to be that Sankara regarded the Upanisads as still forming the concluding chapters of their respective Brâhmanas', and that he was, therefore, wrong. Even if this be Deussen's contention, it is difficult to support him. The Upanisads came to be regarded as independent books very much later than the date of their birth; and some of them still continue to be regarded as 'the concluding chapters of their respective Brâhmanas'. Deussen gives no reason for thinking that originally they were not part of a Brâhmana or a Mantra text. In some cases no doubt the Brâhmana has been lost, though the corresponding Upanisad has been preserved. At least one Upanisad, viz., the Isâ, forms part of an important Mantra text (i.e, the White Yajus). So, the tendency to regard the Upanisads as independent products implies a defiance of all accepted tradition and is not so easily supported. This is, however, by the way. [Cf. Jaimini-sûtra, ii. 1.33].

It cannot but be conceded that the commentators of the Sûtras knew the texts of the Upanisads and knew them no less than we do. Yet, each having his own system of thought to develop, all of them—Śaṇkara and Râmânuja and Vallabha and Madhva—build their systems on the Sûtras. The Sûtras were not regarded as revealed like the Upanisads: their authority was only the authority of a great name; it was not absolute and infallible. The Sûtras themselves refer to earlier interpreters of the texts. And just as before the Sûtras, independent interpreters of the texts proceeded on their own lines, there was nothing forbidding a similar procedure after the Sûtras. They were not part of the sacred texts. Just as a modern interpreter ignores the Sûtras and puts his own meaning upon the texts, Śaṇkara or Râmânuja or Vallabha might have done exactly the same without being guilty of heterodoxy. In fact, Ṣaṇkara and several others have commented on the Upanisads as independent books and as the ultimate sources of Vedântic knowledge. Yet when they had to build their systems of philosophy, they took the Sûtras as the common foundation, though there was nothing to bind them to such a procedure. This is an important and interesting fact; and its significance should have been sofficiently stressed.

We should recollect in this connection that the Vedânta is the most orthodox, the most sacred and the most Brâhmaṇical of all the philosophies of ancient India. The so-called Kṣatriya origin of the Upaniṣads is an unproven hypothesis; the Upaniṣads are as integral a part of the Brâhmaṇical culture as the Vedâs themselves. And the Vedânta is the system that is built exclusively on sacred texts (cf. Sûtra, ii. 1. 11). It is the system that paid the greatest homage to the orthodox Brâhmaṇical organisation of caste (varṇa) and stages of life (âśrama). (Cf. Sûtras: i. 3. 34; iii. 4. 17, 19; etc.) And this is the system in which the continuity of Vedic culture has been preserved most of all. This characterisation of the Vedânta is not affected by the fact that the Pûrva-mîmâmsâ of Jaimini is an equally orthodox system, being also based on sacred texts and being concerned with the interpretation of another section of Vedic literature. In spite of difference in the value assigned to Karma, the system of Jaimini cannot claim to be more orthodox than the Vedânta. On the contrary, the Vedânta may rightfully claim that it is a necessary complement to the system of Jaimini, which is, therefore, incomplete in itself.

The Pûrva-mîmânsâ has been the philosophical back-ground of the Smrtis, which regulate the rituals and external formalities of the religious life of a Hindu. It is based on the Brâhmanas, to explain which it employs canons of interpretation enunciated by itself. It is certainly not opposed to the Vedas; and to that extent it is of course orthodox; and the advocates and supporters of this system to this day have been far more numerous than those of the Vedânta. But it has ignored the Upanisads—not a negligible branch of the revealed literature. It had to ignore them, because their attitude towards Vedic Liturgy was not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Deussen, however, expresses a modified view about this matter in the Introduction to his System of the Vedánta.

free from suspicion. And that was exactly the strong point of the Vedânta. The Vedânta recognised the system of Jaimini, even quoted from him and the texts on which his system was based; but at the same time, exposed its limitations. Besides, the Vedânta gave full weight to the Upanisads. It thus included more of the Vedic lore within its scope than any other system.

In the Vedânta-sûtras, the more or less unbroken continuity of interpretation of the Upanişads has found a perfect form of expression. This is why all subsequent system-builders of the Vedânta School, instead of going straight to the original sources in the Upanişads,—which they knew well enough,—preferred to build on the common and undisputed foundation of the Sûtras.

The prestige of these  $S\hat{u}tras$  of Bâdarâyaṇa was unique. The authoritative character of his interpretation of the Upanisads is further evidenced by the fact that even those who did not, strictly speaking, belong to the  $Ved\hat{u}nta$  School, considered him well worth quoting. And his authority was sometimes enough for a philosophical tenet. In the  $Bhakti-s\hat{u}tras$  of Sâṇḍilya, we find copious references to the  $S\hat{u}tras$  of Bâdarâyaṇa. Thus, Sâṇḍilya i. l. 4, i. 2. 17, ii. l. 4, and iii. l. 7 refer respectively to  $Ved\hat{u}nta-s\hat{u}tras$  i. l. 7, i. l. 1, iv. l. 3, and i. l. 2. Besides, Svapneśvara, the commentator of Śâṇḍilya, quotes several other  $S\hat{u}tras$  of Bâdarâyaṇa in the course of elucidating his author. Original Śrutis also are quoted; but Bâdarâyaṇa's authority is not only never challenged, but his interpretation is quoted approvingly; and this, in spite of the fact that his  $S\hat{u}tras$  were not considered 'Apauruṣeya' or as of non-human origin. This shows the unshakeable position that the  $S\hat{u}tras$  had established for themselves.

It is no doubt true that by no stretch of imagination can the Sûtras be understood to refer to all the Upanisads. But that in itself ought to be a warning to us against taking the liberty of forming any group that we like of the Upanisads and then basing a philosophy upon it. If the Sûtras have avoided reference to any of the Upanisads, the question ought to be decided first how far they are entitled to our ensideration at all, before admitting their claim to contribute to a philosophy of the Upanisads. It is an admitted fact that a large number of the Upanisads owe their origin to sectarian movements—that is to say, to a recrudescence or innovation of sect-deities and their cults. And some of the Upanisads again are but off-shoots of the original texts of Brahma-vidyâ. These latter say very little that is original, i.e., very little that is not found in the earlier and more authentic Upanisads. (Cf. Deussen, op. cit., p. 9.) For instance, the Mahâvâkya-upanisad, as the very name signifies, is only an elucidation of the experience implied in the 'great saying' (mahâvâkya) of Uddâlaka in Ch. Up. vi. 8, viz. "Tattvamasi"—'That thou art'. Upanisads of this class have little to contribute towards building up a philosophy of the Upanisads. And as to those that are unmistakeably sectarian, obviously they have no right to take a share in the construction of a philosophy of Brahma-vidyâ. For instance, what right has the Rudrâkṣa-jâbâlaupanisad, -which, as the very name implies, is but a dissertation on the efficacy of wearing a rudrâksa (the berry of the Eleocarpus), a peculiar kind of seed, which is worn on the arm or neck or ear by certain orthodox people—what right has such a book as this to be considered in connection with the construction of a philosophy of the Upanisads?

Evidently some of the *Upanisads* have to be excluded from our consideration in building up a philosophy of the *Upanisads*. As to which should be excluded and which not, the *Sûtras*, we contend, are our best and most authentic guide. Our choice is practically limited to the *Upanisads*, to which the *Sûtras* have been or can be understood to have referred.

Now, that being so, is there any other philosophy of the *Upanisads* but what is contained in the *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyaṇa? Is there anything in the *Upanisads* which has not been

touched upon by the Sûtras? Or, is there anything in the Sûtras for which the authority of some text or other of the Upanisads cannot be cited? These facts warrant us in concluding that the most scientific and historically the most accurate interpretation of the Upanisads, is to be looked for in the Sûtras of Bâdarâyaṇa. They contain the entire philosophy of the Upanisads in a nutshell.

We shall probably be confronted here with the objection that the Sûtras do not tell their own meaning and commentators have differed as to what they exactly mean. Our answer to this is that modern interpreters of the Upanisads also have differed; and the commentators of the Sûtras have not differed so hopelessly that nothing common can be found in them. On the contrary, in most essential things, they agree. The most important points in which they disagree are questions regarding the reality of the individual soul and the world, and consequently their relation with Brahma. As to the causality of Brahma, the course of the evolution of the world, the means for the attainment of Brahma and similar things, there is little, if any, difference between one school and another. Even in cases where they differ, they quote mostly the same passages from the Upanisads and differ only in the construction put upon them, just as modern interpreters do with regard to passages of the Upanisads. Surely, we do not avoid such differences by simply overlooking the Sûtras.

Again, as to the passages meant in any particular  $S\hat{u}tra$ , the commentators show little, if any, divergence at all. If a commentator could say that in a particular  $S\hat{u}tra$  (say, i. 3. 12), one particular passage was meant rather than another, it would serve his purpose as the exponent of a particular theory better than otherwise. Yet curiously enough, by a  $S\hat{u}tra$  he understands reference to the self-same texts as his adversary, and has to distinguish himself from his opponent only by the meaning read into the passages. Had Deussen been aware of this striking agreement among the commentators of the  $S\hat{u}tras$  as to the texts referred to by them, he would not have expressed any doubt as to the fact that the exclusion of certain Upanisads from the  $S\hat{u}tras$ —or, rather, the limitation of the  $S\hat{u}tras$  to some only of the Upanisads,—was not due to Sankara or to any other commentator individually (vide Deussen, op. cit., p. 32), but to tradition already firmly established and scrupulously adhered to, and never departed from afterwards. And if he had known this, it may well be doubted if he would have thought it worth his while to venture upon a separate philosophy of the Upanisads at all.

It is remarkable that if we adhere to the proper texts, we arrive at more or less the same conclusion which the  $S\hat{u}tras$  have reached. To take one example; Deussen in his philosophy of the Upanisads discusses the doctrine of transmigration (p. 332); he refers there to the identical passages (viz. Ch. v. 3-10; Br. vi. 2; Kaus. i. 2; etc.), to which the  $S\hat{u}tras$  refer (cf.  $S\hat{u}tra$  iii. 1). And Deussen's own  $Ved\hat{u}nta$  also gives the identical version. This shows that there is little justification for thinking of a separate philosophy of the Upanisads as distinguished from the system of the  $Ved\hat{u}nta$ -s $\hat{u}tras$ . Or, to put it differently, the most correct and scientific interpretation of the Philosophy of the Upanisads is to be traced in the  $S\hat{u}tras$  of  $B\hat{u}tras$  and trace of the trace of the

The Sûtras constitute an important landmark in the history of the interpretation of the Upanisads. All the threads of earlier interpretation are gathered up in them and are woven into a fabric upon which all subsequent thinkers of the school have rested their doctrines. It is not difficult—and certainly not impossible—to get at the true meaning of the Sûtras. The commentators agree as to the passages of the Upanisads that are referred to in any of the Sûtras; they generally differ only as to what these actually mean. In some cases, no doubt, a difference also exists among them as to the meaning of a Sûtra itself; and sometimes even a Sûtra is admitted by one, but is rejected by another; and occasionally they also disagree as to how a particular Sûtra should be constructed. But these are very rare instances

and do not present insuperable difficulties. And in spite of these minor differences, a generally admitted common system of thought can be deciphered in the Sûtras, even against the manifest diversities of views of the commentators. In most cases, the difference of view is due to the cryptic and equivocal character of the Upanişadic texts themselves; and such differences, we repeat, we cannot escape by attempting our own interpretation.

These considerations lead but to one conclusion: A philosophy of the *Upanisads*, as distinguished from the philosophy of the *Vedânta-sûtras*, is either meaningless or is not necessary. It is liable to be misconstrued. We are certainly free to dilate upon the texts of the *Upanisads* or upon any individual book of this literature; but a *philosophy* of the *Upanisads* cannot be something other than the philosophy of the *Vedânta*. No such philosophy has been attempted in India after the *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyana. Independent thinkers must have needed it, and would certainly have attempted it, if they had only felt that such an attempt was justifiable. And in modern times, a philosophy of the *Upanisads* involves an arbitrary selection of texts and has less justification for ignoring the authority of the *Sûtras*. For any philosophy of the *Upanisads*, therefore, the indispensable nucleus is to be found in the *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyana.

It is not suggested here that the *Upanisads* should remain a sealed book for us. We have every right to study them—to scrutinise their literary merit and the suggestions they throw out for the construction of philosophies. They are the fountain-head that has continued to feed all the currents of Vedantic thought in India; and as such their value is immense. But the *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyana are the sheet-anchor for any stable *philosophy* of the *Upanisads*.

### BOOK-NOTICE.

THE NIRUKTA, by HANNES SKÖLD. Lund, G.W.K. Gleerup: London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press: 1926.

It is not easy to review a vocabulary, but Dr. Hannes Sköld has given in this book something more. It consists of two parts, philological and glossarial. In the first part he has striven to establish the nature of the relations of the *Nirukta* with the Vedic literature, and has taken Roth's edition as the basis of his investigation.

Taking the Nirukta to be a running commentary on an old list of Vedic works, which is now called Nighantu or Naighantuka, Dr. Sköld discusses that list of commemorative words, its authorship, its relation to Vedic words and its recension. He then discusses the Nirukta as a vedánga, and follows this with an account of the materials he has examined for the purpose in 26 pages of research of extraordinary patience and minuteness. After this comes a discussion of the material in 30 pages of even deeper research. We are then taken with much learning in ten chapters through the testimony of Patañjali and the relation of the Nirukta to the Brihaddevatá.

After this Dr. Sköld asks himself the question:—Was Yâska a nairukta, a question which has become necessary to him in consequence of his own research. After minute investigation he arrives at the opinion that Indian tradition is right in attributing the Nirukta to Yâska, so far as it is a commentary on the nigantavah, and that he had a hand in the whole of it as it now exists. Next, after dealing with "the Vedarthadî pika of about 1180 and

the Nighantu," Dr. Sköld makes some phonological remarks on the etymologies of "Nirukta General" and comes to an important conclusion: "I think we have the right to state that the vernacular of Yaska's time Pust have been Middle Indian, and it would have been surprising if it had not been so."

To all this he adds an Appendix on the various readings of the principal nigamas, and then tackles the Nirukta itself. The student will not find his version of the Nirukta easy reading, for there are no less than sixteen arbitrary signs attached to the words, all explained however on pp. 173f, which relate to some information or other about it. This system reduces printing, but is apt to catch the unwary: e.g., by looking up one word in which I was interested I found by a sign attached that it was "a primary nigama word etymologised." Another set of words in which I was also interested was in the same category except that one of them was shown by another sign to be "hapax legomenon in the Rig Veda." After three further explanatory notes Dr. Sköld gives the Index Verborum Etymologico Elucidatorum itself.

The above remarks form of course but a very inadequate survey of a deep research most conscientiously conducted, but I shall have reached my
object if I have succeeded thereby in drawing the
attention of scholars thereto. At any rate within
half an hour of the book coming into my hands
I had extracted from it and recorded two items of
information which I had been looking for.

R. C. TEMPLE.

711. A famous pirate in the Archipelago at this time was Raden Japher, a relative of the Sultan of Palembang. Being threatened with punishment for running off with another man's wife, he retired in 1797 to Linga and turned pirate. At first he associated with Ramon (See para. 699 above) but, quarrelling with him over a valuable prize, he retired from the partner-ship and established himself at Mint in Banka, where he committed great atrocities. These, in 1802, brought him into conflict with the Dutch and, in 1804, he determined to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, but was drowned within sight of Banka (Horsfield, pp. 321, 323, 326).

712. On the 2nd December 1800 the Jonathan Duncan was attacked in Pitt's Straits by eight large canoes of 60 to 70 feet long, each carrying 40 men. The natives used arrows five feet in length, mounted with bone or with a hard red wood, and barbed. They were

driven off by musketry fire (As. Ann. Reg. 1802, Chronicle, p. 10).

### Arakanese and Portuguese.

713. In 1786 the Chittagong District was invaded by a force under a Pegu general. With it were 500 men of the Portuguese caste armed with muskets and wearing caps resembling those of the Armenians (Calcutta Review, LIII. 79).

### French and Spanish.

714. Early in 1794 Captain Wright reported at Calcutta that his ship had been carried off at Manila by a gang of pirates, of whom 20 were French and 14 Spanish, who had boarded her in the night (Madras Courier, 1st August 1794).

### Sanganians.

- 715. In 1794 the Kulis of Gujarat were taught a severe lesson by a small expedition from Bombay. On the 9th October this force met with a fleet of eight Kuli boats off Jafarabad. The resistance on the part of the pirates was maintained with a desperate obstinacy, and of one boat in particular the crew, when reduced to the last extremity, "leaped into the sea and refused all assistance" (Bombay Courier 1st Nov. and Calcutta Gazette, 27th November 1794).
- 716. In 1797 the Vigilant (Lieut. Hayes Commander) whilst crossing the Gulf of Cutch, was attacked by two Sanganian pirates, each more than double her size and carrying twice her number of men. After three hours of fighting, during much of which the ships were lashed side to side, the pirates were beaten off, but Hayes himself was badly wounded. In 1798 Hayes in an armed boat, boarded and captured two pirate vessels, each of which carried one nine-pounder forward and two eighteen-pounders aft (Low, I. 203).
- 717. In March 1799 Mr. Daniel Seton, Chief of Surat, sent a small expedition under Lieutenant Keys in the *Princess Augusta* and Lieutenant Hawkeswell in the *Princess Royal* to demand satisfaction from the Raja of Goomtee (on the east side of the Gulf of Cutch near Jagat Pagoda) for the seizure of a ketch, with cattle belonging to the Company on board. The Raja protested that his boats cruised only against the Arabs and never against the English. In consequence of his evasive replies and of the fact that another Surat boat (which had been taken twelve months earlier) and the ketch itself were visible from the ships, an attempt was made to force the Goomtee creek, but though heavy loss was inflicted upon the defenders, the attempt was unsuccessful (As. An. Reg., 1800, Chronicle, p. 2).
- 718. On the 10th October 1799 Sergeant Evans with two armed pattamar boats engaged, off Versovah, a Dinghey which he suspected of being a pirate. After a long fight it was discovered that the Dinghey was a peaceable trader from Muscat to Bombay. It had already been robbed by Arab pirates near Muscat, and these had taken away their colours, so that they could not show any when challenged by the Sergeant, whose boats they took to be also pirates (Bombay Courier, 12th October, 1799).
- 719. In November 1802 H.M.S. Fox (Captain W. Dobbie) was sent to Baté to demand redress for piratical attacks, involving damages estimated at five lakhs of rupees, committed

by the subjects of the Chiefs of Baté, Goomtee etc. He arrived in Baté Roads on the 6th December 1802. The Raja Sadaram surrendered a ketch belonging to Surat with all its cargo and paid up 12,600 rupees, "not that we had during this season made booty of property to such an amount, but that we could not otherwise effect our extrication, because our temple, that has for a length of time remained permanent, was like to suffer prejudice and destruction." Sadaram agreed to surrender all Aramra men who might be guilty of piracy against the Company (Bombay Courier, 11th January, 1803).

#### Chinese.

720. Dalrymple says that in 1760 there were practically no pirates on the Chinese Coast north of the Ladrone Islands (at the mouth of the Canton River). In the Canton River the Ladrones attacked only Chinese eraft (Staunton, Embassy to China, III. 359), but towards the end of the century they began to be very troublesome in this locality, attacking English as well as country craft. The first overt act was the seizure of the Leebow<sup>137</sup> (Captain Robert Funter) in June 1796, off the China Coast when returning from Manila. The Ladrone vessels were 26 in number and some of them mounted 6 guns. The Captain was tortured and then killed, with most of his men, but one of the latter, John Ramwell, being taken on board a pirate boat, was wrecked at Ningpo, where, after eighteen days imprisonment, the 36 Ladrones who were with him were executed, whilst he was kindly treated and restored to his country-In August the Ladrones seized a small Portuguese vessel coming from Cochin China to Macao. They murdered all the crew except one man, a Portuguese born at Macao, who could speak Chinese and had put on Chinese dress. In 1797 these Ladrones were very troublesome to the country traders, but the Chinese authorities began to take proper precautions to check them (Memoir, pp. 2-7). Further south, towards Tonquin, Chinese traders went in dread of the pirates of Hainan, possibly not a very formidable enemy to a well armed ship but formidable to the Chinese sailors who on small vessels had only pikes and kitchenknives for defence, and relied chiefly upon the ship's iglol and the spirits of deceased mariners, to whom, in gratitude for escape, they offered rice, vegetables and perhaps a pig, themselves eating the consecrated feast (Letter from M. de la Mothe, Tonquin 18th June 1784. Lettres Édifiantes, IV, 637). In 1796 the usurpation of the Annamese throne by Juan Kwangping led to piratical combinations on the Annamese and South-China Coasts. In 1799 the legitimate sovereign surrendered a number of Chinese pirates holding commissions from the usurping Juans at Tonquin. In 1800 thirty Annamese junks with 120 others belonging to Chinese sea-creek and phoenix-tailed pirates appeared off T'chaichou Fu, but were almost annihilated by a storm. The four Tonquin leaders were seized as they scrambled ashore, and drawn and quartered. Soon after, Juan Fu-ying, King of Nung-nai and legitimate heir, conquered Tonquin, was acknowledged by China and was summoned to suppress the pirates who had been favoured by the usurper (See para. 738 below). The Annamese or Cochin China pirates accordingly placed themselves under the command of a Fukien pirate Tsai-Kien. 138 The latter was always accompanied by his wife, who was more daring even than himself (China Review, XXI. 97). So much were they feared, that trading vessels paid the pirates a tax of 400 dollars on proceeding to sea and 800 on returning to port for immunity from their attentions. Tsai-Kien now allied himself with the Canton pirate Chu Fen or Chu Pen. In the autumn of 1803 Admiral Li Chang King defeated their combined fleet of 100 junks off Ting hai. The pirate chiefs quarrelled as to the cause of their defeat and separated. In 1806 Li defeated Tsai off Anping and burned thirty of his junks and a stockade ashore, took 3,000 prisoners and chased him into Cantonese waters. Here Li attacked again but was killed by a chance shot In 1808 he was in the moment of victory, so that Tsai escaped into Annamese waters.

<sup>137 ?</sup> The Kennett (Canton Consultations, 27 Oct. 1796).

<sup>138</sup> Or Ching Tsih, who was soon after killed in fight by Fu-ying, and replaced by his younger brother Ching-yih (Yung Lun Yuen, Hist. of the Pirates; p. 5).

rejoined by Chu Fen, who, however was soon afterwards assassinated, whilst he himself was defeated by Kiu Liang Kung, one of Li's best officers, and his confederate ashore, Chang A-cho, surrendered, as also did Chu-uh, brother of Chu Fen with the remainder of Chu Fen's fleet. The Chinese authorities now concentrated all their forces against Tsai-Kien. After a desperate fight off Chusan, in which the Imperialist Admirals, Kiu Liang Kung and Wang Teluk, were both wounded, Tsai's flag-ship was hemmed in and he, rather than surrender, blew up his ship and was killed with all his crew. There now remained only the Cantonese pirates, but dissensions broke out between their chiefs and led to their surrender with 20,000 men in 1809. The same year the remainder of Tsai-Kien's fleet with 1,300 men surrendered to the Fukien authorities (Parker, in China Review, XVI. 284-5). Other accounts say that Tsai's Chinese confederates were Chu Pen, Chang Pao-tzu, Feng-wei-wo, Niu Hung-t'ou, Pai Ti, etc., that his wife was killed in a fight in 1804 and that Chu Pen's ship was sunk at Yushan in Chehkiang in 1806, Chu Pen himself being drowned (China Review, XXI. 97). The above, which are Chinese accounts, are summarized here, but such information as I have obtained from other sources will be found in paras, 736-9, 754 and 762-774 below. In my opinion Tsai Kien is either Ching Tsih or the Ching Yih who was drowned in 1807 (See para. 754 below), which date is given by Macgowan (p. 554) as that of the death of a pirate named Ch'ai. 139 Possibly Tsai Kien is only a general name for the Chief of the pirates.

#### Arabians.

721. Towards the end of the 18th century there was a great outburst of piracy on the Arabian Coast and in the Persian Gulf. This seems to have been principally due to the growing power of the Wahabis, or followers of Abdul Wahab, who first came into prominence during the reign of Sultan Mahmud 1730-54 (See Creasy, II. 201). Their influence gradually extended itself over the territories of the Joasmis and of the Imam of Muscat. The Joasmis, or more properly the Cassimees, were descendants of the followers of Rashid bin Cassim. chief of an independent Arab tribe op the Oman Coast which occupied the principality of Seer (from Cape Mussenden to Bahrein). They were first provided with ships by the Mullah Ali, Governor of Ormuz who requested their assistance to resist the extortionate demands for tribute made by the Persian Government during the anarchy which followed the death of Nadir Shah in 1747. In 1772 their chief, Shaikh Rashid of Rasul-khymah, in alliance with the Imam of Muscat, plundered Persian ships off Bandar Abbas. In 1777 Shaikh Rashid abdicated in favour of his son Shaikh Suggur. The latter quarrelled with the Uttobees, who (See para. 668 above) had seized Bahrein and had plundered one of his boats. In concert with the Persians he made several attempts to take Bahrein until 1785 (Captain Mignan in the East Indian United Service Journal, Dec. 1835, Selections, p. 37; In 1791 Capt. John Taylor of the Bomb: Sel., N.S. XXIV. 129; Buckingham, II. 210). Bombay Establishment wrote: - "The present state of the Persian Sea exhibits a scene of piratical depredation. Every little Sheick, whose territory borders on the Coast possesses a few vessels in which their subjects are continually on the look out, and it is computed there are no less than 150 sail of such vessels in the Gulf (Letter to Henry Dundas 30th Sept. 1791, Home Misc. 435, p. 87). The first attack of the Joasmis on the British occurred on the 18th May 1797, when, off Rams on the Joasmi Coast, they seized the Bassein Snow, carrying Public Despatches, took her into Ras-ul-khymah and detained her for two days. As no punishment was inflicted for this outrage, in October, certain Joasmi dhows under Shaikh Saleh, son or nephew of Shaikh Suggur, having received a supply of ammunition from the Company's brig Viper for the ostensible reason of attacking the Sooree Arabs, suddenly fired on the Viper and attempted to board her, but were, with great difficulty, driven off. Shaikh

<sup>139</sup> A detailed Chinese account is to be found in the History of the pirates who infested the China Seas from 1807 to 1810, by Yung Lun Yuen, which professes to have been compiled largely from narratives of persons engaged in the Chinese operations against the pirates.

Suggur explained that his son had acted as a rebel and without his authority, and though no punishment was inflicted, no further attacks were made on British trade until the Joasmis had been brought absolutely under Wahabi influence in 1804 (Low I. 314; Bomb. Sel., N. S. XXIV. 130).

722. In 1798 the Imam of Muscat agreed with the British to exclude the French and Dutch from trade with his dominions (Bomb. Sel., N.S. XXIV. 122). This alliance with the British was evidently due to growing fear of the Joasmis and their Wahabi backing. In 1800 the Imam captured Bahrein, but in 1801 it was recovered by the Uttobees. The latter requested the assistance of the British against the Wahabis, but owing to their quarrel with Muscat it was impossible to grant this, and so the Uttobees naturally fell under Wahabi influence (Ibid., p. 141).

#### Andamanese.

723. In the Asiatic Annual Register (1801, Chronicle, p. 1) it is stated that a prow had been picked up with six Chinese, who reported that, having been wrecked on the Andamans, they had managed to escape after some of their companions had been eaten by the natives (See para. 404 above).

#### Malays.

724. In July 1801 a fleet of 40 Mindanao pirate boats blockaded a post at Amoorang and Captain John Hayes, in the Swift, was requested by the Resident at Amboyna to go to its assistance. On the 1st August, with only his own vessel, he attacked and dispersed them, taking two, sinking three and driving seventeen ashore. These pirates had overrun the whole of the Sangir Islands, burnt the capital, Tairom, and carried off as slaves 200 females, beside male captives. Each of the pirate vessels carried from 60 to 80 men, one six or eight pounder brass gun forward, besides smaller ones, with muskets, lances etc. This successful action saved the Celebes from/devastation, but pirates still swarmed in those seas, and vessels of the Bombay Marine had several encounters with them whilst protecting the Moluceas, until the latter were returned to the Dutch (Low, 1. 212—3; As. An. Reg. 1803, p. 67; Calc. Gaz., 24th June 1802).

725. In 1803<sup>140</sup> the Susanna of Calcutta (Captain Drysdale)was cut off near Pontianak by Sanbas and Borneo pirates. All the Europeans on board were massacred. The chief pirate was the brother (See para. 779 below) of the Raja of Sambas (Malayan Miscellanies, I. viii, 45).

726. On the 19th January 1804 it was reported at Calcutta that H.M. Sloop Rattlesnake, Captain John Cramer, had (on the 29th October, 1803) destroyed a small pirate vessel of 200, tons in the Burong River. It originally belonged to some of the inhabitants of Malacca and had been captured by a pirate named Tuckoo Gorat in Tellisamoy. The pirate lost some 50 or 60 men, whilst the Rattlesnake had 2 men killed and 14 wounded in the fight (Calc. Gaz., 15th January 1804). On the 27th and 28th December 1803 the Rattlesnake, in company with H.M.S. Terpsichore, attacked a number of prahus under Bintang Pula, sank three and captured two (Log of the Rattlesnake).

727. On the 21st April 1804 Les Frères Unis (once a French privateer and now commanded by Lieutenant Robert Deane of the Bombay Marine) recaptured the Susanna of Calcutta<sup>141</sup> (See para. 725 above) in the Sambas River, the pirate chief being killed in the fight (Low, I. 254; As. An. Reg., 1806, I. Chronicle, 17).

728. In May 1806 the Dutch decreed that in the Malay Archipelago no passes should be given to captains or owners of Malay vessels fit for fighting, and that such boats should be attacked as pirates if they appeared in any port where there was a Dutch Resident, even if they carried passes from a native prince. A Dutch vessel having been overpowered by a fleet of 40 prahus, two Dutchmen, Phefferkorn and Wensing, residents of Soemanap, who were on board,

<sup>140</sup> According to the Revue de l'Orient et de l'Algérie (2nd S. I. 86) the Susanna was taken in 1805.

<sup>141</sup> Low calls the ship here referred to the Calcutta, So does the Asiatic Annual Register.

permitted the Malays to come on deck in great numbers, and then blew her up rather than fall into the hands of the pirates. A monument was erected to their memory in Soemanap (Parl. Papers, 1851. LVI. i. p. 66; Logan's Journal, III, 582).

729. On the 2nd June 1806 the Dutch Company's brig Ajax (Captain Monkenberg, 14 guns and 6 swivels) was brought into Penang by the Javanese crew, who coolly stated that, as the Dutchmen treated them very badly, they determined to kill them, and that they had brought the ship in to surrender it to the English Company (As. An. Reg., 1807, Chronicle, p. 36).

730. In the same year Mr. Hopkins and the crew of the Commerce were murdered by Borneo and Sambas pirates and the ship plundered (Mal. Misc., I. viii, 45).

- 731. On the 15th April 1807 H.M. Sloop Victor (Captain George Bell, 18 guns and 114 men) overhauled three prahus under Dutch colours off Cheribon. One hundred and twenty prisoners were taken out of two of them. The crew of the third "intoxicated with opium" refusing to come on board, she was fired into, when, by some accident, a quantity of powder exploded in the after part of the Victor, severely damaging her and setting her on fire. The prisoners already on board, seeing that the sentinels were engaged in putting out the fire, snatched up their arms, and a desperate conflict ensued, which did not cease until 80 of them had been killed or driven overboard (Log of the Victor; East India United Service Journal, 1835; Naval Chronicle, XIX, 35; Logan's Journal, IV, 154 n.).
- 732. In May 1807 the Dutch cruiser *Vrede* (Lieutenant C. Beckman Commander) was taken in the Roads of Indramayo by seven piratical vessels, each carrying about 100 men. Beckman was drowned and his lieutenant, Stockbroo, captured by the pirates, who stripped him of his clothes, shaved his head and otherwise ill-treated him. He was given as a slave to the Prince of the Lampongs and forced to the meanest employments. After seven months he was sold to the Prince of Linga for 30 Spanish dellars and taken to Rhio, where he was bought by a Chinaman, Baba Tan Lian Seeng, who took him to Samarang and set him free, refusing any recompense (Logan's *Journal*, III. 582).
- 733. On the 26th August 1807 some boats of the *Belliqueux* (Captain George Byng) were engaged in overhauling three Malay prows in the Macassar Straits, when the Malays suddenly rose and attacked the searchers, killing Lieutenant Turner and four men. One of the prows (which held 70 men well armed) was sunk, the other two escaped (*Naval Chronicle*, XXI, 125).
- 734. In October 1809 Captain Sheldrake of the brig Fly was murdered by Malays at Salembo on the Java Coast. The brig was plundered, but carried to Soemanap (on the east coast of Madura), where it was deserted. The Dutch declared it a prize and sold it for the benefit of Government (Prince of Wales Island Gazette, 18th July 1810).
- 735. On the 30th September 1809 H.M.S. Piedmontese (Captain Charles Foote) boarded a Chinese prow (Hainan to Malacca), the crew of which informed them that a fleet of 21 prows in shore were pirates. Next day Captain Foote sent boats to reconnoitre the prows. The latter tried to explain that they were peaceful Bugis traders bound for Penang, but could not make the British understand, and the latter firing on them captured two. In the night the Bugis rallied, recovered their prows and drove off the British boats, which suffered a loss of two killed and ten wounded, and were forced to retire. The Bugis returned to Borneo and the British, having discovered their mistake, sent explanations, which were received with incredulity by the Malays, to Rhio (Colonel James Low, in Logan's Journal, IV. 15; Calc. Gaz., 7th December 1809).

#### Chinese.

736. The Ladrone vessels at first had no fixed station, but by July 1802 they formed one in an inlet some six or eight miles from Macao. They consisted at this time of only 24 small fishing boats, but these carried small guns (Canton Consultations 27th July 1802). In August there arrived at Canton two junks from Cochin China bringing as prisoners three men

who had been leaders of a gang of pirates, which for many years had operated between Cochin China and Formosa (Canton Consultations, 9th August 1802). Chinese guard ships were now placed in the river and the pirates withdrew from their base. According to private information, about this time a brave and honest Chinese officer died of mortification at the obstacles put in his way by the Chinese Marine Office and at the treachery of his subordinates who betrayed his plans to the pirates. It was alleged that hitherto the pirates had been in collusion with the Chinese authorities, but now, considering themselves strong enough to act alone, they dissolved the connection (Canton Consultations, 3rd September 1802). The officer above referred to must evidently have been the Viceroy of Canton, for the Bombay Gazette for the 20th July 1803 says that news had just arrived from China that the Viceroy of Canton had fitted out a large fleet to check the depredations of the Cochin Chinese, but had been badly defeated by the pirates. Being summoned to Court to explain his failure, he poisoned himself (Calcutta Gazette, 18th August 1803).

737. In May 1803 the Ladrones, off the Grand Lema, attacked the American brig Ohio from Philadelphia, but she repulsed them with grape shot and escaped to OhMacao

(Canton Consultations, 2nd June 1803).

738. Hitherto the Ladrones had been accustomed to winter in Cochin China, with the full connivance of the authorities, who provided them with all necessaries; but when the legitimate ruler had recovered Tonquin, the pirates were forced (See para. 720 above) to seek new shelters and so took to harassing all parts of the coast between Formosa and Hainan (Canton Consultations, 12th March 1804). The Chinese proposed to arm the Grab Nancy under English colours to fight the pirates, but this arrangement was objected to by the British. At this time all the pirates on the coast were estimated at between 70 and 80 thousand men on 400 junks or vessels, the latter armed with heavy guns (Canton Consultations, March 1804). They blocked the river communication between Hiang-shan and Macao and so stopped the supply of rice. Landing near Hiang-shan they massacred 2000 of the inhabitants (Canton Consultations, 3rd April 1804). In fact they interrupted the whole trade of the coast and threatened Macao, 70 large boats coming thither daily and molesting fishing and trading vessels which had omitted to purchase passes from them. These passes were very similar to those issued by the Barbary pirates and were faithfully respected by the Ladrones (Dalrymple, p. 26). In April the Nancy was handed over to the Portuguese, who armed her with 16 guns and put on board a crew of 120 men of whom many were Coffreys. She with another Portuguese vessel and a number of Mandarin boats cruised against the pirates, but though joined by the Page, once a French privateer, obtained but small results (Canton Consultations, 17th April 1804). The Mandarin boats fled at the very sight of the pirates and it is stated (Dalrymple, p. 57) that a Chinese Admiral coming upon a fleet of 200 Ladrones, not only refused to fight them but entered into friendly communications. Accordingly the people flocked to Macao to obtain arms for self defence, for the pirates killed all who made any useless resistance, except such as they thought fit for rowers in their boats, whom they carried off with them (Dalrymple, p. 27). In October, Captain Page, R.N., offered the services of His Majesty's ships to destroy the pirates, but the Chinese declined the offer of assistance as unnecessary (Canton Consultations, 8th October, 1804).

739. On the 4th April 1805 there arrived in the river a fleet of salt junks escorted by a Ladrone squadron, each of the junks having paid 200 dollars for a pass (Canton Consultations). The courage of the Ladrones was in marked contrast with the disinclination to fight shown by the crews of the Mandarin boats, who, no doubt were demoralized by the knowledge that their commanders, as well as the authorities, were only half hearted in the performance of their supposed duties. When in July the Nancy captured a Ladrone boat, it was only after the most desperate resistance. "The crew fought with bravery, approaching

almost to desperation, and three women, the wives of the Commander, who is reported to have been one of their leaders, destroyed themselves, whilst the Commander himself, refusing Quarter, was killed by the Portuguese Captain, aware probably that a worse fate might befall him if delivered to the Mandarins." Out of 60 pirates in this boat, which carried three or four heavy guns, only 29 were taken prisoners, the rest were killed, or drowned themselves (Dalrymple, p. 58). At this time the Ladrones were reported to have seven or eight hundred vessels along the China Coast as far as the Yellow Sea. Even more important than their numbers was the fact that the Secret Society to which they belonged, i.e., the Tien Ti-Woi 142 ("much resembling that of the United Irishmen") had connections with all the disaffected ashore, and the latter included all the lower classes and some of the superiors in the Mandarins' offices, so that the pirates received full and early information of everything that was planned against them in Macao and Canton. The Ladrones were in possession of all the islands west of Macao. When they took a ship they offered their prisoners the choice of joining them or immediate death. They observed the rule common amongst European privateers and pirates that the first man to board a prize should have the first choice of booty 143 (Dalrymple, pp. 43, 45, 51). On the 10th November 1805 a large fleet of Ladrones passed through the Typa and exchanged shots with H.M. Ships Phaeton, Cornwallis and Harrier, and a Portuguese ship lying there, and plundered and burned several boats which lay almost under their guns (Dalrymple, p. 42).

### Sanganians.

740. In Feb. 1803 H.M.S. Fox (Capt. S. G. Vashon) with the Company's brigs Ternate and Teignmouth, bombarded the Island of Beyt (i.e. Baté) and, although a landing party failed to carry the Fort, most of the pirates retired to Somnath, where they fortified the ruins of the old temple and renewed their piracies in the Gulf of Cambay, until driven out by a second attack. In 1808 the ports of Beyt and Poshetra, both at the mouth of the Gulf of Cutch, were again bombarded by a force under Lieut. Macdonald and forced to submit, but as soon as the blockading squadron was withdrawn they resumed operations (Low, I. 236, 274).

741. In 1807 the Kathiawar States were taken under British protection and in 1809 Colonel Walker induced the Rao of Cutch to sign a Treaty binding himself to assist in the suppression of piracy (Edwardes, p. 221).

### Arabians.

742. In 1802 Wahabi influence was extended over the Joasmis and Husain (or Hassan)-bin-Ali Chief of Ramse, who had been converted to Wahabism, was appointed to be their Chief, and carried on piracy at the express order of his overlord, retaining 1/5th of the booty for his share. In 1803 Shaikh Suggur died and his son Sultan-bin-Suggur became Chief of Ras-ul-khymah (Bomb. Sel., N. S. XXIV, 58, 130).

<sup>142</sup> I presume this is the Thian-Ti-Hui or Hung League, whose motto was "Obey Heaven and work Righteousness" founded as a political league in 1674 during the reign of the Emperor Kang-hi, when the western Eleuth Tartars invaded China (M.W.A. Pickering in R.A.S. Straits Transactions, 6 May 1878). This would account for the fact that the Ladrones looked upon themselves as patriots. See para. 754 below.

<sup>143</sup> Similar rules giving rewards for first sighting or boarding a prize were observed on privateers. See agreement between the Owners &c. of the Private armed vessel of war Yankee (Munro, Tales of an Old Seaport, p. 215). John Smith (Seaman's Grammar, 1653, p. 56) gives it as the ordinary rule of the sea that whoever first spied a ship received a good suit of clothes if it proved a prize. The first choice of booty to the man who first boarded a prize was a very ancient rule amongst pirates. Heliodorus (c. 400 A.D.) makes the pirate Pelorus say:—"Trachinus therefore shall either voluntarily resign this maiden to me (to whom besides I have a just claim as having been the first to board your vessel) or he shall feel the weight of my hand and his nuptials shall bear bitter fruits" (Theagenes and Chariclea, Eohn's Greek Romances, p. 127).

- 743. In the year 1803 the Company's gunboat Fly (Lieutenant Mainwaring) was captured by a French privateer. The officers and crew were taken to Bushire, where they were set at liberty. They hired a dhow in which to proceed to Bombay, but near the mouth of the Gulf were taken by some Joasmis in 1804 (Buckingham, II. 217), who would have killed them but for the revelation of the hiding place of the Company's treasure which the Fly had landed on the Island of Khem before her capture. The pirates took them there, recovered the treasure and released them, but only after an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants of the island, in which they were nearly included. With great difficulty at last two solitary survivors of the crew reached Bombay with the Company's Despatches, which had been buried and recovered with the treasure, but were considered of no value by the Joasmis (Low I. 223).
- 744. On the 14th November 1804 Said Sultan of Muscat was killed in fight with Wahabi (Uttobee and Joasmi) pirates from Ras-ul-khymah and was succeeded by his sons Salim and Said, who ruled conjointly (Low, I. 316; Bomb. Sel., N. S. XXIV, 123). English vessels were now attacked by both the Joasmis and the Muscat Arabs (Valentia, Travels, II, 193; Bomb. Gaz., XIII, 521 n.)
- 745. In 1805 two English merchant brigs, the Shannon (Captain Babcock) and Trimmer (Captain Cumming), were seized off the Island of Kenn (Kais) by Joasmi pirates. The lasears were murdered, and as Captain Babcock had been seen to fire, his right arm was cut off. The Company's cruiser Mornington was attacked by a Joasmi fleet of 40 sail but repulsed them, inflicting heavy loss on her assailants. The two brigs were refitted, armed and manned by the Joasmis and committed many successful piracies in the Gulf (Buckingham, II, 224; Low, I. 317; Bomb. Sel., N. S. XXIV, 130). It should be noted that the Company's cruisers were small and carried comparatively few men, but the Government of Bombay, in its tenderness for the Arabs, forbade its Commanders to fire the first shot. Knowing this, the Joasmis came up alongside without firing, and boarded, when it was too late for the British to use their guns. It was in this way that they attacked the cruisers Fury and Teignmouth (Buckingham, II, 227; Low, I. 321).
- 746. In June 1805 some fifteen to twenty Arabs, part or the crew of the English country ship Alert (Captain Morrison) from Bengal, murdered the Captain and nine other Europeans and carried the ship to Socotra and thence to Maculla Bay, on the south coast of Arabia, where they represented it as belonging to Moosa, a rich Moplah merchant of Tellicherry, and attempted to sell the goods at such ridiculously low prices that they excited suspicion and it was determined to arrest them as mutineers; but they escaped to Sohar. The Shaikh of Maculla Bay restored the ship to the Bombay Government (Naval Chronicle, XV. 104).
- 747. In 1806 ships were sent from Bombay to assist the Imam of Muscat against the Joasmis, with whom he had quarrelled. The Joasmi fleet was blockaded at the Island of Kishm, and on the 6th February 1806 Sultan-bin-Suggur was forced to sign (probably without authority from the Wahabi Chief) a Treaty with Captain David Seton, binding his people to respect British trade. This they did for the next two years, as the war with Turkey forced the British to keep a strong force in the Persian Gulf (Low, I. 318; Bomb. Sel., N.S. XXIV, 75).
- 748. In 1806 or 1807 the American ship Essex of Salem (Captain Orane) was cut off near the island of Comorin (? Kamaran in the Red Sea) by an Arab ship belonging to Syed Hamet Akel, armed with eighteen long 12-pounders and carrying 200 men. The Captain and crew were murdered, the ship destroyed and 200,000 dollars in specie taken by the Arabs (As. An. Reg., 1807, Chronicle, p. 19).

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and notices of change of address, to the SUPERINTENDENT.

Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the Indian Antiquary.

# THOMAS CANA. By T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

THOMAS CANA is the greatest hero and benefactor of the Malabar Christians. He is also said to have been the Prime Minister<sup>1</sup> of Chêramân Perumal, the Emperor of Malabar.

The tradition of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar has it that, while their Church was in a chaotic condition for want of bishops and leaders, the Bishop of Urahâi (Edessa) was asked in a dream whether he was not sorry for the distress and ruin of the flock in Malabar which the interrogator had earned by his death. The Bishop then told this dream to the Catholicos of Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> who, on consultation with the wise men of the place, determined to send Thomas Cana the honourable merchant residing in the city, to Malabar for information.

He set sail and landed in Cranganore, where he found certain Christians wearing crosses hanging from their necks. Having gathered from them their past history and learned that they were sorely in need of bishops, he soon loaded his vessel with what pepper and other merchandise he could procure, hastened home and delivered the strange news to the Catholicos of Jerusalem.

Subsequently, with the permission of Yustêdiûs, Patriarch of Antioch,<sup>3</sup> the Catholicos sent with his blessing to Malabar, Joseph, Bishop of Edessa, several priests and deacons and a great many men, women and children—four hundred and odd in all—under the leadership of the merchant Knâyi Tômmâ.

All these, after a safe voyage, landed in Cranganore in A.D. 345. And "the people of the Kôṭṭakkâyal<sup>4</sup> community and the Christians called Dhariyâykkal of the sixty-four families," all came together and received them and acknowledged Mar Joseph from Jerusalem<sup>6</sup> as their Bishop. And the affairs of the Church were properly managed by Tômmâ (Thomas).

He also obtained from the Emperor land and high social privileges, as well as a copper-plate document to that effect on Saturday, 29th Kumbham (Aquarius) of the abovementioned year, on the seventh day of the moon and in the sign Cancer. (The tradition in these five paragraphs is recorded on pp. 88-91 of Ittûp's Syrian Christian Church of Malabar, in Malayalam).

The 72 high social privileges which Thomas Cana obtained from the Emperor are used even to-day. Besides these, he got 18 low castes, like barbers, carpenters, bow-makers, bards, toddy-drawers, etc., to serve the Christians and be under their special protection from the molestation of other castes. (See my Malabar Christian Copper-Plates, ch. 9.) Thomas, the merchant prince, is also said to have presented the Emperor with one nâli (measure of

Observations by Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

<sup>1</sup> How could we substantiate that Thomas Cana was the Perumal's Prime Minister? That brings his story nearer that of Frumentius and Edesius.

<sup>2</sup> How is it proved that, as Mr. T. K. Joseph states in another paper on Thomas Cana, this was the 5th Patriarch of Jerusalem? Fr. Monserrate notes in 1579 that the Syrian Bishops of his time were very fond of connecting themselves somehow with Jerusalem. It gave them a special standing of honour. His words are: "the greater number of the bishops and priests, whom they call caxija in Syrian have passed through Jerusalem before they come from there" (Babylonia). [The Patriarchs of Jerusalem have the designation 'fifth Patriarch,' which does not mean the fifth among the Patriarchs of Jerusalem.—T.K.J.]

<sup>3</sup> This mention of the Patriarch of Antioch is, I think, subsequent to the arrival of the Jacobites into the country. Land's Anecdota Syriaca, vol. 1, Leyden, 1862, p. 182, quoting Swanston, JRAS., II, gives Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch. Eustathius of Antioch was deposed at the Council of Antioch in A.D. 330, and died in exile at Trajanopolis in Thrace in A.D. 360. Cf. Bardenhewer, Patrology, 1908, pp. 246, 252.

<sup>4</sup> What means Kôṭṭakkâyal? Perhaps Parur, Kottakavu? What is the meaning of Kottakavu? [Kôṭṭakkâyal (=fort-lake), or correctly Kôṭṭakkâyu (=fort-grove) is Parur. —T.K.J.]

<sup>5</sup> Does Ittûp's History say that Mar Joseph of Edessa was from Jerusalem? [Yes.]

<sup>6</sup> Gouvea has something about the castes which had to serve the Christians by order of the Perumal of Thomas Cana, and who had even to become amoucos, or run amock, for their sake. I hope to extract some other time from Gouvea all that he has about Thomas Cana and the two Bishops, Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh. [Gouvea's passage on Thomas Cana has already been extracted by Fr. Hosten in the Ind. Ant. for July 1927.—T.K.J.]

capacity, about 20 c. in.) of precious stones for his crown, and to have helped him with money in his battles.

The Emperor once pressed the artisan caste to give one of their girls in marriage to his washerman. The artisans could not but submit to this indignity. But during the marriage festival they killed the washermen assembled there by secretly crushing them under the marriage shed specially contrived for the purpose, and absconded in a body to Ceylon. And Thomas is said to have saved the situation by inducing the strikers to return to the Emperor. (See my Malabar Christian Copper-Plates, pp. 93-94.)

Here are authentic specimens of the peculiar titles and privileges which Thomas Cana and the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar obtained by the Emperor's letters patent: (1) the title of 'the Emperor's Own Merchant,' (2) seven kinds of musical instruments, (3) palanquin, (4) elephant, (5) bodyguards, (6) cloth for walking along upon, (7) royal umbrella, (8) lingual cheers by women, (9) lamp lit by day, (10) carpet, and (11) sandals. Nos. 2-9, besides others, form the paraphernalia of a procession. Most of these are even to-day used in the processions of the Malabar Syrian Christian Bishops. The palanquin and the elephant, as dignified or stately means of locomotion, have become very antiquated and ludierous, and have been replaced by phaetons, landaus and motor-cars.

An English translation of the original document given to Thomas Cana is found on p. 139 of the *Travancore State Manual*, vol. 2. See also do Couto's *Da Asia*, 12th Decade, last part, p. 283, for another, in Portuguese.

In 1544, Mar Jacob, the then Bishop pawned the two original copper-plates for 200 reals to the Portuguese in Cochin. The translation made for them is very probably what we find in the above two books. The plates are now missing; but, according to the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., and Rev. H. Heras, S.J., they may be "in the Torre do Tombo of Lisbon, or in some old Franciscan Convent of Portugal." The Malabar Christian community will be extremely obliged to the person who will discover these plates and send to the writer (Trivandrum, Travancore, South India) printer's-ink impressions (half a dozen copies) of the inscription on them.

Wanted

THE ANCIENT COPPER-PLATES OF THOMAS CANA NOW SUPPOSED TO BE IN PORTUGAL.

(See also my Magna Charta of the Malabar Christians, in the Asiatic Review of April, 1925, pp. 299-304.)

The traditional date A.D. 345 may be correct. The copper-plates of Thomas Cana, if recovered, will certainly help us in ascertaining his date. Will the name of the Patriarch Yustêdiûs given above help us?

Tradition says that a copy of the muniment granted to Thomas Cana was about the same time inscribed on a large granite slab and set up at the Northern gate of the Cranganore temple for the information and guidance of the public. Some time before 1781, Adriaan Moens, the Dutch Governor of Cochin, tried his best to discover this stone, but in vain. On the 12th of February, 1924, the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., our modern Yule, who was touring Malabar in eager search of pre-Portuguese Christian antiquities there, discovered in Cranganore a big stone slab 6 ft. × 3½ ft. with about 19 lines of inscription in ancient Malabar characters. This, like the philosopher's stone, suddenly became the supreme object of attention of the Malabar Bishops and Christians. For they thought this was the reputed lithic counterpart of the Thomas Cana plates. I have, however, partially deciphered the last three lines of the record, of which three alone I got an estampage, and have found that the record says that the Queen of Perumattam, perhaps of the Cochin royal family, made arrangements for the daily supply of a specified measure of rice to the temple at Kâñnûr.

There is a small, endogamous group of ancient Christians in Malabar, called Tekkum-påkar (literally, those of the Southern side), or Southists. They have scarcely any marriage relations with the Northists, the rest of the St. Thomas Christians. The appellations Northists and Southists came into existence because, it is alleged, in the new town of Makôtayar<sup>8</sup> Pattanam founded by Thomas Cana, 400 shops of the former were constructed in the northern row and 72 of the latter in the southern. There are several points of difference between the Northists and the Southists in customs, manners and physical features. (Ittûp's History, op. cit., pp. 92-94.) Foreign characteristics like blue eyes and brown facial hair are noticeable in some of the Southists, while there are others among them who do not differ at all from the Northists in bodily features.

'Cana' in 'Thomas Cana' is not, I think, the place Cana of Galilee where Jesus Christ turned water into wine. (John, II. 1.) To my mind, Thomas Cana means Thomas the merchant. The Syriac root kno means to get, to buy, and kânôyo, one who gets or buys. The old annals and songs of Malabar state that the four hundred foreigners who colonized

7 The terms Suddists and Nordists derive from French writers, from 'Nordistes' and 'Sudistes.' Suddists' with two d's is highly objectionable, as it tends to hide its origin. [The Latin term is Gene Suddistica.—T.K.J.]

8 Do Couto (Dec. 12, l. 3, c. 4, Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, pp. 271-273) has a very curious itinerary for St. Thomas, taken from the Chaldean books of the Serra. Taking leave of St. Thaddeus at Edessa, St. Thomas sells his body to a merchant and visits in turn Sokotra, Melinde and Cafraria, the kingdom of Paces and Zarique (by do Couto identified doubtfully with Ampazes and Moçambique), finally Marhozaya, which Bishop F. Roz, at do Couto's request, identified with Malaca. Another passage in the Chaldean books sent St. Thomas to Persia, Samarkand, Sokotra and Malabar. Can copies of such books still be found in Malabar? They would solve certain difficulties and would prove missionary endeavours or Syrian trade on the coasts of Africa in pre-Portuguese times. We have to account for the occurrence of the cross among South African tribes

1 think that Marhozaya is Mahuza, (perhaps Makôta or Mahodaya Pattanam, i.e., Cranganore), whence, according to Jacob of Sarug, either St. Thomas made a start for India or whence merchants had come to fetch him for Gondophares. Schröter could not decide, as the copies of Jacob of Sarug's poem were incomplete. Cf. Medlycott, pp. 248, 249. We have a similar difficulty for the MSS. of the Syriac Acta of St. Thomas. Cf. Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 160. We do not know yet what place is meant in Jacob of Sarug by Mahuza. Assemani, Bibl. Or., T. III, Part II, p. 761, mentions two Mahuzas, but neither appears to be appropriate for St. Thomas' story, as neither is a harbour on the sea. One is near Ctesiphon, and is called Carcha, Corch, or Carch; the other is called Ariuna. Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas in letters to me asserts that Mahuza or Mahosa means simply 'town' and that the Syrians applied it to Cranganore. If that were so, might it not have been applied also to Mylapore? St. Thomas in the Hymn of the Soul mentions a dear friend, a native of Maishan, the companion of his travels, whom I identify with Uzanes, the son of King Mazdai. If Maishân is not a mistake for Mailân, Mylapore, might it not stand for Mahosa and still apply to Mylapore? The idea of the Syrians was that Gondophares lived at Mylapore, and that idea seems to be shared already by Jacob of Sarug (a.D. 500-521). [Malabar tradition, at least in its recent form, knows no such name as Gondophares or Kandapparaja. Mâhôsâ or Mâhûsâ in Syriac is the name of a small town somewhere in south-west Asia.+T.K.J.]

9 Did not a division into Northists and Southists prevail in Mesopotamia at one time? I find something to that effect in Monserrate (1579). Something akin to the division between the right-hand and left-hand parties of S. India, but sprung from religious divisions. I believe there is such a division as the right-hand and left-hand party in Abyssinia among the Christians.

10 De Conti has a reference, I think, to some 20,000 washermen in the army of the King of Vijayanagar. I have sometimes thought there might be question of Syrians, who were great fighters in those days. The other day, I came across a passage speaking of numerous Syrians fighting in the Bisnaga army, but I cannot now trace it again. [The mercantile community of Belgaum, N.E. of Goa, "had already at the beginning of the 13th century included foreign settlers from Lala, i.e., Lata (Gujarat) and the Malayalam country," as evidenced by an inscription. See A.S.I.A. Report, 1916–17, part I, p. 19. Could these Malayalis have been St. Thomas Christians, the mercantile community par excellence, of Malabar? Abdar Razak (15th century) speaks of Nimeh Pezir, Christian minister to the king of Vijayanagar.—T.K.J.].

May not the Southists who came with Thomas Cana have been dyers and fullers, as many Christians in Persia were, who took Christ for their patron. Cf. As. Researches, X, 1808, p. 82. The Syrians were great

weavers and dyers, I think, in the Near East.

Cranganore, belonged to 72 families from 7 septs<sup>11</sup> or clans. They do not now survive as such. Nor are there family traditions about their original identity, as in the case of several families who occasionally came as individual emigrants and settled in Malabar in the last four or five centuries. All these have merged in the vast mass of indigenous converts of Aryan and Dravidian extraction. Only a small section, the Southists (see ante), have any separate identity. But here too the distinction is, so to speak, a social or communal one, not racial or religious. Tradition says that the élite among the Semitic colonists brought by Thomas Cana freely intermarried with the local high caste Christians, while the foreign proletariat consorted with the indigenous low caste converts. Thomas, it seems, had children by two women, one a wife of his own nationality, and the other a mistress from the Hindu washerman caste. There is, however, no clan extant that claims descent from Thomas Cana and his Semitic wife.

[P.S.—On folio 526r, 87r of a MS. vol. in the British Museum, A.D. 1604, Bishop Roz says (according to Rev. H. Hosten's translation), "The copy of the olla which the said Xaram Perumal gave to Thomas Cananeo . . . says faithfully this:—'May Coquarangon be prosperous . . . '" On fol. 525v, 86v of the same volume the prelate speaks of "their ollas, the copper original of which was taken to Portugal by the Religious of St. Francis, a copy of them remaining here."

This copy which Bishop Roz 'faithfully' translated—he knew Malayalam—must have been an impression of the plates, or a transcript in the Malayalam characters of those days, prepared, perhaps, by the Jew who, according to Fr. Lucena (*Hist. da vida do P. Fr. de Xavier*, Lisboa, 1600, p. 163, col. 10), "though with much trouble, translated it into Portuguese."

Where is this copy, and where the Jew's translation? Perhaps in the above MS. vol. of 1604. This copy and translation also ought to be discovered.]

## Literal translation of Malayalam Documents (No. 1).12

The emblems of dignity and honour belonging to the Malabar Nasrâni (Christian), and the manner in which the city of Cranganore came into existence.

When Paṭṭaṇam¹³ was the city (prob. capital), on Knâyittomman (Thomas Cana) the Naṣṛâṇi's requesting, "Give me half the country," 1380 kôls¹⁴ (rods) of land in the form of a square, as measured by the elephant kôl,¹⁵ were granted in accordance with the order of the Perumal¹⁶ of Chêramân Kôyil¹⁷ on Tuesday the 9th of Kaṛkkaṭakam (July), the 8th day of the moon being combined with the asterism Rôhiṇi.¹⁶ Also¹⁰ the Vedic College at Irinnâlakkuṭa (eight miles N.E. of Cranganore), the Great Palace at Tiruvañchikkulam and the Church at Cranganore. That day, at sunset the day-time lamp, walking-cloth, crown, (and several other of insignia) were granted, with libation of water and flower, to Knâyittomman the Naṣṛâṇi.

- 11 Mgr. Alexander Chulaparambil, The Romo-Syrian Bishop of Kottayam, a Southist, told me that the 72 families which came over with Thomas Cana belonged to the following septs: Baji, Belkouth, Hadai, Kujelic, Khoja, Majmouth, and Tejmouth. Do these names survive in Mesopotamia as distinctive Christian names? [For the names of some of these septs see Thurston's Castes and Tribes, article on the Syrian Christians. But these names I have not found in any old document.—T.K.J.]
- 12 Communicated by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, at whose instance this work was undertaken by Mr. Joseph on 18th November 1923. The notes also are by Mr. Joseph.
- 13 Paṭṭaṇam : Mahâdêvar Paṭṭaṇam, an old name for Cranganore, or a portion of it, or some old town close to it. Most probably it is the city founded by Thomas Cana. In the Tamil classics it appears in the form Makôtai and in Sanskrit as Mahôdaya Puram.
- 14 Another document (Iṭṭûp's *History* in Malayalam, Cochin, 1869) gives 244 kôls, or the space over which 'one para measure of paddy can be scattered.' Op. cit., p. 90.
  - 15 One  $k\partial l = 28$  inches. An elephant  $k\partial l = 4$   $k\partial ls$ . 16 King.
- 17 The name of the king's palace. The site is even now known as Chêramân Kôvilakam. It is close to Cranganore.
- 18 Ittûp's History gives another date for the grant of land and privileges: Saturday, 29th Kumbham (March), 7th day of the moon, Karkkaṭakam râsi (sign Cancer). Op. cit., p. 91. I doubt whether any reliance can be placed upon these details or those given in the above translation.
  - 19 Perhaps these three were witnesses.

With the knowledge of the sun, and the moon that rises at night, that know this as witnesses. The handwriting of the then younger prince Kuru Perumâlar.

If any one contradicts and questions this grant, let him turn over and refer to the documentary granite stone<sup>20</sup> that lies at the northern gate of the temple at Cranganore <sup>21</sup>.

## Literal translation of Malayalam Documents (No. 2).22

When of yore to immigrate to Malankara 23

The gentleman Tomman Kinan<sup>24</sup> essayed,—Verily.<sup>26</sup>

The king's sons26 belonging to seventy-two families—

These good citizens, four hundred,

Embarked by the grace of the Catholicos .- Verily.

The foreigner who came entered Cranganore,

He entered, and when he visited the Chêra King, in plenty

He presented gold and coral and pearls and obtained the country.

He came, at an auspicious time endeavoured, and gained his end.-Verily.

That his greatness may be manifest in all the world around.

He gave him marks of honour—the fivefold band27, the eighteen castes28.

The horn, 29 the flute, the peacock feather fan, the conch, 30 the canopy, 31—Verily.

The gold crown32 and all other good ornaments.

20 I remember having read in the Gazetteer of Malahar that this stone has not yet been discovered even after diligent search. Was it one of the stones taken away by the Portuguese at Goa? This is Burnell's statement in his little pamphlet A few suggestions as to the best way of making and utilizing copies of Indian inscriptions (Madras, 1870): "The Portuguese at Goa took some inscriptions on stone to their native country." Cf. Indian Antiquary, II, 183. By this I understand that they took inscribed stones, not copies of inscriptions on them. Some of these may have come from Malabar. (For Moens' search, see Dutch in Malabar, pp. 172, 173).

[I have read of stones, pillars, etc., removed by the Portuguese from monuments to the North of Goa, from near Surat for instance, but not from Malabar. Others than the Christians in Malabar seem to know about a copy of the Thomas Cana privileges inscribed on a stone near the Tiruvañjikulam temple. The Diwan of Cochin, whom I met in January 1924, knew of this and was keen on making a search for it. He said that the impression among the people was that the stone had been buried when Tippu Sultan came down on Tiruvanjikulam. Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s.v., Shinkali, quotes Dr. Gundert, Madras Journal, XIII, 122: "One Kerala Ulpatti (i.e., legendary history of Malabar of the Nasrani), says that their forefathers. . . built Codangalur, as may be learned from the granite inscription at the northern entrance of the Tiruvanjiculam temple."—H.H.]

- 21 The extract is from the footnote on pp. 11 and 12 of Ancient Songs (Malayalam), Kottayam, 1910.
- 22 Communicated by the Revd. H. Hosten, S.J., St Joseph's College, Darjeeling, at whose request his work was done by Mr. Joseph on 7th December 1923.
  - 23 Malankara is Malabar of the Arabian travellers, bar being equivalent to the Malayalam kara, coast.
  - Tomman Kinân, Thomas Cana, Knâyi Tomman are three forms of the same name.
  - 'Verily' indicates a pause in the song and forms the chorus.
- 26 'King's sons' is the title Mâppila (son-in-law) granted to the Christians in Malabar by one of the old Chêra kings. There are the Sudras of Malabar, called Nairs, who have the title pilla (child). Gouvea, I am told, translates this title Mâppila as king's son. [He does. Cf. Jornada, fol. 4v: "With these privileges joined to those which Xarão Perumal had granted them, the Christians of Malavar became much more accredited, being held in such account that the name by which they are still called to-day in the kingdoms beyond the Mountain of the Pande is sons of kings".-H.H.]
  - 27 Fivefold band: two varieties of drums, cymbals, trumpet, and gong.
  - 28 Eighteen Hindu low castes. Or, bodyguards versed in the eighteen feats of arms.
  - 29 A musical horn, producing a monotonous protracted note.
- 30 For blowing.
- 31 See Travancore State Manual, II, 139; 'pavilion.'
- 32 A tall peaked crown of gold was until lately in use for bridegrooms. I remember to have seen it worn by my elder brother on the occasion of his wedding. Bridegrooms generally are allowed all these privileges and marks of honour.

He gave him marks of honour: the walking-cloth<sup>33</sup>, the day-time lamp,<sup>34</sup>
The seven kinds<sup>35</sup> of royal musical instruments, and three lingual cheers.<sup>36</sup>—Verily.

Drums and lingual cheers<sup>36</sup> and all good pomp

The king with pleasure gave,

And all these did Tomman Kinân accept.—Verily.

He got also the copper-plate deed fittingly engraved.

The marks of honour which the Kings' King <sup>37</sup> gave

Last for all the days of the existence of the sun and the moon.—Verily.

For all the days of the existence of the sun and moon.<sup>38</sup>
(To be continued.)

33 Cloth spread on the way, for walking along without touching the ground. Our bishops and bridegrooms still enjoy this privilege. For its use in 1916-17 in Ceylon, see *Annual Report*, A.S.I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 25. "Lengths of white cloth were unrolled along the road for the elephant to walk over."

34 Lamp lit during the day. This is now done when our bishops go in procession from one church

to another.

35 Perhaps, three kinds of drums, two kinds of cymbals, gong, and trumpet. See Trav. State

Manual, II, 139, for this number 'seven'. Also Ind. Ant. for April, 1925, p. 69.

36 Lingual cheers. Women produce the sound ulûlûlûlû. . . . briskly and continuously with the tongue until they are nearly out of breath, covering the mouth with one hand hollowed out in the form of an arch and leaving spaces above and below the lips for the ululation to pass out freely. This is repeated thrice, like the cheers of the Europeans. Men, on the other hand, shout \$arppôyi\$ and \$pôyimpôyim\$ at the top of their voice during the processions of our bishops. These lingual cheers are given by women at the birth of a child or on other joyful occasions. This, I think, is peculiar to Malabar, Guzerat, and Turkey. See Trav. State Manual, II, 139, where "whistling" is not correct.

37 The Chêra king, as overlord of several feudatory princes.

38 This is one of the old songs sung by Southist Christian women when the bride and bridegroom

return home from church after marriage.

There are four distinguished persons connected, in tradition, with Knayi Tomman's emigration. They are: (1) the Catholikos or '5th Patriarch' of Jerusalem; (2) Yustêdiûs, Patriarch of Antioch; (3) Mâr Joseph, Bishop of Edessa, who accompanied Tomman to Malbar; (4) Chêramân Perumal, king of Malabar, the Chêra country, whose proper name is not known. Can we get some clue from these to the date of Tomman's emigration?

[Not unless we have many more materials to form our judgment on. I look with much suspicion on the introduction of so many high personages into this story, persons separated from one another by con-

siderable distances and all for the sake of the dream of Joseph, Bishop of Edessa.—H.H.]

Another song (see No. 3), used on the same occasion as No. 2 above, specifies the date 345 by the cryptogram Śovala thus:

"The king went, saw the land and gave it away

In the year Śôvâl after the birth of the Lord,

And honoured Kinayi Tomman received the copper-plate document."

From the language of these three lines I conclude that, like No. 2, it is of the 17th-19th century. Besides, the advent of the Portuguese and the burning of Cranganore City and the building of the Church at Katutturutti (Carturte of the Europeans) in about A.D. 1500 are all alluded to in the song. This dating in terms of the Christian era, as well as the dates A.D. 52 etc., found in the song of St. Thomas of which you have a translation, came into vogue in Malabar, I presume, only after the Portuguese connection. So the cryptogram cannot be supposed to have been handed down from very ancient times. Am I right?

[These dates in terms of a Western era indicate indeed that at least changes were made in the songs after the Portuguese connection. It is quite possible that some of the songs were composed under the influence of the Latin Missionaries or revised under them. But we cannot argue yet that these songs are not in many cases much older or that new additions have not been made to them. The study of these songs is barely begun.—H.H.]

Does Fr. Peter Maffei, who in his Latin History of India, II. 210 sqq., refers to a song and dance in

honour of St. Thomas, give a translation of it?

[I cannot say, as I cannot consult the book here. If he alludes to a song in honour of St. Thomas, quite possibly he refers to the contents, and this would help us to fix the special song he alludes to, as also the antiquity of that song. The Jesuits of Cochin and Quilon, and even more perhaps the Fathers of Vaipicotta, seem to have done not a little to stage some of the incidents of the history of the St. Thomas Christians. There was a play in which they represented the story of Baliarte, or the king of the St. Thomas Christians.—H.H.]

## HISTORICAL BIAS IN INDIAN HISTORY, 1 BY THE LATE S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

AND PROF. H. L. O. GARRETT, I.E.S.

WE imagine that our colleagues to-day will deal with many aspects of the subject of bias in historical writing from Macaulay to Herbert Paul. We are concerned with that portion of the subject with which we are mainly in contact, namely, the History of India. At the outset we should like to quote a sentence from a book on "Mughal Rule in India" of which we are the joint authors and which is now in the press. "The student of Indian History should be warned to use contemporary authorities with great caution. The manipulation of historical facts to suit the particular angle of vision of the author is unfortunately all too common. But it is nowhere worse than in India, and in many cases there has been (and is still unfortunately to-day) a deliberate distortion of facts before which the political bias of a work like Macaulay's History of England pales into insignificance."

The earlier portion of Indian History—generally known as the Hindu—may be left out of consideration. So much of it rests upon vague tradition and so scanty are the authorities that there is little room for exhaustive examination. What we have is mainly the work of travellers and is valuable for its descriptive detail. Megasthenes, for example, gives a very fair and unbiased account of the court and government of Chandragupta Maurya. Then there are the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Hiuen-tsang and so on. But when we reach the Muhammadan period it is a different story. Take the first great Muhammadan invader, Mahmud of Ghazni. The accepted version of Mahmud is that of a ruthless invader animated by the bitterest hatred of any other faith than his own. His very name in history—Bût Shikîn, the Iconoclast—perpetuates this view. But whereas this is a fair estimate of his character, it is not accepted by Muhammadan historians. Only recently I published a small book in which a sketch of Mahmud occurred. For this I was severely taken to task by a Muhammadan scholar who declared that the proper view, as set forth by Muhammadan historians, was that he invaded India not to persecute the Hindus and destroy their temples, but because he was invited into the country to restore order.

Take again Muhammad Tughlak, that "strange mixture of opposites". But for the fearless external evidence of a non-Indian historian—Ibn Batuta—we should not really know the full story of the combination of bestial cruelty, patronage of learning and megalomania which distinguishes the reign of that monarch. With the earlier Mughals we are on safer Babur and Jahangir reveal themselves so clearly in their own diaries that we can almost see the men themselves. But pass on to the last of the great Mughals—Aurangzeb. The battle over this monarch and his character rages as fiercely as the struggle over the body of Patroclus. Hindu scholars will tell you that he was an inveterate bigot and that his policy of intolerance ruined the Empire. Muhammadan writers stoutly deny this and praise his orthodoxy as contrasted with the free-thinking of his predecessors. In the dust of the controversy the truth is obscured. While the Emperor undoubtedly was intolerant and his intolerance was certainly one, but only one, of the causes contributing to the disintegration of Mughal sovereignty, the fact has carefully been overlooked that he did not initiate a policy of intolerance and religious persecution. There are instances of it in the reigns of both his predecessors -Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The former in his diary gloats over the destruction of a famous Hindu shrine. But all this is passed over in order that Aurangzeb may bear the full odium of a policy, which he did not invent but only carried in more active form to its logical conclusion.

It is probable that Aurangzeb's sardonic and joyless temperament contributed largely to the detestation felt for him by his Hindu subjects, and may partly explain the antipathy displayed towards him by most modern Hindu historians. The cold and calculating spirit has never been a favourite with the people of India, and the sinner who smiles upon the world

This paper was originally prepared by us to be read at the Anglo-American Historical Conference in 1926, but was not read owing to pressure of time. This accounts for its somewhat peculiar form.—H.L.O.G.

around him, who is 'bon camarade', who can show timely emotion or deftly touch the chords of popular imagination, stands a far better chance of ultimate 'canonisation' than the most impeccable ruler, who wears the armour of severe righteousness and holds himself coldly aloof from the foibles of mankind.

So far we have dealt with the Muhammadan rulers. We will now turn to a Hindu—the famous Shivaji. This individual has recently gone through a lengthy process of "whitewashing" at the hands of various authorities. What are the facts? That he was a robber chief in a wild and mountainous part of India. That he made his way to the front by his audacity and bravery. As to his famous murder of the Muhammadan General sent against him, it seems to have been about six of one and half-a-dozen of the other. But its treatment by rival historians is instructive. On the one side Shivaji only anticipated similar treachery on the part of his adversary; on the other the Muhammadan commander was the innocent victim of the blackest treachery. That he carved out of the dying Empire a kingdom of his own and that he set up a rough form of government which only survived him a few years. But all this has undergone a transformation. Shivaji is now the pure-minded high-souled patriot called by Providence to the liberation of his motherland. His childhood at his mother's knee is like the boyhood of Alfred the Great.

A torrent of abuse has been directed against a writer who mildly suggested, on unequivocal authority, that Shivaji had two mistresses, or in other words that of the eight wives whom he is recorded as having married, two were probably concubines. One would hardly have supposed that such a statement regarding an Indian chieftain of the seventeenth century, in a country where the moral standards of Exeter Hall had not yet penetrated, would have roused the Brahman press of Poona to a fierce declamatory frenzy. But the statement was obnoxious to the Poona press as it does not accord with the modern Shivaji myth, which has been sedu lously cultivated in Western India for purely political purposes during the last twenty years. The exponents of the myth are at pains to declare, often without adequate evidence, that Shivaji combined in himself the asceticism of St. Anthony, the military genius of Napoleon and the imperial prescience of Cecil Rhodes.

That is Shivaji to-day after the modern historians have done with him. We await with interest his next biography written from the Mughal point of view.

But the stream of "alteration" flows on. We now come to an episode familiar to all—"The Black Hole of Calcutta". The site of this tragedy is now believed to have been identified. There is plenty of corroborative evidence,—e.g., Admiral Watson's—to support Holwell's narrative of the massacre. Even Macaulay believed it. But recently an ingenious attempt has been made to prove that the tragedy never took place, that Holwell was a liar, and that the so-called victims of the Black Hole were really killed in fair fight earlier in the proceedings. The next step is the elimination of the episode from Indian History as taught in schools.

Turn again to the Mutiny. The old king of Delhi, Bahadur Shah II, explained the whole episode by saying "I suppose my people gave themselves over to the devil." There is no doubt as to the old man's guilty participation in the outbreak. The evidence given at his trial is perfectly conclusive. But this is not enough for the historian with a bias. The newest theory now put forward is that it was the East India Company who were at fault, and that the Mutiny was a just retribution for disobedience to their overlord of Delhi, and that the punishment meted out to the last of the Timurids has rankled in Indian minds ever since. As regards the first part of the theory, we were able, in a paper published in the Journal of the Royal Historical Society to demonstrate that it was completely at variance with the facts as revealed in the official records of the Punjab Government. As regards the second, we make bold to say that we do not consider that the extinction of the Timurids made or has made any more stir in India than the final extinction of the Western Empire in 476 or the renunciation of his title by Francis II in 1806 did in Europe. But we are not out of the Mutiny wood yet. We

ourselves have heard the theory advanced that the massacre at Cawnpore was grossly exaggerated, if it ever took place, and we think in all probability we shall see this theory developed in our generation and a convincing alibi set up for the Nana Sahib.<sup>2</sup>

We fear we have been somewhat lengthy. Indian History is only a small section of history and this Conference is representative of many histories of many peoples. But we do wish to urge the need of caution in dealing with the established facts and episodes of the history of India, particularly in the light of the "bias" which is so common to-day, and which is frequently due to the fact that historical students cannot dissociate their academic inquiries and conclusions from the taint of current Indian politics. Established facts in the history of any country are like well-known landmarks. To remove them or destroy them without good cause renders the offender liable to the penalties set forth in the Commination Service.

# THE GUHILA KINGS OF MEWAR. By R. R. HALDER.

For some time past I have been meditating on the real origin of the princes of Mewâr. My desire for a solution of the problem was increased by some letters, which showed that other people were equally interested in the subject and, like myself, were much perplexed about it. Colonel Tod in one place speaks of the Mewâr rulers as "Children of the Sun", "Sun of the Hindus," etc.; and in another place complicates the issue by over reliance on other historians. Even a scholar like Vincent A. Smith has called Guhila, the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewâr, a Nâgar Brahman and almost believed in the connection of his lineage with the Râjâs of Valabhî. In one or two inscriptions, again, some of the rulers of Mewâr are said to be Brâhmaṇas.

It is primâ facie surprising that this ancient dynasty, the rulers of which belong to the same line and have ruled in the 'same lands where conquest placed them' for a period of about 1400 years; who claim descent from Kuśa, the elder son of the deified Râma, the patriarch of the solar race, thereby commanding universal homage in India;—should be represented as losing even the ordinary prestige of the Kshatriya race—not to speak of the patronymic Sûryavamśi—and as being merged in the Brâhmaṇa caste.

Let us see what Colonel Tod writes on the matter:—"At least ten genealogical lists, derived from the most opposite sources, agree in making Kanaksen the founder of this dynasty; and assign his emigration from the most northern of the provinces of India to the peninsula of Saurashtra in s. 201, or a.d. 145. We shall, therefore, make this the point of outset; though it may be premised that Jai Singh, the royal historian and astronomer of Amber, connects the line with Sumitra (the 56th descendant from the deified Rama), who appears to have been the contemporary of Vikramaditya, a.c. 56 . . . .

"By what route Kanaksen, the first emigrant of the solar race, found his way into Saurashtra from Lohkot, is uncertain: he, however, wrested dominion from a prince of the Pramara race, and founded Birnagara in the second century (a.d. 144). Four generations afterwards, Vijayasen, whom the prince of Amber calls Nushirwan, founded Vijayapur, supposed to be where Dholka now stands, at the head of the Saurashtra peninsula. Vidarba was also founded by him, the name of which was afterwards changed to Sihor. But the most celebrated was the capital, Valabhipura, which for years baffled all search, till it was revealed in its now humbled condition as Walai, ten miles west of Bhaunagar. The existence of this city was confirmed by a celebrated Jain work, the Satrunjaya Mahatma. The want of satisfactory proof of the Rana's emigration from thence was obviated by the most unexpected discovery of an inscription of the twelfth century, in a ruined temple on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Since this paper was written I have come across another new distortion, namely that the attack on the Lucknow Residency was never really taken seriously by the mutineers who could have taken the place any day that they wished!!—H.L.O.G.

<sup>1</sup> Smith's Albar, p. 81.

tableland forming the eastern boundary of the Rana's present territory, which appeals to the 'walls of Valabhi' for the truth of the action it records. And a work written to comme. walls of valuable for the state words in the west is Sorathdes, 2 morate the reign of Rana Raj Singh opens with these words: 'In the west is Sorathdes, 2 a country well known: the barbarians invaded it, and conquered Bal-ka-nath; all fell in And the Sandrai roll thus the sack of Valabhipur except the daughter of the Pramara,' commences: 'When the city of Valabhi was sacked, the inhabitants fled and founded Bali, Sandrai and Nadol in Mordar des 3.' These are towns yet of consequence, and in all the Jain religion is still maintained, which was the chief worship of Valabhipura when sacked by the 'barbarian'. The records preserved by the Jains give s.B. 205 (A.D. 524) as the date of this event.

"The tract about Valabhipura and northward is termed Bal, probably from the tribe of Bala, which might have been the designation of the Rana's tribe prior to that of Grahilot; and most probably Multan and all these regions of the Kathi, Bala, etc., were dependent on Lohkot, whence emigrated Kanaksen; thus strengthening the surmise of the Scythic descent of the Ranas, though now installed in the seat of Rama

"Besides these cities, the MSS. give Gayni, as the last refuge of the family when One of the poetic chronicles thus commences: 'The barbarians had captured Gajni. The house of Siladitya was left desolate. In its defence his heroes fell; of his seed but the name remained' . . .

"Of the prince's family the queen Pushpavati alone escaped the sack of Valabhi, as well as the funeral pyre, upon which, on the death of Siladitya, his other wives were sacrificed. She was a daughter of the Pramara prince of Chandravati, and had visited the shrine of the universal mother Amba-Bhavani, in her native land, to deposit upon the altar of the goddess a votive offering consequent to her expectation of offspring. She was on her return, when the intelligence arrived which blasted all her future hopes, by depriving her of her lord, and robbing him, whom the goddess had just granted to her prayers, of a crown Taking refuge in a cave in the mountain of Malia, she was delivered of a son. Having confided the infant to a Brahmani of Biranagar named Kamlavati, enjoining her to educate the young prince as a Brahman, but to marry him to a Rajputni, she mounted the funeral pile to join her lord. Kamlavati, the daughter of the priest of the temple, was herself a mother, and she performed the tender offices of one to the orphan prince, whom she designated Goha or 'caveborn.' The child was a source of perpetual uneasiness to its protectors: he associated with Rajput children, killing birds, hunting wild animals, and at the age of eleven was totally unmanageable: to use the words of the legend, 'How should they hide the ray of the sun?'" 4

This much Colonel Tod asserts in support of his view that Goha or Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhilot dynasty of Mewâr, was descended from Śîlâditya VI of Valabhipur. He then attempts to connect the Rânas (of Mewâr) with Persia, and for this purpose quotes the following authorities :-

"Let us see what Abu-l Fazl says of the descent of the Ranas from Nushirwan: 'The Chief of the State was formerly called Râwal, but for a long time past has been known as Râna. He is of the Ghelot clan, and pretends to descent from Noshîrwân, the Just. An ancestor of this family through the vicissitudes of fortune came to Berâr and was distinguished as the chief of Narnâlah. About eight hundred years previous to the present time Narnâlah was taken by the enemy and many were slain. One Bâpa, a child, was carried by his mother from this scene of desolation to Mewâr, and found refuge with Râjah Mandalîkh, a Bhil.'

"The work which has furnished all the knowledge which exists on the Persian ancestry of the Mewâr princes is the Maasiru-l-Umara, or that founded on it, entitled Bisatu-l-Ghanim written in A.H. 1204 [A.D. 1789]. The writer of this work styles himself Lachhmi Narayan Shafik Aurangabadi . . . he goes deep into the lineage of the Ranas of Mewar

<sup>2</sup> Sorath or Saurashtra.

<sup>3</sup> Marwar,

<sup>4</sup> Tod, Rajasthan, edited by W. Crooke, 1920, vol, I, pp. 251-59,

quoting at length the Massiru-l-Umara, from which the following is a literal translation: 'It is well-known that the Rajas of Udaipur are exalted over all the princes of Hind. Other Hindu princes, before they can succeed to the throne of their fathers, must receive the khushka, or tilak of regality and investiture, from them. This type of sovereignty is received with humility and veneration. The khushka of these princes is made with human blood: their title is Rana, and they deduce their origin from Noshirwan-i-Adil (i.e., the Just), who conquered the countries of—, and many parts of Hindustan. During his lifetime his son Noshizad, whose mother was the daughter of Kaiser of Rum, quitted the ancient worship and embraced the 'faith of the Christians,' and with numerous followers entered Hindustan. Thence he marched a great army towards Iran, against his father Noshirwan; who dispatched his general, Rambarzin, with numerous forces to oppose him. An action ensued in which Noshizad was slain; but his issue remained in Hindustan, from whom are descended the Ranas of Udaipur. Noshirwan had a wife from the Khakhan of China, by whom he had a son called Hormuz, declared heir to the throne shortly before his death . . . .

"It is also told, that when the fortunes of Yazdegird were on the wane, his family dispersed to different regions. The second daughter, Shahr Banu, was married to Imam Husain. . . . The third daughter, Banu, was seized by a plundering Arab . . . .

"Of the eldest daughter of Yazdegird, Maha Banu, the Parsis have no accounts; but the books of Hind give evidence to her arrival in that country, and that from her issue is the tribe Sesodia. But, at all events, this race is either of the seed of Nushishad, the son of Nushirwan, or of that of the daughter of Yazdegird.

"Thus have we adduced, perhaps, all points of evidence for the supposed Persian origin of the Rana's family. The period of the invasion of Saurashtra by Nushishad, who mounted the throne A.D. 531, corresponds well with the sack of Valabhi, A.D. 524 . . . . Khusru Parvez, grandson of Nushirwan the Great, and who assumed this title according to Firdausi, married Marian, the daughter of Maurice, the Greek emperor of Byzantium. She bore him Shirauah (the Siroes of the early Christian writers), who slew his father. It is difficult to separate the actions of the two Nushirwans, and still more to say which of them merited the epithet of adil, or 'just.'

We have a singular support to these historic relics in a geographical fact, that places on the site of the ancient Valabhi a city called Byzantium, which almost affords conclusive proof that it must have been the son of Nushirwan who captured Valabhi and Gajni, and destroyed the family of Siladitya; for it would be a legitimate occasion to name such conquest after the city where his Christian mother had had birth. Whichever of the propositions we adopt at the command of the author of the Annals of Princes, namely, 'that the Sesodia race is of the seed of Nushishad, son of Nushirwan, or of that of Mahabanu, daughter of Yazdegird,' we arrive at a singular and startling conclusion, viz., that the 'Hindua Suraj, descendant of a hundred kings,' the undisputed possessor of the honours of Rama, the patriarch of the Solar race, is the issue of a Christian princess: that the chief prince amongst the nations of Hind can claim affinity with the emperors of 'the mistress of the world'...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> It is really a town called Vaijayantî in Deccan.

"But though I deem it morally impossible that the Ranas should have their lineage from any male branch of the Persian house, I would not equally assert that Mahabanu, the from any mate transit of the feether, the fugitive daughter of Yazdegird, may not have found a husband, as well as sanctuary, with the prince of Saurashtra; and she may be the Subhagna (mother of Siladitya), whose mysterious amour with the 'sun' compelled her to abandon her native city of Kaira. The son of Marian had been in Saurashtra, and it is therefore not unlikely that her grand-child should there seek protection in the reverses of her family." 6

Such is Col. Tod's account of the princes of Mewâr. It is needless to discuss every

passage in his writings. A few facts only will suffice.

As regards the sack of Valabhî, the Šatrunjaya Mâhâlmya on which Tod relies seems to have been written in or later than the twelfth century A.D., for; it contains an account of the ruler Kumârapâla (1142 to 1173 A.D.) of Gujarât. It, therefore, does not appear very reliable. Secondly, the inscription, the unexpected discovery of which is spoken of by the author, is really the Bejolyan inscription, dated Samvat 1226 (A.D. 1169), of the time of Sômêśvara, which speaks of the Chauhâna king Vîsaladêva IV of Ajmer, whose fame is said to have spread even in the streets and turrets (Valabhî) after his conquest of the territory extending as far as Delhi and Hansi in the Punjab.

Lastly, the discovery of the Sâmôli inscription8 of Śîlâditya of Mewâr, dated Samvat 703 (A.D. 646) finally settles the matter. From the Alînâ9 copper plate inscription, dated A.D. 766 of the last Sîlâditya of Valabhipur, we know that he was the ruler of the Valabhi kingdom at least up to the date of the inscription, i.e., the latter half of the eighth century A.D. The final overthrow 10 of that kingdom must have taken place later on, in or about A.D. 776. As the date of Sîlâditya of Mewâr is Samvat 703 (A.D. 646), that of Guhadatta, his fifth<sup>11</sup> predecessor, should fall in the latter half of the sixth century A.D., assigning an average rule of at least twenty years to each ruler. Thus Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewâr, had established his rule in Mewâr long before the break up of the Valabhî kingdom. Hence, it is impossible to call Gôha or Guhadatta a descendant of Sîlâditya VI. or VII.12 of Valabhipur.

Next, we have to consider the connection of the Rânâs with Persia. It may be noted that in the second century A.D., Saurashtra (Kathiavad) was under the Western Kshatrapas 13 and not under Kanaksen, as Tod asserts. Nôshirwân Adil ascended the throne of Persia in September 532 A.D., and, after a glorious reign of about forty-eight years, died in February 579 A.D. His son Noshizâd hearing that his father was seriously ill, rebelled about 551 A.D. He was, however, not executed, but merely rendered ineligible for the throne by a slight facial disfigurement. Yazdegird was the last sovereign of the House of Sassan, a dynasty which ruled Persia four hundred and fifty years. He was defeated by the Arabs in the battle of Nahavand (A.D. 641) and was afterwards murdered in the neighbourhood of Merv in 651 or 652 A.D. After the overthrow of the Persian empire, the family of Yazdegird escaped with their lives and sought a safer refuge in the fortress of Haft-Ajar, the home of their ancestors. One daughter Meher Bânu (Mâha Bânu) sought and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Tod, Rájasthán, edited by W. Crooke, 1920, vol. I, pp. 275-80.

<sup>7</sup> See Ind. Ant., vol. LVI, p. 11, n. 12. The word valabhî in the inscription has no connection whatever with the town of Valabhi in Kâthiâvâd. See Tod's Rájasthân, vol. III, p. 1798.

<sup>8</sup> Preserved in the Râjputânâ Museum, Ajmer. 9 Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 171.

<sup>10</sup> Tod, Rajasthán, vol. I, p. 254, n. 2. Duff's Chronology, p. 67.

<sup>11</sup> Ind. Ant., vol. XXXIX, p. 188, Inscription No. IV. 12 Dr. Fleet designates Śilâditya VI. as Śilâditya VII. In fact, Śilâditya II. of his table did not ascend the throne, hence Śilâditya VII. in the table ought to be Śilâditya VI. See Gupta Inscriptions, p. 41,

<sup>13</sup> Rudradâmâ was the ruler then, as shown by his inscriptions, dated Saka Samvats 52 or A.D. 130 (Ep. Ind., vol. 16, p. 23), and 72 or A.D. 150 (Ep. Ind., vol. 8, p. 36).

obtained relief in the stronghold of Gorab. 14 Tod gives the date of the sack of Valabhi as A.D. 524; so, according to this date, the death of Sîlâditya VI. of Valabhipur and the subsequent retreat of his queen Pushpâvatî to Mewâr, where Goha or Guhadatta was born, took place before Noshîrwân Ādil sat on the throne of Persia. How could then "the period of the invasion of Saurâshtra by Noshishâd correspond with the sack of Valabhî in A.D. 524." In fact, the actual period of the fall of Valabhî in A.D. 776, as already shown, neither corresponds with the foundation of the Guhila dynasty in Mewâr, nor with the accession of Nôshîrwân, Yazdegird, etc., on the throne of Persia.

Let us now consider the inscriptions—(1) In the Âţapur inscription<sup>15</sup> of Samvat 1034 (A.D. 977), Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila dynasty, is called a Brâhmaṇa (Mahîdêvah).

(2) In the Chitor inscription, 16 dated Samvat 1331 (A.D. 1274) of the time of Râwal Samarasimha of Mewâr, Bâpâ, a scion of the Guhila family and [eighth] in descent from Guhadatta, is said to be a 'Vipra' (Brâhmaṇa).

(3) The inscription, 17 dated Samvat 1545 (A.D. 1488) of the time of Mahârânâ Kumbhakarna's son Râyamala, also speaks of Bâpâ as a 'dvija' (Brâhmana); and so also does the Ekalinga Mâhâtmya, also called Ekalinga Purâna, of his time.

Now, as regards No. (1), we notice that in the sixth verse of the same inscription, king Naravâhana, a descendant of Guhadatta, is spoken of as 'Kshatrakshetra,' 18 i.e., a place of origin of the Kshatriyas.

Regarding No. (2), it is found that the same Nâgara Brâhmaṇa Vêdaśarmâ, who composed this record, says in another inscription, dated s. 1342 (A.D. 1285) that Bappaka (Bâpâ) obtained from Hârîtarishi the qualifications of a Kshatriya (regal qualifications) after he had bestowed on the sage those of a Brâhmaṇa (priestly qualifications), and that the princes, who were born in his race shone like the regal duties in bodily form.

From the version of this inscription, it appears that the predecessors of Bâpâ performed the duties of a Brâhmaṇa (priestly duties) and that it was Bâpâ, who first renounced that practice. This is in accordance with Muhnot Nainsy's story written at the end; the difference only lies in the fact that Bâpâ was the eighth in descent, and not tenth from Gôha or Guhadatta (Guhila).

In respect of No. (3), we have to state that in an inscription, 20 dated Samvat 1557 (not 1597, as wrongly printed), of the time of the same Mahârânâ Râyamala, Guhidatta (Guhadatta), Bappâka (Bâpâ), Khumân, etc., are called Sûryavamsîya.

Besides these, there are many other inscriptions which show the princes of the Guhila family to be Sûryavamsî Kshatriyas. Among them, the following may be noted:—

(a) In the inscription, 21 dated Samvat 1028 (A.D. 971), of the time of king Naraváhana of Mewâr, the priests of the temple of Ekalingajî are spoken of as having diffused

15 त्रानंदपुरिविनिर्गतिविप्रकुलानंदनो महीदेवः । जयित श्रीगुहदत्तः प्रभवः श्रीगुहिलवंशस्य ॥

Ind. Ant., vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

<sup>14</sup> The Historians' History of the World, edited by Henry Williams, LL.D., vol. VIII, pp. 88—98. Also, History of the Parsis, by Dosabhai Framji Karaka, C.S.I., vol. I., pp. 9—22.

<sup>16</sup> यस्मादागत्य विप्रदचतहद्धिमहीवेदिनिक्षिप्तयूपो | बप्पाख्यो वीतरागद्दरण्युगमुपासीत (सीष्ट) हारीतराशेः ।।
Bhavnagar Inscriptions, p. 75.

भीमेदपाटभुवि नागहर्द पुरेभूद्वाष्पो द्विजः शिवपदार्चितिचत्त्वित्तः । Bhâvnagar Inscriptions, p. 118.

<sup>18</sup> त्र्यविकलकलाधारो धीरः स्फुरदूरलसन्करो विजयवसतिः क्षत्रक्षेत्रं क्षताहतिसंहतिः । समजानि जना.....पतापतरूद्धृतो विभवभवनं विद्यावेदी नृपो नरवाहनः ॥ Ind. Ant., vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

<sup>19</sup> हारीसार्टिकल बप्पकों ऽहिवलयन्याजेन लेभे महः क्षात्रं धाद्यनिभाद्वितीर्य मुनये ब्राह्मं स्वसेवाच्छलात् एते ऽद्यापि महीभुजः क्षितितले तद्दंशसंभूतयः शोभंते सुतरामुपात्तवपुषः क्षात्रा हि धर्मा इव ॥ ११॥ Ind. Ant., vol. XVI, p. 347.

<sup>20</sup> Bhâvnayar Inscriptions, p. 141.
21 BBRAS., vol. 22, p. 167, vv. 14-15. See also R. B. G. H. Ojha's 'article on 'Bâpâ Râwal kâ sônê kà sikkâ' [Nâgarî Prachârinî Patrikâ, vol. I, pt. III, p. 258].

the fame of Raghuvamśa from the Himalayas to Râma's bridge (a ridge of rocks at the southern extremity of India), that is, throughout the length and breadth of India. As the priests of the temple are the religious preceptors<sup>22</sup> of the kings of Mewâr, who are the donors of large estates to the temple, the word 'Raghuvamśa' must refer to the Guhila family, to which the kings of Mewâr belonged.

(b) The inscription<sup>23</sup>, dated Samvat 1335 (A.D. 1278) of the time of Samarasimha,

while speaking of the Guhilôt king Simha, calls him a Kshatriya.

(c) In the inscription<sup>24</sup> on a well built by Mahârânâ Môkala in Samvat 1485 (A.D. 1428) at Sringî Rishi, six miles from Ekalingajî in Mewâr, Mahârânâ Kshêtrasimha, grandfather of Môkala, is said to be 'Mandanamani' (jewel) of the Kshatriya family.

Now, the question arises: how is it that Bâpâ and others are called Brâhmanas in some of the inscriptions. The story narrated in Muhnot Nainsy's khyâta explains this deviation.

The purport of the story is given below :-

After the death of her husband, the mother of Guhilôt (Guhila) prepared herself for the pyre to become a Satî in her state of full pregnancy, and as such was prevented by the Brâhmaṇas from doing so. She was soon delivered of a son, whom she handed over to a Brâhmaṇa named Vijayâditya, who was praying for a son in the temple of Kőţêśvara Siva. The latter, however, refused to take charge of the child, remarking that, as the infant was the son of a Râjpût, it would, contrary to the duties of a Brâhmaṇa, kill men, animals, etc., when it would come of age. On this, the queen assured him, on her honour as a Satî, that the child and its progeny would perform the duties of a Brâhmaṇa up to ten generations.

The child was accordingly adopted by the Brâhmana and brought up by him. Thus, according to the legend, the child and his descendants performed the priestly duties for ten generations and were called Nâgdâ (Nâgara) Brâhmanas. This son of Vijayâditya belonged to the Solar race and was called Guhilôt(Guhila) Sômadata (Sômâditya), after whom came Śîlâditya and others. 25

It seems, therefore, that some of the old writers (mostly Brâhmans) have based their conception on this or a similar story, and have, either through ignorance of the real fact, or to gratify their vanity by identifying a prince of the blood royal with their own caste, called Bâpâ and others Brâhmanas, in opposition to the writings of the Jain scholars.

From what has been said above, we conclude that the Guhila dynasty of Mewâr was established about two centuries before the fall of Valabhipur. The Persian dynasty was also reigning about the same period. But there is no connection between the house of Valabhî and either Mewâr or Persia. Also there is no evidence that Nushizâd came to India; nor is there any real evidence of the Persian descent of the Rânâs. Col. Tod himself writes in one place that "the prince of Mewar is universally allowed to be the first of the 'thirty-six royal tribes'; nor has a doubt ever been raised respecting his purity of descent of the control of the c

In the case of inscriptions too, we see that, while one or two writers of one age have called Bâpâ and other princes of the family Brâhmaṇas, there are many others who have called them Kshatriyas. In fine, neither did the kings of Valabhî owe their origin<sup>29</sup> to the royal family of Persia; nor did the princes of Mewâr owe theirs to that of Valabhî.<sup>30</sup>

23 'Ekalingâ-kâ-Dîwân' is the common title of the Rânâs of Udaipur.

24 सम्यग्वर्महरं ततः स्वतनयं सुस्थाप्य राज्ये निजे क्षेत्रं क्षत्रियवश्मंडनमार्टि प्रत्यर्थिकालानलं ॥ ५ ॥

Unpublished Inscription at Śringî Rishi.

25 Muhnot Nainsy's Khyáta, p. 1.

26 Tod's Râjasthân, vol. I, p. 276, n. 2.

27 Ibid., p. 278, n. 2.

<sup>23</sup> श्रीएकलिङ्गःहराराधनपाशुपताचार्यः . . . अत्रियगुष्टिलपुत्रसिंहलब्धमहोदयाः . . . | ante, vol. XXXIX, p.189.

<sup>29</sup> About 2,000 silver coins bearing the legend 'Śrî Guhila' were discovered near Agra (Cunningham's A.S.R., vol. 4, p. 95). From these as well as the Châtsû inscription of Bâlâditya (Ep. Ind., vol. 12, p. 13), it appears that Guhila and probably his descendants were ruling over the territories extending up to Agra in the north-east.

<sup>36</sup> For a previous discussion of the origin of the Guhilots, see C. V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India, vol. II (1924), pp. 83-89.-Joint Editor.

#### BOOK-NOTICES

THE CHRONICLES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TRADING TO CHINA, 1635-1834, by H. B. Morse, LL.D. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926; 4 vols.

This monumental work of untold labour, which is of the greatest value to all students of the doings of the great East India Company, is based chiefly on the records at the India Office, placed at the disposal of the author. Right good use has he made of the liberality shown him, to produce a work which all must consult who wish to know the details of the work of the English in China in the early days. There are unfortunate gaps in the records up to 1775 for reasons the author, perhaps wisely, does not explain, and like all gaps they occur just at the wrong time. One gap from 1705 to 1711 covers the periods of the amalgamation of the London and East India Companies -a period of special interest-and another of 20 years (1754-1774) covers important events like "The Seven Years' War and the North American Acts-the Stamp Act and the Tea Tax."

Despite the defects in the records an immense amount of information is placed at the disposal of students, from the days of single ships under super-cargoes, who were sometimes the Commanders themselves, to the yearly Council of Supercargoes, superseded in 1786 by the Select Committee. The trade was essentially an English trade, in which a number of Scotchmen were engaged, and was carried on by means of asmall amount of goods and a great amount of dollars for investment in a not large selection of the products of China. It was carried on under enormous difficulties, and the records given in the book show an astonishing amount of human nature on its worst, the greedy side. The first volume of the Chronicles (1635-1774) shows the Chinese merchant, who might otherwise have been honest enough from old trade association, under the thumb of a new Tartar aristocracy, which had no knowledge of the ethics of commercial dealings, and only the readiest and crudest notions of filling their own pockets. That any trade was carried on at all is evidence of English tenacity.

The volume commences with a new view of Weddell's voyage to Canton in 1637 for the Courteen Association. From the delightful pages of Peter Mundy's account we have what may be called the social and travelling sides of that venture. In this book we get the commercial side, which shows that the Courteen venture did more harm than good. Then the narrative goes on steadily in great detail showing the strenuous and ceaseless struggle between the English adventurers and the Chinese Officials. Here and there, by the way, the reader learns, through Dr. Morse's clear exposition and admirable notes, how the various commercial habits and terms, now obtaining and used, came one by one into existence. It is not a book to review, but it tells the searcher things

about the Anglo-Chinese trade and those who carried it on, which he could not possibly learn otherwise. The book, however, is strictly a chronicle, and the searcher will have to find out for himself the story of any particular institution. e.g., of the Hoppo, but he will find that the whole of it is there. It is, indeed, a true mine of information and Dr. Morse shows himself to be a guide that can help the student to explore it successfully.

The second volume carries on the story to 1804 and gives a chronicle of the same class of endless trouble as heretofore, but the scene of course ever varies as the trade progresses and customs become established. In 1788 there was an attempt-the first of its kind-to settle matters with the Chinese Imperial Government and Colonel Cathcar of the Bengal Army was sent out as ambassador, but he died on the way and never reached China. In 1793 took place the celebrated embassy of Lord Macartney, which eventually failed in its purpose of obtaining "a modest charter for the English trade," secured later on only by force in 1842. The trade, however, went on again in the old way -trade trouble in China, wars in Europe. Opium became important as a commodity, and continued to be very troublesome as an article of trade through all the Company's days. Dangerous incidents from time to time occurred, partly owing to the difference between English and Chinese customs and ideas in regard to justice. One such incident was the very serious affair of the Lady Hughes in 1784, when a Chinaman was accidentally killed in the firing of a salute. Chinese custom demanded vengeance for the death whether accidental or otherwise, and a highly dangerous situation arose. In 1799 there was a similar incident over the Providence, which, however, brought out the great value of Sir George Thomas Staunton's knowledge of Chinese. In this way, the Chinese trade was liable to entirely unforeseen disturbance over mere accidents and misunderstandings, to say nothing of political troubles, such as the sudden death of an Emperor in 1799, to be succeeded by another who reversed what he could of his predecessor's acts, not necessarily however with evil effect. The risks of carrying on trade were as great as ever.

Volume III takes the tale to 1820. Between 1805 and that date piracy had become a burning question and the opium trade still gave grave trouble. In 1807 occurred the case of the Neptune, presenting the usual type of dispute where Chinese and Englishmen were concerned, and leading to a celebrated trial of English sailors before a Chinese Court. In 1808 the English temporarily occupied Macao in the course of the wars then generally current between European nations—a proceeding that did little good to the English trade with the Chinese. On the whole, however, trade proceeded during the period 1805–1820 with perhaps less triction than before. In 1816 there took place

another Embassy to the Emperor—that of Lord Amherst, when there occurred the famous dispute about the Kotow and the eventual repentance of the Chinese authorities. Incidentally the courage of the English traders in a great difficulty comes out clearly: "A firm and decided tone will generally carry a point in China provided the grounds are just and reasonable" are the words of the Select Committee on this occasion—words which may well be remembered. Affairs thereafter ran fairly easily for a while.

The last volume opens with the affairs of the *Emily* and the *Topaze* in 1821. The *Emily* was an American ship and the dispute was the old story of a more or less accidental killing of a Chinese by a white sailor. The result was trouble that endangered the American trade. The *Topaze* was an English Man of War and an affair arose because the killing in this case was only alleged. In 1822 there was a disastrous fire in Canton which included the English and all the Foreign Factories, but it did not destroy the trade even temporarily, which thereafter proceeded as usual with the same old troubles, sometimes aggravated by the action of the Company in England.

On 31st January 1831 the English Factories moved to Macao and a dispute commenced with the Chinese authorities, in which one can see the commencement of the troubles that led to war later on. On p. 292 Dr. Morse sums up the situation thus: "We see on the one hand a Chinese mandarin carrying out an imperial rescript, accustomed to acquiescence in any order he might give and to implicit obedience as long as he was in sight, 'resentful and impatient at the leas hesitation or opposition to his will. He visits the factory attended by a rabble of undisciplined soldiers and runners, eager to forestall his slightest wish. On the other hand we see a body of English, who have recently emerged successful from a great war, in which they swept their enemies from all seas; whose (literally) brothers and cousins are administrators and rulers of the Indian Empire; who are fully conscious of their superiority over those who, for their part, assert their own superiority; and who have now reached the stage of having determined that they shall enjoy in Canton the same freedom and the same privileges as would be enjoyed by Chinese in London. Between two such diverse views, conflict was inevitable. What the Chinese did not see was that the inrush of the foreigner was not to be kept out by any artificial dams; what the Committee did not realize was that only military force could make the Chinese yield to their demands." And there is left the situation of the Trade with China under the East India Company.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE WRITING OF HISTORY, by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Professor f Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Madras, P. R. Rama Iyer and Co., 1926,

This excellent little book, of which the second title "Notes on Historical Methodology for Indian Students" show its purpose, is written entirely in the right way. It shows the student what history as a science is and then in what ways it should be studied, dividing the "science" into four parts: heuristics (collection of documents), criticism, synthesis and exposition, leaving archæology, the study of old monuments, buildings and ruins, as a subject apart. The author then gives us a long list of "the best works" on Indian History, which is one of the finest I have seen—a list worth the while of the most serious student to keep always by him.

Subsidiary studies analogous to the main subject are not neglected, e.g. pictography as the study of old paintings and here again we are given a valuable bibliography. To numismatics is added a still better list of books and the same may be said of sigilography or the science of seals. To the study of tradition, the Jesuit letters, private diaries and letters and accounts of travel, court chronicles. State Papers, and so on, are attached a series of bibliographies of the highest value. Then follows some sage advice as to criticism, with a definition of that horrible "scientific" term hermeneutics-the effort to discover the reliability of documents. Still sager advice is given as to the constructive part of the historian's work after he has collected his facts and digested the result. Altogether Father Heras has put together the results of his careful study of Indian History so well and so usefully that I as one student at any rate will keep the work by me for reference. I have, however, been much interested in his describing (p. 2) the statements as to Mahmûd Baigârâ's having been a "poison man" as an "individual fact." The story-it is told also by Varthema who was in Cambay in 1504-seems to me to be folklore and remini. scent of the old tales about the "poison maiden". But the quotation given on p. 3 from Mirat-i-Sikandari as to his eating habits account for the description of him as a man of great grossness of body.

R. C. TEMPLE.

LORD MAHAVIRA, A SHORT SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF BHAGWAN MAHAVIRA, by HARISATYA BHATTA-CHARYA Of Howrah, the Jain Mittra Mandel, Delhi, 1926.

This is a short tract on the life of the founder of Jainism from the Jain point of view. It is Tract 43 of the Delhi Jain Society and is useful for letting scholars have an insight into the Jain ideas of their religion and its founder. The existence of these tracts that are being constantly issued is a sign of the recrudescence of Jainism and the anxiety of its followers that their tenets may become generally known.

R. C. TEMPLE,

# THE SAURASENI AND MAGADHI STABAKAS OF RAMA-SARMAN (TARKAVAGISA).

By Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E. With six plates.\*

In volumes LI (1922) and LII (1923) of the Indian Antiquary, I offered a transcription and translation of the Apabhramsa Stabakas of the Prīkrta-kalpataru of Rāma-sarman (Tarkavāgīśa). In the following pages, I attempt to do this for the Saurasēnī and Māgadhī Stabakas of the same work. On pages 13ff. [1ff. of the separate reprint] of volume LI, I gave all the information then at my command regarding this Prakrit grammar, and explained that, so far as was known, it was to be found only in one difficult and incorrect manuscript in the Library of the India Office. I need not repeat what I said there, or give again a list of the peculiarities of the scribe's writing. I shall assume that the reader is familiar with my former remarks, or else that he can refer to them if in doubt. Suffice it to say here that the chief value of the work is that its author belonged to the eastern school of Prakrit grammarians, and that the teaching of this school differed in many important particulars from that of the western school represented by such authorities as Hēmacandra and Lakṣmīdhara.

The exact name of the author of the *Prākṛta-kalpataru* is a matter of some slight confusion. Lassen¹, who first drew attention to him, called him "Rāma-Tarkavāgīśa," and from this is descended the sign "RT" which is generally used as a convenient contraction for his name. But the word "Tarkavāgīśa" is merely a scholastic title, much like one of our university degrees. In the colophons appended to the three main divisions of his work, he is called "Rāma Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭâcārya," but in the fourteenth verse of the Introduction he calls himself "Rāma-śarman"². "Bhaṭṭâcārya" is the name of a well-known sept of Bengal Brāhmaṇas, and his full name was therefore Rāma-śarmā Bhaṭṭâcārya (Tarkavāgīśa). For the sake of shortness I call him simply Rāma-śarman, but, when referring to him in footnotes or the like, I shall adhere to the time-honoured abbreviation of "RT."

According to Dr. Belvalkar's "Systems of Sanskrit Grammar" (p. 107) Rāma-śarman was also the author of the most celebrated commentary on the *Mugdhabōdha*, and was a profound logician, as well as an adept in the grammars of other schools. He was quoted by Durgādāsa (A.D. 1639) and therefore probably flourished not later than the end of the sixteenth century.

In order that my rendering of the text may be checked, it is accompanied by photographic reproductions of the original. The section dealing with Saurasēnī begins in the last line of folio 34a. This is followed (fol. 37a, 1.6) by accounts of the sub-dialects (Prācyā, Āvantī, and Bāhlīkī) of this form of Prakrit. The section dealing with the more eastern dialects begins in fol. 38a, 1.4, and, after a single verse devoted to Ardhamāgadhī, gives a fairly full account of Māgadhī, concluding with one final verse on Dākṣiṇātya. This is followed by another section (fol. 39b, 1.7) describing the Vibhāṣās⁴, all of which, with the one exception of Ṭākkī, are corrupt forms of Māgadhī. That I have everywhere read and emended the text correctly, or that, when I have succeeded in this, I have always translated correctly, I do not pretend, but I hope that the reader will find here at least an approximation to what Rāma-śarman originally wrote.

<sup>\*</sup> Plates will appear at the end of the article.

<sup>1</sup> Institutiones, p. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> sarvāsu vācāsv iha hētu-bhūtām

bhāṣāṁ Mahārāṣṭrabhavāṁ purastāt nirūpayiṣyāmi yathôpadēśaṁ

Śrī Rāma-śarmâham imām prayatnāt.

<sup>3</sup> Poona, 1915.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding Vibhāṣās, see my article "The Prakrit Vibhāṣās" in JRAS., 1918, 490 ff.

This Prâkrta-kalpataru, or "Wishing Tree of Prakrit" is divided into three Śākhās, or "Branches." The first deals with Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, the second with Saurasēnī and Māgadhī, together with their sub-dialects, including the Vibhāṣās⁵, and the third with Apabhramśa and Paiśācika. The present paper is therefore a transcription and translation of the whole of the second Śākhā. Each Śākhā is divided into so many Stabakas, or clusters, and each Stabaka into so many kusumas, or flowers, each consisting of a single verse. The second Śākhā, with which we are immediately concerned, contains three Stabakas, arranged as follows:—

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Saurasēnī.
Stabaka 1, 38 verses,
                       Tracya. Avantī and Bāhlīkī. Sub-dialects of Saurasēnī.
        2, vv.- 1-4
        " vv.– 5–10
                       Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Dākṣiṇātya.
         " vv.-11-32
        3, Vibhāṣās.
         ,, vv.- 1- 9
                       Sākārikī.
         " vv.-10-15
                        Cāndālikā.
                                       Corrupt forms of Māgadhī.
         " vv.-16-22
                        Śābarī, etc.
         ,, vv.-23-26
                        Abhīrikā.
                       Tākkī. (A debased Saurasēnī).
         " vv.=27-31
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Considering the corrupt state of the one MS. available, it is not suggested that it would be safe to accept every statement attributed in the following pages to Rāma-śarman as decisive on a disputed point; but, even as it is, his grammar offers a most valuable control on the grammar of Mārkandēya, who also belonged to the eastern school. There are here and there statements in Mārkandēya's Prākrta-sarvasva, which, even in the excellent Vizagapatam edition, raise doubts in the mind of the student, and a comparison with the Prākrta-kalpataru will generally tell us whether these doubts are justified or not. When Rāma-śarman and Mārkandēya agree, we can be pretty sure that we know the teaching of the eastern school on that particular point. In order to facilitate comparison, I have throughout given on the margin references to the corresponding sūtras of Mārkandēya. The evidence of these two authorities on Māgadhī Prakrit is of special importance; for they agree in differing widely in their accounts of this eastern dialect from western grammarians such as Hēmacandra or Lakṣmīdhara; and, as they were themselves Easterners, and lived in countries the languages of which were direct daughters of Māgadhī, their authority cannot be disregarded.

There is one point of spelling to which I must draw attention. The MS. of the  $Pr\bar{a}krta^2$  kalpataru represents the sounds of both b and v indifferently by the Bengali character  $\overline{\triangleleft}$ . In my transliteration of the Apabhramsa section, I followed the usual western custom of writing b or vaccording to the rules laid down by Hēmacandra. Since then I have had the opportunity of studying the question in greater detail, and I have become satisfied that, according to the teaching of the eastern grammarians, a non-conjunct v does not occur in Prakrit, and that, every time they use, in a Prakrit word, the Bengali letter  $\overline{\triangleleft}$ , they intend to represent the sound of b, and of b only. I have worked this out at considerable length elsewhere  $\overline{\bullet}$ , and here it will be sufficient to warn the reader that in what follows, he will often come across the letter b where he has hitherto been accustomed to find v.

I cannot close these remarks without acknowledging my indebtedness to Professor Sunīti K. Chatterji of Calcutta University. As in the case of the former paper, I owe him my thanks for his ungrudging kindness in helping me to solve many doubtful points that have turned up during the course of this work.

<sup>5</sup> On p. 13 (p. 1 of the reprint) of vol. LI, I wrongly said that the Vibhāṣās are described in the third Sākhā.

<sup>6</sup> JRAS., 1925, 231ff.

#### TEXT.

II,	;	601	11	90	ān	7
11,	1.	Dai	41	as	CII	1.

	II, I. Saurasem.		
Fol. 34a, l. 7;	viracyatē samprati ŚAURASĒ NĪ <sup>7</sup> ;		
34b, l. 1.	pūrvaiva bhāṣā prakṛtiḥ kilâsyāḥ.		Mk. ix, 1.
310, 11	na vētasāngāra-padâdiṣu <sup>8</sup> nv it.		Mk. 2.
	na syāc caturthī-badarâdiṣu <sup>9</sup> nv ōt.	1.	Mk. 3.
1. 2.	hrasvõ yathâdau   kvacid ēva kāryah.		Mk. 4.
	piṇḍâdikē kiṁśuka-varjam ēn na.		Mk. 5.
	tuṇḍâdiṣūd ōt kvacid, okkhalam na		Mk. 6, 7.
	udūkhalē, kīdṛśa īdṛśē nâit.	2.	Mk. 8.
1. 3.	udīritam yan mukuṭâdikēsv ad		
	yudhişthirôpary anayōr na tat syāt.		Mk. 10.
	na yō vikāraḥ puruṣasya kāryaḥ.		Mk. 9.
1. 4.	rṣy-ādikē yādrśa-tādr śâdyāḥ.	3.	Mk. 16.
	nēd vēdanā-[d]ēvarayōś ca, rukkhō		Mk. 11, 17.
	vṛkṣasya, daivē nu <i>aïr</i> nahi syāt		Mk. 13.
	na <i>bah</i> prakōṣṭhē, na ca <sup>10</sup> pauruṣâdāv		Mk. 12, 15.
1. 5.	$a\ddot{u}s$ , ta thā gaurava $\ddot{a}$ nahi syāt.	4.	Mk. 15.
	atō <sup>11</sup> anādēr ayutasya, tasya		Mk. 18, 20.
	da-kāra iṣṭaḥ, prathamē 'pi thasya		Mk. 24.
1. 6.	dhō12, garvitē13 tasya na-kāram ā hus.		Mk. 20.
1. 0.	thō $dh\bar{o}^{14}$ 'pṛthivyām, bharatē 'pi tasya $^{15}$ .	5.	Mk. 24, 25.
	prāyas tu pō [bō], 'buruam'¹6 apūrvē,		Mk. 21, 23.
	na śikare <i>bhō</i> , 'tha na <i>maḥ</i> kabandhē.		Mk. 19, 22.
1. 7.	tathā ma-kārō na tandri kāyām		Mk. 19.
	prāyō <sup>17</sup> na dasya svara-śēṣatâtra.	6.	Mk. 26.
	dha-bhau da-vat spṛṣṭam udīraṇīyau.		Mk. 27.
	kvacid haridrâdişu rasya <i>lah</i> syāt.		Mk. 28.
TI-1 25, 1 1	bhavēn nu   phō bhō na śiphâdikēṣu¹8,		Mk. 29.
Fol. 35a, l. 1.	na hō daśē 'py <sup>19</sup> atra caturdaśē vā.	7.	Mk. 31.
			Mk. 32, 36.
	athō padâdau, nahi <i>caḥ</i> kirātē <sup>20</sup> .		Mk. 37.
	dōlâdi dō[lō] na, dahim vihāya.		Mk. 35, 34.
1. 2.	yaṣṭyāṁ na lō ; lāṅgala-lōhalâdau	8.	Mk. 33.
	na nah²¹ prayōjyō; na ca śāvakē chah.		Mk. 40.
	sarvatra yuktasya, tha utthitē na <sup>22</sup> .		Mk. 39, 44.
1. 3.	na <sup>23</sup> sphōtakē khō, na ca jo bnimaļnyau.		Mk. 42.
	sammardanē gardabhakē <sup>24</sup> na <i>daḥ</i> syāt.	9.	Mk. 41.
	kşīrē <sup>25</sup> sadṛkṣē 'pi bhaven nani <i>cenaņ</i> .		
7 360 0	8 MS nathētasānaārasadādisu. 9 MS. bab	aaaasa.	1 to the man the

7 MS. Saurasēnī.

MS. nathētasāngārasadādişu.

10 MS.  $n\bar{a}$  for na ca. 11 Hiatus sic in MS.

12 MS. tasya ta, emended to thasya dhō.

14 MS. dhah pṛthivyām.

16 The anusvāra apparently makes the final syllable long, although before a vowel. Mk. has avarūvam. 18 MS. bhāvēhuphōbhōnasisādikēsu.

17 MS. inserts an extra da after prāyō.

21 MS. lah.

19 MS. daśēty. 20 MS. thah kirānti.

<sup>13</sup> So plainly in MS., and also in the corresponding verse on Mahārāṣṭrī (I, ii, 5), and not garbhitē as other writers. See Pischel § 246. 15 MS. tasthah.

<sup>22</sup> MS. yuktasya ca danti the ca, conjecturally emended as above, to agree with Mk. 40. 24 MS. bhardabhakē.

<sup>25</sup> MS. kṣārē, emended to agree with the Comm. to I, iii, 6, where the word is clearly kṣīra-.

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Fol. 35a, l. 4.	tathā kṣaṇē, ṇṇas tu bhavēn na cihnē. kūṣmāṇḍikāyā ũ ca mahah <sup>26</sup> kadācit. bāṣpē pradiṣṭau nv iha bappha-bāhau vibhāṣitō ṇḍaḥ khalu bhindipālē.	10.	Mk. 41, 45 Mk. 43 Mk. 46
1. 5.	şma kşma sma ēṣām ca vikalpi tō <i>mho</i> <sup>27</sup> dvitvam na sēvâdişu daiva-varjam.	11.	Mk. 46
1. 6.	prāyēṇa sandhiṣv aci na tv acām luk <sup>28</sup> .  'kālāyasē'yō na, na'bhājanē'jaḥ,  viparyayō nâtra [bhavēt]   'karēṇvām,'  'bṛhaspatau'nâ[tra] bhayau prayōjyau <sup>29</sup> .	12.	Mk. 48. Mk. 51. Mk. 53. Mk. 54.
1. 7.	syāt ktvā-lyapēr atra <i>iah</i> prayēgē; bindēr ' idānīm ' iti lug-vibhāṣā; puṁsi pra yējyaṁ khalu ' bhāgadhēyaṁ '; puṣarcchayēr nō lyap udâharanti³o.	13.	Mk. 57. Mk. 52. Mk. 56.
Fol. 35b, l. 1.	$ar{a}$ sau nu 'durvāsasi,' $dar{o}h$ param syāt nasēr, ad-antāt kvacid $ar{a}$   ca dṛṣṭaḥ. $ar{e}d$ ēva nēh syād, id-ud-antayōr $mmir$ , na $bar{o}$ jasi syād, $ud$ iha striyām na.	14.	Mk. 59, 60. Mk. 61. Mk. 62, 63. Mk. 64, 65.
1. 2.	ēd eva ţâdēr, ami mādaram vā, kim-yat-tad-ētat[su nahi striyām ī <sup>31</sup> klībē śasō niś ca, na cêdam-ādēr <sup>32</sup> ēsim, kim-ādēr na nasaḥ [kadâpi] <sup>33</sup>	15.	Mk. 66, 67. Mk. 68. Mk. 69, 70.
1. 3.	ssā-sē striyām nâtra, nasēr nahi ttō <sup>34</sup> , ki mah kudō syād, idamas tv idō ca, <sup>35</sup> āhē iâdyā na kim-ādikē [syur], [nâ]py atra sim câmi, idhas tv ihasya.	16.	Mk. 71. Mk. 72. Mk. 73.
1. 4.	idam iṇam syād id amaḥ sv-amōs tu klībē, na sāv ōtvam ihaitadaḥ syāt, bhavaty ayam sāv idamaḥ, striyām syād iam, na haḥ syād adasō, nasi nv at.	10.	Mk. 74, 75.  Mk. 78.  Mk. 77.

26 By I, iii, 15, when kūṣmāṇḍa is in the feminine, the ṣm must become h, so that kōhaṇḍī is the only feminine form. Here the form kumahandi is also allowed. See, further, the note to the translation. In the next line MS. has prapphu for bappha.

27 Here half a verse is missing from the MS. Part of it probably corresponded to MK. 47. This particular line refers to RT. I, iii, 15, according to which the change of sma, ksma and sma to mha is compulsory.

28 This is wholly conjectural. It corresponds to Mk. 48, and to RT. I, v, 1, which runs as follows for Mh.: $-y\bar{a}$   $lug\text{-}vibh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$  bahulam bhavanti,  $sandh\bar{a}v$   $ac\bar{a}m$   $r\bar{u}pam$   $ih\dot{a}vidh\bar{a}sy\bar{e}$ . The comm. to this then gives examples, corresponding to Mk. iv, 1. The MS. here has  $pr\bar{a}y\bar{e}na$  sandhicha $_{b}^{r}inapadahluka$ , which it is impossible to correct with certainty.

29 MS. brhaspatau nābhiyaprayōjyā. RT. I, v, 10 says that in Mh. bahōr bhayāv atra brhaspatau ca, so that we get bhayappai. Mk. iv, 62 gives bhaappai.

30 MS.  $pusattay \bar{b}rn \bar{b}rn(?l)\bar{b}n(?l)ap^{\circ}$ . The emendation is an unsatisfactory guess, not being borne out by other authorities.

31 MS. āmiha (আমিহ for আমু ঈ).

32 This is pure conjecture. MS. has nadvitriniddhyām, which makes no sense here, and also breaks the metre. I have amended to agree with I, vi, 19, and Mk. 70.

33 kadápi is not in MS. Some such word is required to complete the verse. This sentence runs on, and is completed in the next verse.

34 MS. siyām nātranasērnahintō-which I have emended to agree with I, vi, 20 and Mk. 35 MS. tta.

Fol. 35b, 1. 5.	prāyas tumam36 yuṣmada ādiśanti,		Mk. 81.
	tumhē jasi syāc, śasi côpadistah,		Mk. 82.
	tā-nyōs taē, tasya bhisi prayōjyam		Mk. 83.
1. 6.	tumhēhim ityâ di, nasau tumādō.	18.	Mk. 84, 85.
	hintō bhyasō <sup>37</sup> yuṣmada āha tumha,		Mk. 84.
	nasā [tu] tē dē tuha tumha tujjha.	19.38	Mk. 86
	amhāṇa amha dvayam āmi rūpam,		Mk. 95
1. 7.	a   amha <sup>39</sup> ity ēvam udīrayanti <sup>40</sup> .		
	rūpa[m] tu śēṣa[m] yad anuktam ētaj		
	jñēyam Mahārāṣṭraja-bhāṣayaîva.	21.	
Fol. 36a, 1. 1.	prāyah parasmaipadinō 'tra sa rvē		Mk. 97
	syur dhātavas, tēṣu tipō <sup>41</sup> dir ēva,		Mk. 101
	anti[s tu] jhēs, thasya matō dha-karō		Mk. 102
	masō <i>mha</i> , <i>hi-ssau</i> <sup>42</sup> [ca] bhaviṣyati dvau.	22.	Mk. 104
1. 2.	na $har{a}$ mipi, $ssar{a}$ punar işţa $ar{e} va$ ,		Mk. 106
	na gaccham ityādi bhavēd gam-ādēḥ,		Mk. 106
	dṛśēs tu pekkhaḥ kathitō luḍ-ādau <sup>43</sup>		Cf. Mk. 112
	bhāvē 'pi karmaṇy api <i>īa</i> ēva.	23.	Not in Mk
1. 3.	tipō du lōţîha, si[paḥ su nityam,		Mk. 101
	śēṣam purōvaj, jayatēś ca tau dvau.44		
	$ m sip ar{o}^{46}$ 'nadantād iha lōṭi $hi$ syāt		
	sundēraam dēhi Jaņaddaņassa <sup>46</sup> .	24.	
1. 4.	prāyē na na jjō <sup>47</sup> 'pi luḍ-ādikâdau <sup>48</sup> ,		Mk. 106
	madhye mātau dhātu-tipōr ihêd-āt		Mk. 106, 107
	$jja$ - $jjar{a}$ na, tum-tavya-bhavişyat $it$ sy $ar{a}$ t $^{49}$		Mk. 107
1. 5.	bhō, hō ca Śākalya-matē, bhu vaś ca.	25.	Mk. 108, 109
	syāl lut-lyapōs tasya $bhav\bar{o}^{50}$ , na $h\bar{u}$ ktē.		Mk. 110, 111
	kuṇaḥ kṛñō nō, kṛ-gamōr ka-gau tu		Mk. 144, 58
	syāt ktvā-lyapōs tat-parayōr <i>duas</i> <sup>51</sup> tu		Mk. 58
i. 6.	tavyan-tumōḥ <sup>52</sup>   kā tu kṛñah pradiṣṭah.	26.	Not in Ml

36 MS. tumīm.

37 MS. tyaso.

39 So MS. I cannot correct it. Perhaps we should read amhāham, but Mk. has nothing like it.

40 MS. ēvapudīrayanti.

41 MS. tipā.

42 Here Mk. differs. He allows only ssa, and prohibits hi.

43 MS. lad-ādau. The reference is to I, vii, 7, in which the first person future (lut), not the present (lat), of drś-is said to be daccham in Mahārāṣṭrī, while peccham < prêkṣiṣyē. Here the same distinction between peccha- and pekkha- in Śaurasēnī is made as in Mk. 112, but the forms are reversed.

44 So MS. If the reading is right, it seems to mean that in S. we have jaadu, jaasu, not jinadu, jinasu. Cf. Pischel, § 473.

45 MS. sipē.

46 MS. janandanassa.

47 MS.  $jj\bar{c}$ . I have emended to  $jj\bar{c}$ , to agree with I, vii, 10, where  $jj\bar{c}$  is given quite certainly.

48 MS. tu ládikádau.

49 This line is doubtful. MS. has  $jjajj\bar{a}natuntavabhavisyatītasy\bar{a}t$ . By MK.  $\bar{e}$  is not used in the infinitive or in the gerund adjective. Mk. makes no reference to the future taking i or i; jja and  $jj\bar{a}$ , on the other hand do make a future in Maharāṣṭrī.

50 MS. bhuvo.

51 MS. Jas.

52 MS. tasyatoh.

<sup>38</sup> In the MS. the second half of verse 19 and the whole of verse 20 are missing. The missing parts deal with the rest of yuşmad, and with nearly all asmad. This half-verse is erroneously numbered 20 in MS. Mk. does not give tuha or tujjha.

	vaci-bruvōr lâdiṣu bucca <sup>53</sup> ēva pracchēs tu pucchō, 'ccha iha smṛtō 's tu,	Mk. 113 64 Vr. xii, 19
Fol. 36a, l. 7.	dvau tişthatër atra ca ciṭṭha-thakkau, ud as tu thō, ghummam uśanti ghūrṇēḥ.	Mk. 136, only cittha. 27. Mk. 137, 119.
	genhō grahēh syāt, Kapilasya tavya- ktayōr gahih syād matam atra tasya. <sup>55</sup>	Mk. 128, 130.
Fol. 36b, l. 1.	bhāvē 'pi karmaņy api   gejja <sup>56</sup> -gheppau majjēs tu lâdāv iha buḍḍa-majjau.	Mk. 129. 28. Cf. Mk. 142.
1. 2.	baccō <sup>57</sup> vrajēr atra, mṛjēḥ <sup>58</sup> pusaḥ syāt, ghrā jimgha [u]ktaḥ, spṛśatēś chu baś ca chippa-cchibaś câsya nirūpitau dvau <sup>59</sup> bhāvē 'pi karmaṇy api Śūdrakasya.	Mk. 115. jiggha; 123. Mk. 124.
	bhave prinarimany apris daramasy ar	20.
	bhātēs tu bhāaḥ60 kathitō, milāaḥ	Mk. 116, 133.
1. 3.	syān mlāyatē[h], khunda iha kṣudēh <sup>61</sup> syāt	Mk. 118.
	dhaḥ syāt kathēs thasya, hu-lū-śru-jīnām antē ṇa-kārâgama-mānam <sup>62</sup> asti.	Mk. 114, 134. 30.
1. 4.	hanaḥ khanaś câtra   ramō vahaś ca na dvitvam antyasya, tathā duhâdēḥ.	Mk. 145, 147, 146.
	svapēh suah, syāt tu subō lud-ādau, <sup>63</sup> .	Mk. 146. Mk. 138, 139.
	stautēs thuņa sarva-la-kāra uktah	31.
1. 5.	sakkaḥ śakēḥ syād, iha sakkuṇō64 ca.	Mk. 131.
	bhāvē 'pi karmaṇy api nâsya tīruḥ	Mk. 132.
1. 6.	rucē rudēr icchati rō ca-rōdau,	Cf. Mk. 141.
	śīna <i>suā</i> , <i>bhāa</i> <sup>65</sup> bhiyō niruktaḥ.	32. Mk. 141, 121.
	srjēr ghasō, dē iha dāna uktō,	Mk. 122, 126 comm.
	daïs tu tasyaîva bhavişyati syāt,	Mk. 125.
1. 7.	tum-tavyayōr $d\bar{a}$ ,   yaki $d\bar{i}$ ca, $dah$ ktvē <sup>66</sup> , nici smṛtā $d\bar{a}ba$ - $dab\bar{a}ba$ -ādyāḥ <sup>67</sup> .	Mk. 126. 33. Not in Mk.

<sup>53</sup> MS. bacca. For the cittha lower down, MS. has citta.

54 By Hc. iii, 161, vucca- is passive.

<sup>55</sup> MS. corrupt here. It reads atha putra kṣasya.

<sup>56</sup> Sic in MS. Mk. has gejjha-, which is probably right.

<sup>57</sup> Mk. in vii, 79, states that baccaï is Mahārāṣṭrī. So also RT. I, viii, 15 for Mh. It is not clear why it is mentioned here.

<sup>58</sup> MS. pujah, but mrjēh is certainly meant. In I, viii, 23, RT. gives for Mahārāstrī pusač and luhaï for mārṣti, and so Mk. vii, 56. Apparently RT. means that in Śaurasēnī only pusadi is used. Mk. ix, 117 has phumsadi.

<sup>59</sup> Mk. 123, chigga- and chuba- in active, 124, [?] chaba- in passive. Mk. equates these with chup-, not with sprs.

<sup>60</sup> MS. bhāsuh.

<sup>61</sup> MS. ksudah.

<sup>62</sup> MS. nakālāgama.

<sup>63</sup> MS. lunādau.

<sup>64</sup> MS. sakkanō.

<sup>66</sup> MS. ktē.

<sup>65</sup> MS. aā bhānda.

<sup>67</sup> This line is conjecturally emended. MS. has nicismrtāpābadaēba ādyāh. In this MS. pa and da are very frequently confounded, so that the correction of  $p\bar{a}ba$  to  $d\bar{a}ba$  is easy. According to our author (I, viii, 24) in Mahārāṣṭrī dābēi < daršayati, but there is no reason why it should not also represent dāpayati. The correction of daēba (পূৰ্ব) to dabāba (প্ৰাৰ্) is more doubtful. I know of no authority for such a form as datba. For dabāba, see Jacobi, Erz. p. lii.

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Fol. 37a, l. 1.	lōpaś curâdau ca ṇicō na <sup>68</sup> hētō[ḥ] kvacit tu tasyâpi lug ūhanīyaḥ, Rāhī halā cōradi Kaṇha <sup>69</sup> -bamsim Kaṇhō harābēdi puḍam <sup>70</sup> udāsē.	34.	
1. 2.	athō nipātā, maha-kēra-ādyā ' madīya '-ityādy-abhidhāyinaḥ syuḥ <sup>71</sup> , 'Śatru ghna ' ity atra tu Sattuhaḥ syāt, ' Bhīṣmē ' tu Bhiccus <sup>72</sup> , ' tvaritē ' tatitti <sup>73</sup> .	Mk. 35.	148, Sattugghō. Mk. 148, 150.
1. 3.	syād 'Draupadī <sup>74</sup> -bhrātari 'Dhiṭṭajuṇṇaḥ <sup>75</sup> syur jetti-ādyā iha 'yāvad '-ādau,   ihâjjukâdyā 'gaṇikādikāsu,' itthī striyām, jjebba yathânvayēna <sup>76</sup>	Ci 36.	Mk. 148. E. Pischel § 105. Mk. 148, 153.
1. 4.	bindōḥ paraḥ kvâpi ja-kāra <sup>77</sup> ēva yathā <i>piaṁ jebba<sup>78</sup> piō   bhaṇādi</i> mataḥ sahârthē <i>sahasatti</i> , kaiścin <sup>79</sup> nirucyatē 'smin <i>sahasotti</i> <sup>80</sup> śabdaḥ.	37.	Mk. 154. Cf. Pischel § 96.
1. 5.	ivē <i>bia-bbau</i> , matam <i>accharīam</i> <sup>81</sup> āścarya kē, nāmni nahi <sup>82</sup> kvib-antāḥ, <i>haddhī</i> viṣādē iti na prayōgaḥ, saukhyē <i>halî</i> tyādipadaṁ <sup>83</sup> kadâpi.		k. 156, 157, 148. Mk. 149.
1. 6.	Iti Prākṛta-śāsanē Ka lpa-tarau dvitīya-śākhāyām aṣṭātriṁśat <sup>84</sup> -kusumaiḥ praṭhama-stabakaḥ.	1	
	II, ii. Prācyā.		
Fol. 37a, l. 6. l. 7.	PRĀCYĀM vivicyātha bhaṇāmi bhāṣām sā Śaurasēnī- prakṛtir pradiṣṭā bindus tu sau 'tō bhavataḥ, striyās tu tasyaīva sau jāyata ōd avasyam.	1.	Mk. x, 1. Mk. 4.
Fol. 37b, 1. 1.	mūrkhē <i>murakkho</i> <sup>85</sup> , khalu <sup>86</sup> <i>okkhamāņō</i>   bhaviṣyati syāt, kvacid <i>ōhumāṇaḥ</i> <sup>87</sup> . nihīna-saṁbōdhana <i>ād</i> ataḥ syāt. <i>dhāṁdāṁ</i> <sup>88</sup> pravīṇā duhitary uśanti.	2.	Mk. 3, 2. Not in Mk. Mk. 8.
69 MS. kannu of 70 MS. harābēti, is possible. 71 MS. ityādibhi 73 Mk. drāk>da should probably b 74 MS. rōatī. 76 MS. jjebbaya, 77 MS. cavarya, 79 MS. kēcin. 91 MS. accarian 82 The printed 83 MS. pada. 85 MS. purkhē 1	itti, i.e., বহুছি against RT, জ্বিছি. As in the case of readopted.  75 MS. omits visus jānvayēna, which I have emended as above to agree with conjecturally emended as above.  78 MS. jjēba.  80 Pischel gives so se dedition of Mk. omits the negative, but it is in all my MSS.  94 MS. aṣṭē °.	Bhipphö, tl rga. Mk. nhasetti.	he readings of Mk

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Fol. 37b, 1. 2.	parō 'pi lōkāt (?) suhamû hanīyaḥ <sup>89</sup> lōkôktayō 'syāṁ bahulaṁ prayōjyāḥ <sup>90</sup> . vākyaṁ ca pūrvôttarayōr viruddhaṁ, [tay]ōs <sup>91</sup> tathā vakratayā niruktiḥ <sup>92</sup> .			
Metre, Śārdūla		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		Id
1. 3.	hīhībhō paritōṣaṇē   nigaditaṁ, hīmāṇahē visma nirvēdē abida dvirukti-sahitaṁ, vakrē tathā bōdhyaṁ côpakṛtē <sup>93</sup> budhair abahadaṁ, klī bêda bhāṣâiṣā tu vidūṣaka-prabhṛti[bhi]r vācyâtr	ā bankubhah,	MIK.	9, 11. 12, 6. 4.
	II, ii, Āvantī and Bāhlīkī.			
Fol. 37b, l. 4. l. 5.	Metre, Upajāti, as before.  ĀVANTI-bhāṣā pratipadyatē 'sau BĀHLĪKI-bhāṣā ca vi bhinna-pātrā. siddhiḥ samudgacchati <sup>95</sup> Śaurasēnī- Prācyā-dvayī-samkaratō yadīyā.	5,	Mk. x Mk. Mk.	ki, 1. 13. 1 <sup>9</sup> 6.
1. 6.	prāyas ta-kārē svara-śēṣatâdi dasyâpi lōpō <sup>97</sup> 'tra   vikalpitah syāt. ēvârthakō ' <i>ccēa</i> <sup>98</sup> iha <i>cciaś</i> ca	0.	Mk.	12.
1. 7.	tathā sadṛkṣē kathitah saricchah.  syāt ktvas tu tūṇō, 'tha bhaviṣyati dvau jja-jjā ni ruktau, ta-tipōr ihâpi madhyē 'pi ; hō ēva bhuvō ; dṛśas tu	6.	Mk.	2. 3, 4. 4, 5.
Fol. 38a, l. 1.	pekkhō, ni[ci] syād <sup>99</sup> darisas tu tasya.  subbam śruvō, jēr iha ji[ppam āhur.	7.	Mk. 5,	6, 7. 7, 8.
	bhannam bhanēr, gammam athō gamēś ca, kijjam kṛñō, jñas tu munijjam, ittham yakā sahâdēśam uśanti dhīrāh.		Mk. Mk.	9. 9. 9.
1. 2.	tipā samam   vānehati soccham ādīn bhavisyati śru-prabhṛtiṣv ihâpi ; ēṣām kilôdāharaṇa <sup>100</sup> -prapanēo	8.	Mk. Mk.	9. 10.
89 So MS., but it	bodnyo Mahārāṣṭra-girām vicārē.	9.	Mk.	10.

<sup>89</sup> So MS., but it is partly illegible, and I can make nothing of it. 90 In the printed edition of Mk., read bahulam for vahanam.

92 MS. niruktēh.

<sup>91</sup> MS. viruddhöstathā.

<sup>93</sup> We should probably read capahrtē.

This last line is very corrupt. The MS. seems to read vidūsakaprabhrtirvvācy(?)atra naṭṭāgamē. Nātydgamē for nattāgamē is certain. Compare verse 10 below. Vācydtra is very doubtful. The writing here is indistinct, and this is the nearest I can suggest to what I read; but the reason for the appearance of atra

<sup>95</sup> MS. samudyalati,

<sup>96</sup> According to Mk. it is derived from a mixture of Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasēnī. 97 This is a conjectural emendation. MS. has  $dr\bar{e}v\bar{e}ksal\bar{v}p\bar{v}$ . There is nothing corresponding in Mk. In Sauraseni, intervocalie t becomes d, and intervocalie d is not elided. Here this is optional.

<sup>98</sup> We should almost certainly read  $\bar{e}varthakas$  ccēa. Mk. says ccia and ccēa = iva, not  $\bar{e}va$ .

<sup>100</sup> MS. kaulôdāharaņa. Cf. the corresponding verse for Mahārāṣṭrī (I, vii, 7): kṛñ-dā-śru-vac-rud-gami-dṛś-mucām ca prêkşah kilaîkatva-bahutvayōh syuh, kāham ca dāham khalu soccham āhur boccham ca roccham ca bigaccham ādi,

SEPTEMBER, 1927]	SAURASENI	AND MAGADHI	STABAKAS OF	RAMA-SARMAN	(II, ii, 10)	
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Fol. 38a, l. 3.	ēṣā tu bhāṣā nagarâdhipasya tathaiva dauḥsādhika <sup>101</sup> -dhūrtayōś ca	Mk. xi,	Introduction.
	samyōjitā madhyama-pātrakāṇām¹02		
	nātyāgamē dāṇḍika-pāṇikānām.	10.	
	II, ii. Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Dāksiņātya		
Fol. 38a, l. 4.	athêha MĀGADHY anuśisyatē, yā		
	kravyâda-hhikṣu-kṣapaṇâdikānām.		
	asyā Mahārāstraka-Sūrasēna-		Mk. xii, 1
l. 5.	bhāṣē pravīṇaiḥ prakṛtī niruk tē.	11.	
	ēṣÂRDHAMĀGADHY api, kintu tatra		Mk. 38
	rahasyam ētat kavayō vadanti,		
	hagē 'ham-arthē yadi Māgadhī syāt		
1. 6.	yathÂrdhamāgadhy a ham ēva rūpam.	12.	
	tālavya ēvâtra sa-sōr bhavēt śō <sup>103</sup> ;		Mk. 2
	mūrdhanya-ṣaḥ kvâpi mataḥ prakṛtyā[ḥ],		
	ēṣē hagē a[y]jja bihūṣide <sup>104</sup> kkhu.		
1. 7.	bhavēd i-kāras 105 tv 'adhanē' trirūpē,	13.	
	hagē ņa ēṣē ahaņi kkhu yāmi.		
	sarvatra rō laḥ, kaluṇē, 106 bicālē.		Mk. 3
Fol. 38b, l. 1.	vargasya jasyâtra bhavē d ya-kārō,		
	yaśē, yathā, yānadi yāba yaśśa. 107	14.	
	kkhasyôditah 108 śkah, nalam eśca 109 peśka		Mk. 4
	luśkēņa laśkē bi nibūdid'110 ēsē.		
1. 2.	na kkhōr, maha ntē puliśe kkhu bhīmē		Mk. 5
	bhavēt kṣa-kārē yuta-vaiparîtyam, <sup>111</sup>	15.	Cf. Mk. 4
	bilaśkaņē śē <sup>112</sup> bayaņammi yaśkē.		
	tta-tthasya tu <i>śta-śtham</i> anukramēṇa,		Mk. 7
	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		

101 MS. dohsādhika.

1. 3.

102 MS. pratikāmām.

103 MS. śaṣōrbhabētsō. An evident slip of the copiest.

104 MS. bihuside. Regarding a[y]jja see note to translation of verses 18-19.

ka [d]ham nu bhasṭālaa nisṭhulē 'śi.113

tatthasya taścah114 kathitah pravinaih,

105 MS. bhavēdidāstv (?). The emendment is conjectural, and depends on the ahani in the first line of the next verse being equivalent to adhanah or adhanā (a Mh. change. See verse 1). The first line of the next verse is certainly an example of the rule here laid down, but the whole is apparently out of place. There is nothing like it in Mk. in this connexion.

106 MS. kālām, which breaks the metre.

107 MS. yaśō.....yapsa. We should probably read 'yathā yaśē.' In Saurasēnī all these words would begin with j.

108 MS. skhasyô°.

109 MS. lalambatra, which I hesitatingly emend.

16.

Mk. 7.

110 MS. nipātit, i.e., the Sanskrit form written by mistake.

111 Nothing like this in Mk., but in old Maithili MSS., ksa is regularly represented by skha. According to Vr. xi, 7,  $k \approx a > ska$ .

112 MS. sya.

113 MS. kahannabhastanianisthulosi, which I have conjecturally emended as above.

114 MS, takhasya tascah, Mk. 7 makes tth > sth.

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Fol. 38b, l. 4.	āṇaśca moścē <sup>115</sup> pa[d]ha-ṇāśa-ka[y]jjē <sup>116</sup> ; hāl'-uścidē yemmadha: śe k[khu ēśē <sup>117</sup> . kvacit tu na syāt, śamalēśu Aśśa- tthāmēṇa maṇṇum daliam Kuluṇṇam <sup>118</sup> .	17.		
1 5	ścah <sup>119</sup> prāyaśaś cehasya tu, gaścadi kkhu; na paści mē dhamma-palaśśa hoyjja <sup>120</sup> .		Mk. 7.	
1, 5.	ca-vargakāṇām upari prayōjyō yuktēṣu <sup>121</sup> cântaḥstha- <i>ya</i> kāra ēva.	18.	Mk. 21.	
1. 6.	mam yca na śampuycchadi la[y]jjamānē <sup>122</sup>   niunja-ma[y]jjhe ycadulē Mulālī <sup>123</sup> . niṣidhya <sup>124</sup> bāhulyam iha prayōjyam mā mā Pulālim na paliśśaïśśam <sup>126</sup> .	19.		
1. 7.	ktvā-pratyayē dāṇi, pa śīda ēśē <sup>126</sup> Gōbinda <sup>127</sup> Lāhim haśidāṇi <sup>128</sup> Kaṇhē.		Mk. 23.	
	kvacid bhavēd iš ca iaš ca tasya, pali[y]cchidē šē hali gōbiāhim,	20.	Mk. 23, 24.	
Fol. 39a, l. 1.	paliycchidā ōhalia kkhu tēṇa <sup>129</sup> antalē kuñjammi kudūhalēṇa <sup>130</sup> .			
1. 2.	dīrghaḥ kani <sup>131</sup> syāt kvacid atra, enhi Yanaddanākē puline k khu yāmi <sup>132</sup> .	21.	Mk. 22.	
	avâpayōr <sup>133</sup> uc ca uśanti [dhīrāh],  khanē <sup>134</sup> bi gōbī uśalādi <sup>135</sup> pāśā.		Mk. 25.	

115 MS. mośca, which breaks the metre.

116 MS. kajjē. But, by verse 18, we should expect k yjjē (cf. Pischel, § 284). I have corrected MS. paha to padha. See the next note.

117 MS. hāluściēyemmahaṣck khaēṣē. In these two lines, the scribe has twice written h for dh, and has omitted the intervocalic d of the Māgadhī uścidē, as if he were writing Mahārāṣṭrī. A friend suggests taking āṇaśca moscē as representing ājāapta-muktaḥ, and emending yemmahaṣe to Bammahae. This would of course radically alter the meaning of the verse, making it, indeed, more in accordance with the style of other examples given by our author. I prefer the more pedestrian reading given above, simply because it requires less emendation.

118 MS. aśśatthāmēlamēņum daliam kulūlņam. I owe the emendation to Professor S. K. Chatterji. He suggests that the verse may be a reminiscence of the Prelude to Act III of the Vēņi-samhāra, where we have Rākṣasas on the field of Kurukṣētra gorging themselves with the flesh of the slain. While they are so doing, Asvatthaman enters sword in hand.

119 Mk. says scha. According to Pischel, § 301, Skr. sc, remains sc, and Skr. sch remains sch in Māgadhī. Here, in both gaścadi and paścimē, the change is looked upon as from a Śaurasēnī cch.

120 MS. hōya, which I have hesitatingly emended as above; but the meaning of the whole is doubtful.

121 Mk. makes no reference to conjuncts. MS. has cantyastha.

122 MS. ma yea na sampuyechadi lajjamālē. See the note to the translation.

123 MS. caduśē sthalālī.

124 MS. nisisya.

125 MS. palisyaïssain.

126 MS. pasicchi, which I have conjecturally emended as above.

127 MS. gobandam, which will not scan.

128 MS. isidāņi.

129 MS. paliyechidi (although paliechide in the preceding line) ohanea kkhu tuna or ona.

130 MS. antara.....kutū°. 131 MS. kunih.

132 MS. yanaddaśākē pulilē (यनम्मारक পुनित्न for यनम्मारक श्नित्न).

133 MS. avojayor. Hiatuses, such as that between ca and usanti are common in this work.

134 MS. khanadi or khanapi.

135 MS. উপলালি upalāli, which I have emended to উশলাদি usalādi (apasarati). The word apasarati is given as an example in Mk. 25, and, in various forms, is given by Vr. (iv, 21), Mk. (iv, 31), RT. (IV, 8), in the corresponding rule for Mahārāṣṭrī. The long ā in uśalādi is permitted by verse 30, helow.

	nipātyatē 'thō puliśē pum-arthē,	Not in Mk.
Fol. 39a, l. 3.	tathā hidakkō   hṛdayē pravīṇaiḥ <sup>136</sup> .	22. Mk. 14.
	mitrē baamsō, lidanam137 tu ratnē,	Mk. 11, 20.
	phiyjauyajñ <sup>138</sup> apy atra piśācakē syāt,	Mk. 18.
1. 4.	lidhā ca bhuśkā <sup>139</sup> gaṇanā-bubhukṣêty, asmi n padē syāt tu vaṭau badubbah.	Mk. 17, 8. 23. Mk. 16.
2. 2.		
	udīritau gauravitē [ca] kōṣṇē manīṣibhir <i>gōmika-kōśiṇau</i> <sup>140</sup> dvau.	Mk. 10, 13.
1. 5.	syāt kukṣimatyām $^{141}$ iha $ku ycchim\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}^{142}$ ,	Mk. 20.
	tathā matā mātari $ma[y]jjiy\bar{a}^{143}$ ca.	24. Mk. 15.
	ārdrâdram ollollam udāharanti	Not in Mk.
	kavi-prayōgair aparam tu bōdhyam <sup>144</sup> .	
1. 6.	atas tv $id$ - $\bar{e}t\bar{a} v$ iha pumsi sau dvau,	Mk. 26.
	ņa ēśi diśṭhi, ycchibiē ņa ēśē.	25.
	allôlla-bantâlu-halō <sup>145</sup> lug atra, kuḍaṅgaē āluha <sup>148</sup> dīśaē śē.	
1. 7.	hō vā nasah syāt   prakṛtēś ca dīrghah	Mk. 29.
	puppham <sup>147</sup> maē ņiyjjadi <sup>148</sup> Māhabāha.	26.
	$ar{e}d ext{-}ar{o}d$ ihâmantraṇa īritau [vā].	Mk. 27.
	hē bhaśṭakē, bhaśṭaka¹⁴³, bhaśṭakō vā.	
Fol. 39b, l. 1.	ākṣē $ $ pa $\bar{a}d$ vā, $puliśar{a}$ $alar{e}$ $lar{e}^{150}$	Mk. 28.
	dṛṣṭaṁ, mata[ṁ] vismaya-tāpayor hī.	27. Not in Mk.
	sambōdhanē kṛta <sup>151</sup> dē ca lē-lē.	Not in Mk.
	āham ca <sup>152</sup> haklē ca hagē 'ham-arthē;	Mk. 30.
1. 2.	tupphē <sup>163</sup> ca tumhē jasi yuṣmadaḥ syāt	Mk. 31. 28. Mk. 32 <sup>164</sup> .
	dvau sthā-vṛṣōr atra [ca] [y]cinṭa-bassau.	
	bhuvō hubaś câtra lṛṭi prayōjyaḥ;	Mk. 33 <sup>166</sup> . Mk. 34.
1. 3.	kṛtē, mṛtē, câtra gatē ca rū pam	DIK. 34.

136 MS. hidakkō (not -kkō) adayē pravīnāh. Mk. gives hadakka-. Note that hidakka- is masculine.

139 MS.  $bhukkh\bar{a}$ , which I have emended to  $bhusk\bar{a}$ , to agree with verse 15 and with Mk. 8. Instead of  $lidh\bar{a}$ , Mk. 17 gives  $gann\bar{a}$ .

140 Mk. 13, kōśanau.

141 MS.-tyāv.

142 Mk. 20, kucchimaddikā.

143 Mk. 15 has macchikā.

144 MS. aparam sthabodha . Query, should we read 'aparam tu ollam'?

145 This is a conjectural emendation of the challollabothāluhala of the MS. See the note to the translation.

146 MS. āluba. I may have divided the words wrongly here.

147 MS. pupphah.

148 MS. niyjūdi. See also the translation.

149 MS. kimstaka. 150 MS. alentya.

151 So MS. It breaks the metre, and I cannot emend it. MS. has lē-ņē for lē-lē.

152 MS. āhañca, which does not look right.

153 So MS. Mk. 31 has tumham tumhē. We should here perhaps read tujjhē or tubbhē for tupphē. Tupphē is Paiśācī, see Pischel, § 422.

154 Mk. does not mention  $\sqrt{vrs}$ . bassau, not bassau is clear in MS. Apparently the conjunct ye does not make a preceding vowel long by position.

155 Mk. bhabia-, bhubia-, instead of huba-. MS. has liti (periphrastic perfect), an evident scribal error.

<sup>137</sup> MS. lidaņā. Mk. gives ladana-, with a dental n.
138 So MS. I can make nothing of it. Mk. gives pibbava-. It looks as if here two lines have become mixed up, and that we should assume that phiyjauyajā should come elsewhere, while some word equivalent to pibbaba-should here take its place, as, e.g., in vā pibbabō 'py atra piśācakē syāt, or piśācakē 'py atra ca pibbabaḥ syāt.

Fol. 39b, l. 3.	kadam, madam, câtra gadam vadanti;	
01. 330, 1. 0.	kaam, muam, câtra gaam tathânyē.	29. Mk. 35156.
	krntēs 157 tu kanvē : na ca hrasvatā syād	Not in Mk.
	id ita atas ca ad eva kvapillo.	Not in Mk.
1. 4.	l gyad vyatyayah kyâpi supo vibnakte[r]	Mk. 36159
1. 2.	dīrghas tinah, kutra-cid ēvam anyat.	30. Mk. 37.
	kasyâpi paiśācika-dhīr <sup>160</sup> ihâiva	Not in Mk.
	na vētti võ laksana-bhēdam atra;	
1. 5.	l paiśācikānām <sup>161</sup> punar agra ēva	
1. 0.	nirūpaņīyam sa-višēṣam atra.	31.
	Dākṣiṇātya.	
Metre, S	Svågatā. (, )	
	Dākṣiṇ[āty]a-pada-sammilitam <sup>162</sup> yat	Mk. 38, Comm.
	samskṛtādibhi[r api] <sup>163</sup> cchuritam ca	
1. 6.	svādu-sā ram amṛtād api kāvyam	
1. 0.	DAKSINATYAM iti tat kathayanti.	32.
	Iti Prākṛta-śāsanē Kalpa-tarau dvātrimsat kus	sumai[r]
1. 7.	dvitīya-śākhāyām   Māgadhy-Ardhamāgadhī-Dākṣi	iņ[āty]a-bhāṣā-
1. 1.	nirnayo nama dvitīya-stabakah.	
	II, iji. Vibhāṣāḥ. Śākārikī.	
	Metre, Upajāti as before.	
Fol. 39b, l. 7.	atō vibhāṣā navadhā niruktā[ḥ]	
Fol. 40b, l. 1 <sup>164</sup> .	SĀKĀRIKĪ prāg anuśiṣya tē¹६⁴ 'tra	Mk. xiii.
101. 400, 1. 1	madâdi-yuktō niravāci rājñah	Mk. 1. comm.
	śyālaḥ śakāraś capalō 'timūrkha.	I.
	Śākārikī tasya vacō vibhāṣā	
1. 2.	lingâgama-nyāya <sup>165</sup> -kalâdi -hīnā	Cf. Mk. 7.
	asyās tu siddhih khalu Māgadhītah	Mk. 1.
	ścō vâtra 'dusprēkṣa-sadṛkṣayōḥ 'syāt.	2. Mk. 2.
	duppeśca [y]cāṇḍāla166-śaliśca167 [y]ciṇṭa;	
1. 3.	ntasyôditō168 nthah, śur api   kvacit syāt,	Not in Mk.
	śiālaa [y]ciņṭha ghalammi [y]cēḍā	
	alē tumam bā [y]ciśu yāmi hakkē.	3.
	tthah syāt prakṛtyâva <sup>169</sup> , na Māgadhī-vat,	Mk. 4.
	Sulcinthami atthamandal blobs 1.11.	
	[y]cinthāmi atthânagade   kkhu hakkē	
	kvacit kvacit nthō 'pi ca, yantha, tantha	Not in Mk.

156 Mk. 35, kadam, madam, gadam.

157 MS. kuntēs.

158 MS. ca atēkāpi, conjecturally emended as above.

159 Mk. 36 also says that case terminations may be elided.

160 MS. paiśacika-.

161 MS. paicāšikānām.

162 MS. sammalitam.

163 Here two syllables are missing from the MS. I have conjecturally inserted api.

164 Here the leaves of the MS. are disarranged.

165 MS. nyāsa.

166 So MS. Possibly we should read candala.

167 MS. sariśca.

168 MS. -ôdita.

169 MS. prakrtyēva.

170 The word must in this line must be wrong, but I cannot emend it. It should begin with a compound consonant, for, as it stands, the metre is broken. (?) Should we read kkhu'si? A friend has suggested muni (< munayah), but the metre would then still be wrong,

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Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the Indian Antiquary.

## THOMAS CANA AND HIS COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

By the Revo. H. HOSTEN, S.J., and T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T. (Continued from pages 121—128 and 147—155.)

## Additional Remarks.

Page 121, note 1.—The bulk of the first Malabar converts to Christianity consisted, according to tradition, of Namburi Brahmans or Nairs.

The Nairs are Dravidians, like the vast majority of the population of South India. They differ from the dark Dravidians of the East Coast, because of free admixture with the Aryan Namburi Brahman immigrants to Malabar. The wives of all the male members of a Namburi's family, except the father and the eldest son, are Nair women, not Namburi women, because, according to custom (now slowly changing), only the eldest son of a Namburi family can take a Namburi woman to wife. The children of the Nair wives of Namburis belong to the Nair caste, not to the father's caste. Such free hybridization did not take place on the East Coast. Hence, the Malabar Dravidians are fairer and taller than the other Dravidians of South India.

The Dravidians, according to most authorities, came to India from the East Coast of Africa or from somewhere between that coast and India, through the N.-W. passes of India. They were Africans rather than Parthians.—T.K.J. [Some, like Schoff in his *Periplus*, hold rather that the movement was in the contrary direction, from parts of Asia near India to Arabia and Africa.—H.H.]

Tarideicalnaiquemar = Taritâykkal Nâykkanmâr, i.e., Christians of the Nâykkar caste. Cf. the word Nayaks or Nayiks of Madura.

Covilmar = Kôvilmâr, people of the ruling caste, almost like Kshatriyas.

Bramenes = Brâhmans. Belalas = Vellâlas, those of the agricultural class, something like the Śûdras. Taritâykkal (Malayalam and Tamil) is from the Syriac Trîsâ (=right, orthodox), from which Tarisa and Tarsa are also derived. 'Tarisa Church' of the Quilon copper-plates means 'Orthodox Christian Church' (orthodox, according to the personal estimate of the Christians of the Quilon Church in question). The Persian Christians who built the church were perhaps Nestorians.—T.K.J.

Page 122, note 5.—Jack-wood (Arlocarpus integrifolia) and ebony (Diospyros melanoxylon) are used for crosses in Malabar. The former is yellow, and the latter jet black, and both take a high polish.—T.K.J.

Page 125, note 15.—Mahâdêvar Paṭṭaṇam was the same as, or part of, the Christian quarters at Cranganere. It means the city of Mahâdêva, i.e., of Śiva, the Hindu god. Literally, Mahâ-dêva means the great god. That is why the British Museum MS. of 1604 has 'the city of the great idol' (god) in the translation of the Thomas Cana Copper-plates.

The oldest form of the name is Makôtai. Makôtaiyar = he of Makôtai, the king of Makôtai. His paṭṭaṇam (=town) is Makôtaiyar Paṭṭaṇam, which later became Mahâdêvar Paṭṭaṇam, with a different meaning. In Sanskrit it has become Mahôdaya Puram = the city of great prosperity, puram being but a synonym of paṭṭaṇam.

The derivation of the oldest form Makôtai is uncertain. Could it be from Mahôsa, or Mahûsa, the well-known name of a town in Mesopotamia, from which immigrants perhaps came and colonised Cranganore?

The modern Malayalam form of Makôtai is Makôta.—T.K.J.

Can it be proved that the name Mahâdêvarpaṭṭaṇam did not at one time mean 'the city of the Great God,' i.e., the God of the Christians?

[The Rev. Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O.C.D., a Syrian, identifies Sandaruk, to which somehow he adds Mahosa, with Cranganore. He states further that Mahosa is Syriae for 'town'. Of. his A brief Sketch of the History of the Syrian Christians, Trichinopoly, 1924, p. 4. If that were so, Cranganore and Mylapore might have been called Mahosa, and perhaps the Maishan of The Hymn of the Soul, which St. Thomas sang in the land of the Indians, is Mylapore.—H.H.] Mahosa does not mean 'town'; it is the name of a town.—T.K.J.

[The Mahuza mentioned by Jacob of Sarug (A.D. 500-521) in connection with the meeting of Habban and St. Thomas, must have been in Mesopotamia: for Thomas objected to going to India. Assemani (Bibt. Orient., t. 3., para. 2, p. 761) distinguishes two Mahuza in Mesopotamia: one a suburb of Bagdad, called Carcha, Corch or Carch, the other, called Arjuna, in Assyria or Adiabene. A. Mingana, The Early Spread of Christianity in India (reprinted from The Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library, vol. 10, No. 2, July 1926, p. 60), has a Karka de Maishan, ancient capital of Mesene (Maishan) towards Basrah. The Malabar accounts which bring St. Thomas to India from Basrah would seem to have identified Jacob of Sarug's Mahuza with Perath-Maishan, near Basrah, which had a bishopric in A.D. 225. Cf. Mingana, op. cit., p. 61. The Margam Kali Song, for which Mr. T. K. Joseph consulted two Kottayam editions, one of 1910, and an earlier one having a colophon with the date 1732, brings Thomas and Habban from 'Māhôsâ,' the earlier edition spelling it Mahôdâ. Ittup's Malayalam History of the Malabar Syrian Christian Church, Cochin, 1869 (2nd ed., Kottayam, 1906, consulted by Mr. T. K. Joseph) has Mahôsên in Yûsse (sic., p. 78n.). The Thoma Parvam of 1601 makes St. Thomas and Habban embark in Arabia. In an itinerary of St. Thomas, do Couto gets the name Marhozaya, and states that Bishop Francisco Roz, S.J., was of opinion it was Malacca. Cf.

Da Asia, Dec. 12, l. 3, c. 4; t. 8, Lisboa, 1788, p. 273. Marhozaya is probably again Mahuza of Mesopotamia. Do Couto objected that no ships went direct from Mozambique to Malacca and that St. Thomas came to India from Marhozaya.—H.H.]

from Marhozaya.—H.H.J

Page 125, note 16.—I know of no records in which a Cranganore era is used. There are many in which the Vypin era, counted from the almost sudden formation of the island of Vypin during the extraordinary flood of A.D. 1341, occurs. It is known as the putu-vaippu (= new deposit) era in Malayalam. Vypin (Malayalam Vaippe) is an island 13 miles long and one mile broad, on the north side of Cochin.—T.K.J.

Vypin (Malayalam Vaippe) is an island 15 limbor of the says faithfully this." This statement has led me to Page 125.—"The copy of the olla . . . . says faithfully this." This statement has led me to think that Bishop Roz writing in 1604 had before him the Jew's (p. 149 infra) transcript of the original inscription, or at least a copy of that transcript, from which the prelate made his faithful Portuguese translation. Bishop Roz knew Malayalam fairly well.

Is this transcript or its copies still extant? It may be among the old Portuguese MSS, from Malabar, and a search has to be made for it in the British Museum or in one of the archives on the continent.—T.K.J.

Page 127, note 27.—The names as reconstructed by me (on 22nd August 1925) from the rotograph are:—(1) Kôṭaśśċri Kaṇṭan, (2) Cherukaṭapṛattu Châttan Komaran, (3) Achchutan Kaṇṭan, (4) Amênâṭṭu Kaṇṭan Kêrulan, (5) Cherumalaprattu Tṛivikṛaman Komaran, (6) Peṛuvalanâṭṭe Ātittan Chinnan, (7) Peruvalanâṭtu Châttan Kôran, (8) Vikṛaman Chinnan of Kaṭutturutti, (9) Airâṇi Perunkôyil.—T.K.J.

Page 127, note 28.—[Esta es]critura scditat[a] e [tam]bē afortunada. This must be a translation of the usual phrase 'kaiyeluttu. Śrî,' occurring at the end of old inscriptions. It means literally 'handwriting. Prosperity.' 'Śrî' (= Lakshmî) is the goddess of prosperity or luck, and the word is usually written at the beginning of any kind of writing (letters, documents, etc.) as an auspicious symbol, and sometimes at the end, as the signature of a person. In the present instance it is the signature of the royal donor.

By sedilata does the translator indicate that a sign or seal is put in the plate just before Śrî ?—T.K.J.

[The date when the Thomas Cana copper-plates were executed is not given. The seven kinds of musical instruments, the five kinds of tribute, and the limits of the property assigned to Thomas Cana are not enumerated. Shall we say that there were other copper-plates specifying these points, or that the translator omitted the specifications? What shall we think of the following tradition which I have never found referred to by the Portuguese? "One Kerala Ulpatti (i.e., legendary history of Malabar) of the Nasranis, says that their forefathers. . . . built Codangalur, as may be learned from the granite inscription at the northern entrance of the Tiruvanjiculam temple." Cf. Dr. Gundert, in Madras Journal, XIII, 122, quoted in Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Shinkali. In January 1924, I spoke of this text to the Dewan of Cochin, who believed that the inscription had been buried near the temple on the arrival of Tipu Sultan in Malabar. I went to Tiruvanchikulam in February 1924, inquired, was disappointed, but was shown instead, at some distance from the temple, half-buried under a bamboo clump in a private garden, an enormous stone with an inscription, which has since been read by Mr. T. K. Joseph.—H. H.]

At the instance of C. W. E. Cotton, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., of the Indian Historic Records Commission, this stone now known as the Vaṭaśśêri Stone was more than a year ago acquired by the Cochin Government and removed to the Trichur Museum, in Cochin. The inscription on it seems to be the earliest known record relating to the Cochin royal house. Paleographically it is, I think, of circa 1000 A.D.—T.K.J.

[We must suppose that Mgr. Roz secured a copy of the Portuguese translation made by the Jew mentioned by Lucena (p. 149). Roz declares that he copied faithfully what he had before him. Do Couto probably obtained his copy from Roz, and changed it in a few points which to him appeared of little consequence.—H.H.]

Page 127, note 30.—Sandarûk alias Andrapolis, was certainly outside India. So, it cannot be Cranganore. Please scrutinize the Acta again.

[Answer:—Mr. T. K. Joseph may have been impressed by Dr. J. N. Farquhar's paper "The Apostle Thomas in North India" (reprinted from *The Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library*, vol. 10, No. 1, January 1926). There we find, pp. 19–20, Dr. Farquhar identifying with Andropolis (sic), a town at one day's sail up the Nile from Alexandria, the Sandarûk and Andrapolis of the Acts and the Andranopolis of the Passio. Andropolis was situated on the left bank of the Nile, and is now Chabur or Shaboor. Is that satisfactory? The only reason we might have to make St. Thomas come by the Red Sea is that Habban is made to meet St. Thomas at Cæsarea in the Passio; but, considering Jacob of Sarug and our Indian authorities quoted above, to which we could add other Indian authorities, we might suspect that Cæsarea is a mistake for Basrah or Maishan. Be that as it may, Sandarûk must be identified with Cranganore.

[Habban takes Thomas homewards to India in a ship, to the royal town of Andrapolis and from there goes to the cities of India, whence he reaches Gundaphar. Cf. M. R. James. The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford, 1924; Greek Acts, p. 366, § 3; p. 371, § 16. In the De Miraculis the town is not named. Thomas was often commissioned by the Lord to visit Citerior India. Habban comes and takes him to the first city of India, in Citerior India, the voyage having lasted only three months, though it always took three years. (St. Jerome says that the journey by the Red Sea would take a year, and that six months was fast.) From this unnamed city in Citerior India, where Thomas assisted at the marriage-feast of the

king's daughter, the feast being mentioned under Sandarûk and Andrapolis in the Acts. Thomas soon leaves for Ulterior India, the king and many of his people following after him to be baptised, and the king becoming a deacon. Cf. Bonnet, Acta Thomae, Lipsiae, 1883; De Miraculis, pp. 97, 98, 101. In the Passio Habban comes by ship to Casarea, and in 7 days takes Thomas by ship to Andranopolis; after the marriage feast of the king's daughter, both sail away, and reach Gundaphar. Cf. Bonnet, op. cit., pp. 133, 135, 139. In the Syriac Acts we have: "a certain merchant, an Indian, happened to come into the South country from ..." (the British Museum MS. being injured here, the name of the place is not legible). Cf. Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 4. The Berlin and the Cambridge MS. have: "a certain merchant came from the South country." The missing word in the British Museum MS. is perhaps Hindustan, as Burkitt thought, cf. ibid., 160. I propose Mahuza with Medlycott, and suggest that the South country from which Habban came was for the author South India, Malabar or Mylapore, since none of our four earliest authorities seems to know that Gundaphar reigned in the North-West, while Indian and Mesopetamian accounts, from at least Barhebraeus (1246-86) place Gundaphar at Mylapore. Possibly Jacob of Sarug does the same (A.D. 500-521). I cannot consult him, but I know that he makes Habban ask of Gundaphar whether it is possible to build without foundations in the sea. The Malabar accounts have brought Habban from Mylapore to Mahuza and back to Mylapore.

[My reasons for identifying Sandarûk with Cranganore are: (1) The name Antrayos (Andrew) given by the Thoma Parvam of 1601 to the king of Tiruvanchikulam (Cranganore). Compare it with Andrapolis, Andranopolis, Adrianopolis, and note that, as Sandarûk or Sanadrûk of the Edessan Syriac Acts is the name of an Edessan king, the third after Abgar, i.e., Sanatrue or Sanatrugh, Abgar's sister's son, the form Sanadrûk or Sandarûk is least reliable, unless like the other names it can be connected with some name like Andrew or Antrayos. The ending ûk must be compared with uth in Cosmas Indicopleustes' Mangaruth (for Mangalur, Mangalore). (2) The Malabar tradition assigns to Cranganore the marriage-feast of the king's daughter, which in the Acts and Passio takes place at Sandarûk, Andrapolis or Andranopolis. The De Miraculis, as we have said, places it in the first town of India, in Citerior India, where Thomas first landed, thus agreeing with our other three sources. (3) The author of the Passio says (Bonnet, op. cit., p. 139) that, soon after, Thomas sent a priest to Andranopolis to take charge of its church, and that in his own time the Sec of Thomas was still there, with a great multitude won over to Christ. The first bishop appointed to Andranopolis by Thomas was Dionysius, the king's son-in-law. In the Thoma Parvan we find that the sonin-law (T.K. Joseph translates by 'nephew') of the king of Tiruvanchikulam, i.e., Cranganore, is called Bishop Keppa (Peter). The Dionysius of the Passio is therefore the Peter of the Thoma. Parvam. Possibly, one gives his heathen name, and the other his Christian name, or the name he took on becoming a bishop. As neither the Acts nor the De Miraculis has a name for Dionysius, and the name in the Passio differs from that in the Thoma Parvam, the Thoma Parvam is independent, while both the Passio and the Thoma Parvam confirm each other.

[The Thoma Parvam is also independent of our earliest authorities for the name Andrew given to the king of Tiruvanchikulam. The Passio gives him no name; the De Miraculis neither; but the latter says, on the occasion when Sifur, Mazdai's general, meets Thomas, that present at the meeting was St. Thomas' deacon, the king of the marriage-feast celebrated at the first town in India where Thomas had landed. In the Acts the deacon present on the same occasion, to whom Thomas entrusts the people of the place, is called Xanthippus (Syriac Acts), Xenophon (Greek Acts). We must conclude that the deacon Xanthippus-Xenophon is no other than the deacon-king of Andrapolis. The meeting between Sifur and Thomas must therefore have taken place at Andrapolis: for the deacon-king must have returned to Andrapolis with his people after pursuing Thomas in the direction of Gundaphar's kingdom, perhaps to Gundaphar's capital, chiefly as Thomas remained at least two years in Gundaphar's dominions. The Thoma Parvam is independent of our other authorities in that it calls the king Andrew, and does not allude to his becoming a deacon. It is independent in other matters as well. Shall we say that the Thoma Parvam borrowed the name from the name Andrapolis, or Andranopolis or Sandarûk, when it calls Andrew king of Tiruvanchikulam? Shall we not say rather that the name Andrew is represented in Andrapolis or Andranopolis and is older than the Greek Acts? The same for Sandarûk, if it can be connected with a name like Andrew? We have then the very curious fact that the following Greek names Xanthippus, Xenophon, Andrew, Dionysius, Pelagia (the name of the king's daughter), Andrapolis, Andranopolis, Adrianopolis, all refer to Cranganore. Compare this with the Greek influence from Alexandria and perhaps Mesopotamia exercised on the Malabar coast in the first two or three centuries of our era, and with the fact that we have at Kuravalangad, in Malabar, a Christian bell with an inscription of which we suppose the characters to be Greek rather than anything else. Note also that the Passio states that an inscription on the tomb of Pelagia declared in Greek and in the Greek character: "Here rests Pelagia, the spouse of Bishop Dionysius, who was the daughter of Thomas the Apostle."

[The Passio agrees in so many matters with the Thoma Parvam alone, while yet differing from it in substantial points, that we must say both have preserved details older and more reliable than the Gnostic Acts we now have. The Passio is quoted by Isidore of Seville (d. 636) and in the Mozarabic liturgy. It is

older than the De Miraculis, which borrows from it, but only partly, in one point of importance, the scene in the Temple of the Sun. The De Miraculis is itself quoted by St. Gregory the Great (d. 610), and it cannot be by Gregory of Tours (d. 593-594), for the simple reason that it represents the removal of St. Thomas' relies in the lifetime of Mazdai, whereas Gregory of Tours, who knew the Passio, says it took place after a long time. If the Passio were of A.D. 450, it would still be of respectable antiquity. It vouches for the hierarchy, deacon, priest, and bishop, established at Cranganore by Thomas and its continuity until as late as A.D. 450, the date we suppose. It does so in a manner clearer than any other document we have. In turn, the Malabar tradition vouches for the apostolicity of the Mylapore Church and for Thomas' death and burial at Mylapore. We now see that, with the See of Thomas at Cranganore up to A.D. 450, it can do so authoritatively. The St. Thomas question is solved for Mylapore, and solved on the most satisfactory lines, those of the Malabar tradition.

[It matters little now if the *Thoma Parvam* is suspect in certain matters. It would be invaluable, had it kept only the name Andrew of the king of Andrapolis and the name Kepha of his bishop son-in-law.—H.H.]

Andrew and Kêppâ of Thomas' Ramban's song of A.D. 1601 are mere fabrications, I suspect. The song is entirely unfounded, although it is said to be based on a MS. of the 1st century. I have altogether ignored the song. It is a pious fraud, if I may say so.

These are my chief reasons for regarding the song as spurious :-

- (1) The author says that this song is an abridged version of an account written in the first century A.D. But none other than he has heard of or seen such an important historical document—neither Barbosa, De Barros, Correa, Menezes, Gouvea, Roz nor any other person eagerly searching for documents relating to the history of the Malabar Church. The first-century document that suddenly manifested itself to Thomas Rambân (=Thomas the Monk) in 1601 A.D.—where has it gone?
- (2) This song, which the author himself says was composed in A.D. 1601, is in point of style and language more modern than another well-known Malayalam song of A.D. 1732, called the Mârgam-Kali Song.
- (3) The song gives a good many astoundingly minute details—for instance, the names of Antrayôs (Andrew) king of Cranganore, of Kêppâ (Cephas, Peter) his nephew consecrated bishop, and of Paulôs (Paul) king of Mylapore also consecrated bishop; the amount of time the apostle spent in each place; the respective numbers of Brâhmans (6850), Kshatriyas (2590), Vaisyas (3780), Sûdras (4280) and Jews (40) that he converted; the number of the kings (7) that he ordained priests, of the chiefs (21) that he made trustees of the common fund, of the dead (29) that he raised to life, and of the diseased (1260) that he healed.

But not even a single one of these details is found either in the traditions of the respective localities in Malabar, or in other records in Syriac or Malayalam. That means that from the first century A.D. until the discovery of the song about twenty years ago—i.e., for about 1830 years—the details recorded therein had no existence in the world of actuality.—T.K.J.

#### REMARKS BY T.K.J.

- (1) Even before Dr. Farquhar wrote his paper mentioned by the Rev. Fr. Hosten, I was under the impression that Andrapolis (Sandarůk) was outside India of the present day. But, whether it is the Andropolis pointed out by Dr. Farquhar, I do not know.
- (2) The earliest versions of *The Acts of Thomas*—the Syriac and the Greek—say that the apostle first landed in Andrapolis (Sandarûk), a royal city, and then 'came into the cities of India' and went away 'to appear before' King Gudnaphar. From this most scholars have inferred that Andrapolis (Sandarûk) was outside India.
- (3) Of the later versions the *Passio* gives us to understand that Andranopolis was only a seven days' sail from Cæsarea, and that the apostle had to sail further to reach India. So the *Passio* agrees with the Syriac and Greek versions in this respect.
- (4) According to another later version, De Miraculis, Habban takes Thomas to the first city in Citerior India, and thence they leave for Ulterior India.

About the time when De Miraculis was written Citerior India meant even the lower extremity of Arabia—(Medlycott's Thomas, p. 178). Ethiopia was India Interior (loc. cit.), or the Indies—(ibid., p. 172). Arabia Felix also was the Indies—(ibid., p. 177). To Rufinus (about 345-410 A.D.) India the Farther was Abyssinia.—(ibid., pp. 182, 188). And "at least in Sassanian times" (226-651 A.D.) "and doubtless earlier, there prevailed an idea of an India in the west as well as an India in the east."—Cambridge History of India, I, 325. See also Mingana: Early Spread of Christianity in India, reprint, 1926, pp. 11—14.

So Citerior India of De Miraculis was outside modern India

(5) It is clear therefore that all the four early versions of *The Acts* place Andrapolis (Sandarůk) outside modern India. It is only in the later Malabar and foreign recensions or adaptations (in Syriac, Portuguese, etc.) that we find Andrapolis identified with Cranganore, and Gûdnaphar with the Chola king of Mylapore. And it has to be specially noted that these recensions or adaptations are later than the latest of the first four versions already referred to by at least half a dozen centuries. Like *Thomas Ramban's Song* of

1601 A.D. they appear to have received sudden inspiration. Barhebraeus (1246—86) seems to be the earliest writer (barring, of course, the Syriae and Greek martyrologies of c. 700, which mention Calamina, i.e., probably Chinnamalai, near Mylapore) who connects St. Thomas definitely with South India. Cosmas (c. 535) says nothing about St. Thomas in Male (Malabar).

(6) As already shown Thomas Ramban's Song is spurious, and must be ruled out of court.

(7) "Thoma Parvam of 1601." Thomas Ramban's Song of 1601 A.D. is not the same as Thoma Parvam, another Malayalam song about St. Thomas. The song of 1601 and 'Carmen Thomae Ramban' used in Zaleski's The Apostle Thomas, Mangalore, 1912, are the same.

(8) "The name Antrayos" (Andrew) given by the song of 1601. The Mårgam-Kali Song (in Malayalam) about St. Thomas, which was the sole, undisputed authority for all Malabar Christians until the publication in 1916 of the song of 1601 A.D., and is still jealously regarded as such by the Southist section claiming descent from Thomas Cana, calls the king not Andrew, but Pôl. I think we need not hesitate to affirm that both these songs got the names from Andra-polis, the Mårgam-Kali Song taking the latter half, and the song of 1601 the former. Both the songs seem to be adaptations of the Passio or De Miraculis. (See Remark No. 13 infra).

(9) "Son-in-law." The word in the original (marumakan) has the senses of son-in-law and nephew.

(10) "Thoma Parvam is independent." Correct Thoma Parvam into Thomas Ramban's Song of 1601, as indicated in Remark No. 7, ante. The song of 1601 seems to be, on the contrary, dependent on, and in fact an adaptation of the Latin versions of The Acts, interlarded with a large number of details seemingly invented by the author. (See ante, p. 180).

(11) "The Malabar tradition vouches," etc. I beg to submit that we should say 'Malabar tradition of recent centuries.' But was Malabar tradition of the first, second, third, fourth and the succeeding two or three centuries, identical with that of subsequent centuries? We do not know, because the early Malabar tradition has not come down to us in written form. (See my "St. Thomas in South India," Ind. Ant., December, 1926). Tradition grows and is constantly pruned and grafted. The St. Thomas tradition of Malabar must have been no exception.

(12) "It would be invaluable, had it kept only the name Andrew." As already pointed out in Remark No. 8, the *Mårgam-Kali Song* which, unlike the upstart song of 1601, is still religiously treasured by the Malabar Christians as an invaluable possession, calls him Pôl, not Andrew.

And, be in noted that this Mårgam-Kali Song makes Thomas land first in Mylapore, then takes him to Pôl's daughter's marriage feast (at an unnamed place outside the Mylapore king's territory) and to other countries including Malacca and China, back again to Mylapore, thence to Cranganore and other places in Malabar, from which country he goes again to Mylapore in obedience to the king's indignant summons and is later killed in a riot at the temple of the goddess Kâli.

On the other hand, the song of 1601 makes Thomas land first in *Cranganore* in A.D. 50, and, without allowing him to preach in other parts also of Malabar, hurries him away to Mylapore, whence he proceeds to China and returns to Mylapore. At the invitation of a nephew of the king of Malabar he sails back to Cranganore, establishes churches in that kingdom, goes back to Mylapore on foot, returns to Malabar on foot (across the Ghats) with the help of angels and goes back again to Mylapore, where he is killed.

(13) Pôl, king of an East Coast territory, mentioned in the Márgam-Kali Song, and Andrew of Cranganore on the West Coast, mentioned in the spurious song of 1601 can easily be traced to Andrapolis of The Acts, the name of a city.

Thomas Ramban, the author of the latter, though unscrupulous, seems to have been the more learned of the two bards. For he recognised that Andrapolis could mean Andrew's city, and so christened the king Andrew. While the other called him Pôl, most probably because he mistook Andrapolis for a personal name, of which the latter half was to him a surname.

(14) A close study—comparative and analytic—of all the available versions of our Malabar tradition has convinced me (a) that they are not faithful, consistent reproductions of contemporary tradition, but confused essays, studies, or lucubrations based on the materials that the authors could lay hands on, and (b) that the tradition in its modern form contains two layers.—(1) the purely indigenous story of the saint who lies buried in Mylapore, and (2) the story of The Acts of Thomas.—T.K.J.66

Page 128, note 31.—Barbosa mentions two churches at Cranganore, which must have been burnt down when the Christians fled to Katutturutti and built a church there. When? Before 1590. I must see the Parur inscription. I write to the Vicar.—T.K.J.

[At page 148, note 44, supra—We find that before A.D. 1516 there was at Cranganore a Church of Our Lady of Mercy, and another of St. Thomas. This latter was destroyed in 1536. Mgr. Roz (cf. text ibid.) states that a Syrian MS. of 1507 mentions at Cranganore three churches: Our Lady's, St. Thomas' and St. Quirce's. In a Syriac MS. of A.D. 1301, the deacon Zechariah, a relative of Mar Jacob, director of the Church of Christian India, states that he writes in the Church of the martyr Mar Cyriacus of Shingala (Cranganore).

66 Not having seen Mr. Joseph's rejoinder before it was in printed proof form, I reserve my answer for a future number of the Indian Antiquary,—H.H.

Cf. Mingana, op. cit., reprint, p. 69. Mar Jacob, Metropolitan of India, wrote another Syriac MS. in the Church of St. Thomas of Shingala, in a.d. 1510. Cf. ibid., p. 70. Do Couto states that, after building a church at Cranganore, that of St. Thomas, still existing in do Couto's time on the same site, but renewed, Thomas Cananeo built two others, those of Our Lady and of the martyr St. Cyriacus. The Church of St. Thomas at Cranganore existed probably in a.d. 988, when we hear of one Mar Johannes, Metropolitan in Malabar. The name and the date are found in a relation dated Trichur, Cochin, 1820, and were taken from a Syriac MS. of the Canancode Church, near Quilon. Cf. The South India Christian Repository, Madras, II (1838), p. 195. This Mar Johannes of a.d. 988 may be the Mar Johanan of Cranganore mentioned by Bishop Roz of Cranganore (p. 147 supra).

[Probably the Christians of Cranganore suffered whenever the Jews of Cranganore were the object of attack. Zeireddien Mukhdom, an Arab, Egyptian, or Turk, who was sent to help Calicut and the Muhammadan princes against the Portuguese, and whose account ends in A.D. 1580 (cf. Asiatick Researches, vol. V: "Historical Remarks on the Coast of Malabar" by Duncan, p. 22) says that in A.H. 931 (A.D. 1524-25) there was a Jewish settlement at Cranganore, which the Muhammadans attacked fiercely, killing the Jews and destroying their houses and synagogues. Many then fled to Chenotta or Chennamangalam. After that, Cranganore was to them distasteful. In 1565, on the occasion of another war between the Samorin and Cochin, they fled to Cochin, where their first leaders were David Baleha, Samuel Castil, Ephraim Salah, and Joseph Levi. In 1567 they had completed their synagogues and some other buildings. Cf. Germann, Die Kirche der Thomaschristen, Gütersloh, 1877, pp. 255-256.—H.H.]

Page 128, note 32.—These names seem to be Kôţţûr, Kaṭanâţe, Ônamturutte, and Narimaţṭam; but I am not sure at all. I must enquire. These are all names of places now existing; but there is a rich family by name Kôṭţûr, which is now in possession of the lands of the old Villyârvarṭṭam king or the king of Malabar Christians.—T.K.J.

[I understand that these are names of families which came from the Mylapore side, perhaps on the occasion of the persecution launched by Manikka Vâśakar. A Malabar Christian MS. of c. a.d. 1800, which Mr. T. K. Joseph wrote to me about, places in 293 the flight of Christians from Kâvêripaṭṭaṇam to their brethren in Malabar, and in 315 the arrival of Manikka Vâśakar at Quilon. These dates are remarkably close to Geiger's date 315 for Manikka's supposed visit to Ceylon, and to the date 270 in V. A. Smith. Itup's History refers to the arrival of a Manichean of Persia before this persecution of Manikka Vâśakar. The Malabar accounts also state that the Christians of Mylapore were persecuted by Manikka. Though he is now held to have been a Śaivite, he may have been himself a Manichean. The people of Vepar or Bepar, on the Fishery Coast, who, according to Mgr. Roz and do Couto, recollected still that they were of the caste of the Christians, may have been apostates. It was the opinion in Malabar in 1599 that some of the Mylapore Christians had fled to the Todamala or Mountains of the Todas, in the Nilgiris. Two expeditions were sent soon after to reconnoitre. The first brought back favourable news; the second, returning from the buffalo-worshipping Todas, spoke adversely. We now discover on the eastern slopes of the Nilgiris scores of stones with a cross, which in my opinion can be nothing else than Christian.

[Do Couto speaks of the Cortali Christians of Paru (Parur), who said that the first Indian city where St. Thomas landed was Mahâdêvarpaṭṭaṇam. Compare the name Cortali with the name Kôttûr.—H.H.]

Page 128, note 35.—The proper Malayalam pronunciation is Kaṭutturutti.—T.K.J.

Page 128, note 36.—Cotete is Kôṭṭayattê (ê as in 'her,' 'father'), the locative of Kôṭṭayam.—T.K.J.

Page 128, note 36.—There is a place Koṭamâlûr, north of Kôṭṭayam. But did Menezes, coming from

Diamper, even north of Koṭamâlûr, retrace his steps to Koṭamâlûr from Kôṭṭayam? Gouvea must be
consulted.—T.K.J.

[The itinerary in Gouvea's Jornada is: Diamper, Cottete, and Coramallù, in the country of the king of Porcà. On the way from Cottete to Coramallù, de Menezes was met by the Queen of the Tecancutes. From Coramalur (a new spelling), de Menezes organised a mission to the Malleas, who were supposed to be apostate Christians. Two Cassanars of Doramallur (read: Coramallur) went, and met the Archbishop later at Angamale. While de Menezes was at Coramallur (new spelling), the king of Porcà came up the river with about 100 boats to celebrate at Coramallur, as he did every year, his birthday. From Coramallur de Menezes went to Diamper. Cf. fols. 79r-85r.—H.H.]

My identification of Coramallu seems to be correct.-T.K.J.

Page 128, note 37.—It seems to be Turavûr (r as in rat), north of Kôṭṭayam.—T.K.J.

Page 147, note 38.—The earliest mention of the vision and the body of emigrants, that I have seen occurs in Bishop Thomas' Syriac letter of A.D. 1721 to Carolus Schaaf of Leiden. The Syrian priest Mathew's Syriac account of about the same time (cf. Ind. Ant., March, 1927—'Land's Anecdota Syriaca') refers to the vision and the body of emigrants. The song for the dance referred to by Fr. Hosten is the Margam Kali Song of A.D. 1732, of which he now has a translation of mine. Other short songs about Thomas Cana, sung along with this song of 1732, are of about the same time.

I have found no reason yet to think that the vision and the emigration were not in the Malabar tradition when Monserrate, Gouvea and others wrote their accounts. Are de Barros and Gaspar Correa also silent on the matter ?—T.K.J.

Page 147, note 40.—I have heard of Jewish colonists in Pâlayûr (= Pâlûr), but not of Armenians. I must enquire.—T.K.J.

Page 147, para. 2.—Thomas Cananeo among the saints. No, he was a merchant.—T.K.J. Page 147, para. 2.—A wife and a concubine. Thomas Cananeo is even now said to have had a wife of his own nationality, and a concubine belonging to the velutitian or washerman caste of Malabar. We know that concubinage is a regular recognised institution among the Jews (those in Malabar too) and other Semitic people. Until recent times it was often so among the indigenous Malabar Christians also, the concubines in this case, as in the case of the Malabar Jews, being women converts from low caste Hindus, who are usually retained as maid servants. The offspring of these Christian concubines are Christians, contemptuously termed vatukar, and are put very low in the social scale. To call a pure-bred, high caste Malabar Christian a vatukan may cost the offender his life. Family tradition tells which Christian is of high caste and which a Vatukan. The distinction is now-a-days vanishing.

The Malabar Christian system of concubinage was condemned at the council of Diamper in 1599 (Act 7, decree 13).—T.K.J.

Page 147, note 41.—Bishop Mar Johannan, before the arrival of the Portuguese in A.D. 1498.

This may be Bishop Mar John sent to Malabar in the year 1801 of Alexander (= A.D. 1490) by the Catholicos Mar Simeon, Patriarch of the East. In a letter from Malabar written a year after the year 1814 of the Greeks (= A.D. 1503), he is described as "still alive and hale." The letter must have been of A.D. 1504. There is another Mar John of A.D. 988 (cf. p. 181, n. 44 of p. 148).—T.K.J.

Page 148, para. 1.—The Cranganore Church of St. Cyriacus was in existence in A.D. 1301, for the colophon of a Syriac book (Cod. Syr. Vat., N. xxii), containing a church Lectionary of the Pauline Epistles, says it was finished in that Church on a Wednesday, in June, of the year 1612 of the Greeks (=A.D. 1301).—T.K.J.

Page 148, para. 2.—Patna is Mahâdêvarpaţţanam, Cranganore.

"This king was a Christian." No, he was a Hindu.—T.K.J.

Page 148, para. 2.—Coulão is Quilon in Travancore.

"In many things their memory." Many things in memory of their antiquity?

"Padrões." The reference must be to the public copy on stone of the Thomas Cana plates.

"Temples." Better, Churches.—T.K.J.

Page 149, para. 4.—" They presented them to the Governor," They means the Malabar Christians.

But where did Faria y Sousa get the following specific details?

"In the year 1544 came to Cochin, Jacob, a Chaldean bishop of Cranganore, where being dangerously sick, he sent for the treasurer, Peter de Sequeyra, and told him necessity had obliged him to pawn two copper plates" [those of Thomas Cana] "with characters engraven on them, which were original grants and privileges bestowed on the Apostle St. Thomas" [no, Thomas Cana, the merchant] "by the sovereigns" [better, sovereign, singular] "of those countries, when he preached there:" [Thomas Cana did not preach, but carried on trade]" that he desired him to release them, lest they should be lost if he died, for if he lived, he would take them out himself. This prelate found the only way to lose them, was trusting the Portuguese; for Sequeyra paid the two hundred Royals they were pawned for, put them into the Treasury, and they were never more heard of."—Portuguese Asia, II, 506.

Perhaps the Governor, Dom Affonso took them away in A.D. 1545-T.K.J.

Page 149, para. 4.—"Writing already almost spoiled by age." That would show that the plates were much more than a thousand years old in 1544. For the Jewish plate of 1085 A.D. is still as good as new, and the Quilon Church plates of circa 880, though broken to pieces, have the characters quite deep and legible. Of course, we assume that these three sets of plates being considered very valuable, were carefully preserved by the owners under similar conditions of safety.

1544 minus say 1100 = 444, which makes the year 345 A.D., assigned by tradition to the Thomas Cana plates, very probable.—T.K.J.

Page 149, para. 4.—"To the Apostle St. Thomas." No, to the merchant Thomas Cana. The Apostle Thomas is in Malabar called Mâr Tômmâ. The merchant Thomas also can be called Mâr Tômmâ, Mâr, meaning Lord, being applicable to Christ, the Apostles, Patriarchs, Bishops. masters, and other respectable men. Carolus Schaaf, of Leiden is addressed as Mar Carolus in the Syriac letter of 1721 previously referred to.—T.K.J.

Page 149, para. 4.—" A Temple and a Church." Thomas Cana and his Christian followers had no use for a temple.—T.K.J.

Page 149, last para.—A.D. 886. This date may perhaps apply to the Quilon Church plates of about A.D. 880, granted in the reign of Chêramân Perumâļ Sthânu Ravi. Chêramân Perumâļ simply means the Emperor of Malabar. It is not a proper name, although many take it as such. One of these emperors became a great Śaivite saint and is always known as Chêramân Perumâļ Nâyanâr, and not by his proper name, which is unknown. (See also page 149, foot-note 56).—T.K.J.

Page 150, para. 1.—"Chronogram Shovala," pronounced Sôvâla. Generally, it is only significant words that are used as chronograms. But Sôvâla is meaningless in Malayalam, or Tamil, or Sanskrit. It may be that the author of the chronogram was not able to find a word which would at once give sense and indicate the date. But Śuvôlô (Śuvâlâ) in Syriac

has a meaning (question or enquiry).

Since the date is given in the Christian era, it is evident that the chronogram was made in Malabar after the Portuguese advent in A.D. 1498. For that era was not in vogue in that country prior to that date. The era of the Greeks was in use among the Malabar Christians in pre-Portuguese times. The date then must have been (345+311=)656 anno Gracorum.—T.K.J.

Page 150, para. 2.—" Franciscans." The Malayalam name for the Portuguese was (and is) Paruńki (Feringhee). Did the Jesuit writer of 1604 mistake Paruńki (the Portuguese) for the Franciscans?

Should we not search for the priceless plates in Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa's house? Mar Jacob, though he apprehended death in 1544, died only in 1549. He did not however recover the plates as expected, not because he did not care or endeavour to do so, but because the Parunkis (Portuguese) had taken them away to their country.

Page 151, note 60.—The Syrian MS. of the Canancode Church, near Quilon, to which I referred above (p. 182, n. 44 of p. 148) states that Marsabore and Ambraot (sic for Gouvea's Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh) "landed at Cranganore in company with the merchant Towrio (sic) in Kollam era 1, or A.D. 825." That MS. should be rediscovered. The Kollam era, as suspected by Yule, must be a Christian era, and so may the Sâlivâhaṇa era be a Christian era.—H.H.

Page 151, para. 4.—"They count the year of the foundation of Coulão." It can now be regarded as certain that the Quilon (or Malabar) era began with the foundation of the city of Quilon in Travancore in A.D. 825 by the foreign merchant Sabrîśo mentioned as a very important personage in the famous copper-plates of the Quilon church.

In many old Travancore inscriptions we find the expression "such and such a year after Kollam tônti" i.e., after Quilon "came into being." This coming into existence must have been the result of Sabrîśo's activities, for we find one of the Quilon Church plates (of circa A.D. 980) describing him twice as innakaram kanta, i.e., "he who established or founded this city."

A Kêralôlpatti (legendary history of Malabar) version has the following: "Previously there was no Quilon (era); there was only Kali (the era) to know the year. As this was not understood by all, the year in which the Brâhmans of the 64 villages, the kings of Malabar, and the Quilon merchant together dug a lake" (probably a harbour for Sabriŝo's ships)... "in that year the temple was finished. From that time (the) Quilon (year) has been put before (the position of) Jupiter. (The) Kali (year) is not known to all; only astrologers know it. (The) Quilon (year) everybody can know. So (the) Quilon (year) and (the position of) Jupiter are used together" [Translation].

The Quilon merchant mentioned in this Hindu tradition must be Sabrîśo. Probably there was a silting up of the Quilon harbour prior to 825 A.D., and also a destruction of the city by an encroachment of the sea. (See foot-note 60.) Quilon has now a fast receding sea coast. That must have been the case in old times also. For according to local tradition the church of St. Thomas, the famous marble pillar on the Quilon coast and several other structures are now said to be in the sea. (See also Paulinus: Voyage to the E. I., pp. 115, 127)—T.K.J.

Page 152, para. 1.—Ollas, properly ôlas. Óla in Malayalam is palm-leaf. Leaves of the palmyra palm (Borassus flabelliformis) and the talipot or fan-palm (Corypha umbraculifera), were and even now are used in writing. Ollas of copper means copper-plates in the shape of ôlas.

These copper plates seem to be none else than the existing plates of the Quilon church. The language of the inscription on these plates is old Malayalam (almost Tamil) with some names in Hebrew, Pahlavi and Arabic, and the characters used are (1) Grantha, (2) Vatteluttu, (3) Hebrew, (4) Pahlavi and (5) Kufic.

Having heard of copper-plates in a house in Têvalakkara, I made enquiries, but was told that no such things existed. Probably they exist, but, as usual, the owners are not willing to let others see them. I know of several other copper-plates actually in existence, and have been long after them in vain. The owners, being ignorant, narrow-minded, and suspicious, are afraid of taking them out. In course of time these plates will be destroyed or melted for making brass vessels.—T.K.J.

Page 152, para. 1.—Gadejagal stands for kâdîsâkal, saints.—T.K.J.

Page 152, para. 4.—The Queen of Changanate is the queen of Quilon. Gundara is Kuntara near Quilon.—T.K.J.

Page 152, para. 4.—"Three big copper ollas." The Quilon Church copper-plates, Set 1, consisted of three plates, the last of which is now missing. This set is of circa A.D. 880. Each plate of this set is 8.8 in. × 3.2 in. ("two palms × four fingers").

The Quilon Church plates, Set 2, of c. 880, originally had four plates (first plate now missing), each 9.1 in. × 3.3 in. The rings of both these sets are now missing.—T.K.J.

Page 153, para. 1.—"Written on both sides." No, the obverse side of the first plate of Set 1 is left blank, as usual. The "iron ring" is now missing.—T.K.J.

Page 153, last para.—"13 versions." They are mere hearsay versions widely differing from the Portuguese translation of 1604.

True, these versions are not genuine. But we can get some nuggets of value out of them by careful crushing, washing and sifting..—T.K.J.

Page 153, note 63.—"Sanscrit version", i.e., a version in Malayalam language and characters. On analysis I find that du Perron's version is a medley of the inscription on—

The Quilon Church plates,

(1)	Set I, plate	1, reverse.   (6)	Set	I, plate	2, obverse.
(2)	Set II, ,,	2, observe. (7)	,,	,,	2, reverse.
(3)	) ,, ,,	2, reverse. (8)	,,	,,	3, obverse and reverse, and
(4)	) ,, ,,	3, obverse. (9)	Of a	hearsay	version of the Thomas Cana plates.
(5)	, ,,	3, reverse.			—Т.К.Ј.

Page 154, para. 1.—"Contents valuable." Yes, because it gives us the names of witnesses engraved on the now missing plate 3 of the Quilon Church plates, Set I.—T.K.J.

#### Search for the Thomas Cana Copper-plates.

[After I had written my article on the Thomas Cana copper-plates, I sent a copy of it to Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, Agent to the Governor-General, Madras States, Trivandrum, who wrote to Lisbon, asking that a search for the plates be made in the Torre do Tombo of Lisbon. On March 28, 1926, Mr. C. W. E. Cotton wrote to Mr. T. K. Joseph, Trivandrum (No. 1166-25):—

"With reference to your letter, dated 11th June last, I have the honour to inform you that the two copper-plates characterized as the 'Magna Charta' of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar are not in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon. His Majesty's representative in Lisbon

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also advertised in a widely read newspaper stating that any information as to the whereabouts of the copper-plates would be welcomed. The appeal, however, though published several times, has not evoked any response.

"2. As regards the two plates which you allege to have passed into the possession of the English when the Cochin Fort was surrendered to them, I have ascertained that there

are no records bearing on the subject in the Madras Record Office."

[A copy of this letter was communicated to me. Towards the end of 1926, I received in addition from Mr. C. W. E. Cotton a typed copy of an article in Portuguese on the Thomas Cana copper-plates published in the *Epoca* by the Rev. P. J. Monteiro de Aguilar. I am now recovering that article from a priest in India whom I supposed erroneously to be the author, and trying to get into touch with the author in Portugal. The article would be worth translating for the *Indian Antiquary*.

[On January 19, 1926, Mr. T. K. Joseph wrote to me: "All day on Dec. 23, a friend of mine in Lisbon, Mr. K. M. Panikkar, M.A., Bar.-at-Law, had the Torre do Tombo ransacked, but Dr. Antonio Baião, the Director-General, could find no copper-plates. My friend is making a

search through the Ambassador H. E. Veiga Simoes."

[We should not give up hope yet. If a new search is made, we might begin with the State Archives of Goa, which are now being put in order.—H.H.]

## SOME SOUTH INDIAN GOLD COINS. By R. SRÍNIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR, M.A.

#### I. Some Old Maratha Coins.

FANAMS OF RÂMA RÂJA.

A FIND of two hundred coins was reported in 1908 from the village of Kîltâyanûr, Tirukkovilur Taluk of the South Arcot District, Madras Presidency. They were then acquired for the Museum by the Government of Madras; sixty five of them were distributed among different Provincial Museums and 134 sold to the general public and numismatists. These coins were then wrongly identified as Kâli fanams.

Kâli fanams, or as they are sometimes called Kaliyugarâjan fanams, were current in Kêrala or North Malabar in the early centuries of the Christian era. Elliot in his history of South Indian coins says that there were two kinds of these, one issued by Kôlatnad or Chirakkal Râja and the other by the Zamorin of Calicut, who, to distinguish this issue from earlier ones, called them pudiya (new) fanams. Both these coins though accepted and used as a medium of exchange in Kêrala or North Malabar, were not recognized as legal tender even in the contiguous province of Travancore. So in the early centuries when the means of communication was so small and the country was divided into several principalities each under separate and independent administrations, it is not probable that these coins came to the eastern district and were current there. We may fairly conclude that Kâli fanams were never accepted or used in places other than Kêrala.

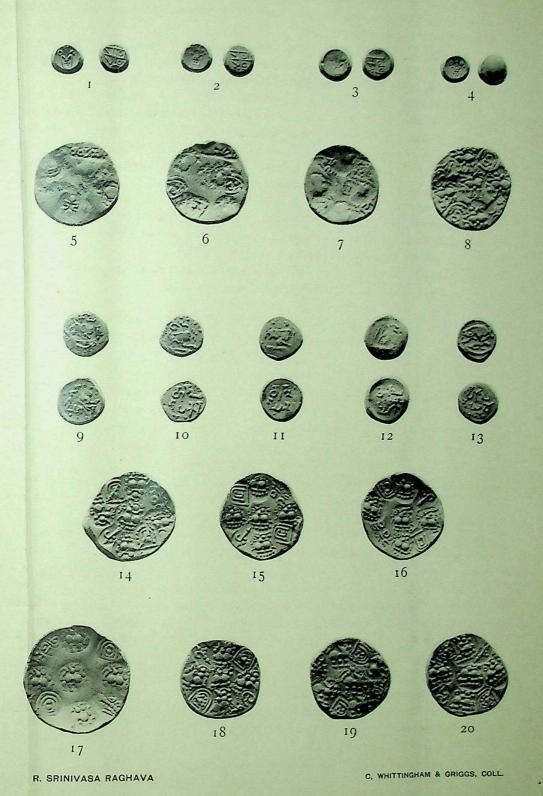
Vincent A. Smith in his Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, vol. I, has included this as the coinage of Travancore State, and has brought them under gold fanams of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On page 316 he has described them as follows:

Obverse—a kind of dagger and other marks.

Reverse-characters not read.

This coin is figured as item 10 in plate XXX (page 324).

Later, in 1918, there was yet another find of eighty similar coins from Kaṭṭâmbaṭṭi, a hamlet of the village of Kaṇṇalam in the Gingee taluk of the same district. In design, shape, size, weight and the character of the metal used (inferior gold 13 carats fine) these are exactly like those of the 1908 find. They are almost all of them round varying from '2 to '22 of an inch in diameter and cup-shaped. They are almost of a uniform



SOME OLD MARATHA COINS.



weight from 5 to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  grains. Of these latter eighty, thirty-eight have one side blank [No. 4 in Plate]. All the eighty have on one side a figure formed by lines and do ts, with the sun and moon on either side of it. On the reverse side of forty-two there is a legend 'Râma Rau' (रामाउ) [No. 2 in Plate] in Dêvanâgarî script—Rau is apparently intended for Rao.

Râma Rao, as the title Rao indicates, is a Marâthâ name and the term (Rao) is affixed to the names of persons eminent as soldiers, clerks, etc. The title is purely a Marâthâ term generally applied to a ruling chief or king. Palæographical evidence clearly shows that these coins were neither Pallava nor Chôla ones and we know that they were not of the Vijayanagar empire, for they do not resemble any of the Vijayanagar coins that we know in design, shape, weight or quality of the metal. No viceroy of Vijayanagar appears to have issued coins in his own name. Moreover no viceroy with the name of Râma Râjâ appears to have ruled over these parts where these coins were found. The genealogy of Gingee chiefs that is available from inscriptions, Nos. 860 and 861 in Appendix B of the Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for 1917, gives the names of several chiefs from Khêmu to Râmabhadra Naidu who is said to have ruled in Saka 1593 (A.D. 1671). Twenty chiefs appear to have ruled between Khêmu and Râmabhadra Naidu, and even allowing twenty-five years for each chief, Khêmu, the first chief, would take us down to 1093 Saka or A.D. 1171. Further, palæographically the age of these coins has to be put later than the sixteenth century. It must therefore be concluded that these do not belong to the Vijayanagar period. The Mughals conquered the parts, where these coins were found only at the latter part of the seventeenth century. We know that the Dutch at Negapatam and the French at Pondicherry issued coins of exactly the same description as the coins of the 1908 and 1918 finds, and they were current on the east coast before the Mughals overthrew the Marâthâs and assumed sway over their territories. Having thus eliminated all the other dynasties that ruled over these parts we have the Marâthâ period left as the only period to which we can ascribe the origin of these coins.

Gingee, which is very near the two places, from where we had two of these finds, was during this period a seat of Government and was considered a place fit enough for a viceroy to reside and rule, and there is no other place near about these villages in the district which was at any time a seat of Government. So these must have been issued from the mint at Gingee, and we have also on record that Râma Râja, the second son of the famous Sivâjî who captured the fortress of Gingee in 1677, had continued to rule here as king and that he had issued a firman to the Hon'ble the East India Company, who in 1690 entered into negotiations with Râma Râja, the Marâthâ king of Gingee, for the purchase of a small fort at Dêvanâmpatnam, near Cuddalore, on the site of the existing Fort St. David, and which both the French and the Dutch had previously endeavoured to buy. The firman runs thus:-"that the sole Government and possession of the same shall be in the said English Company and their Governors, etc., so long as the sun and moon endures, to be governed by their own lawes and customes both civill and martial and criminall and to coyn money either under our Royal stamp or such other as they shall judge convenient, both in silver or gold . . . . . "1 This clearly shows that Râma Râja himself had a mint of his own and issued coins in his own name. This Râma Râja is the same as Râma Rau ( रामराउ ) that is referred to in the legend on the coins under reference. The fact that some of these coins do not have any legend may go to show either that Râma Râja himself had copied the design from coins that were current earlier, or that he himself issued them first without the legend and later on added the legend to impress his own power and importance. In any case there can be no doubt as to the fact that these are of Marâthâ issues, and that they have no manner of resemblance or relation to Kâli fanams as was erroneously supposed.

<sup>1</sup> Gazetteer of South Arcot District, p. 42.

Râma Râja as he was called Râjârâm by the Marâthâs was the second son of Sivâjî kama Raja as no distribution of Sivajî and to place Rajarêm on the Sivajî wanted to by Söyera Bar. When Great the first son of Sivâjî, and to place Râjârâm on the throne. She did so but Sambhâjî captured by force the fort of Raigarh where Râjârâm was, made him a prisoner and ascended the throne in 1680 A.D. Sambhajî continued to rule, but the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb marched to reduce the South of India to his rule, and having blotted out Bîjapûr and Gôlconda turned his arms against the Marâthas. Aurangzeb was gradually closing in upon the Marâthâ country and suddenly captured Sambhâjî and put him to death. Then the Marâthâs unanimously declared Râjârâm, Regent during the minority of Sivâjî, the son of Sambhâjî who ruled subsequently as Sâhu. Aurangzeb was pushing on his campaign and was taking fort after fort when Sahu and his mother were taken captives. Rajaram now thinking that his personal safety was in danger decided to proceed to Gingee which was their stronghold, wherefrom he could conduct the administration of his kingdom securely and not fall into the hands of Aurangzeb. As soon as he reached Gingee, Rajaram² was formally seated on the throne, and he established a court on the plan of his father. The new court began to exercise all the powers of Government. Gold bangles, cloths, shawls and letters announcing the event were secretly forwarded to all the principal Hindus throughout the Marâthâ kingdom, and inâms and jâgîrs bestowed, by which acts the sympathy of all Marâthâs was secured. It was from Gingee that the whole administration of the Marâthâ country was conducted. It is therefore clear that Râjârâm did occupy the throne, but some of the Marâthâs "jealous of the right of the elder branch do not admit that he ever sat on the throne, but they say that he sat on the gadee3 merely as regent holding the powers of the State in trust for his nephew." Whatever it may be, he was virtually ruling the Marâthâ country and was in power. It was with this king that the authorities of the East India Company in Madras negotiated to purchase the fort of Dêvanâmpatnam. The firman4 which he issued to the East India Company was drafted for his signature by the writers of the Company at Madras, and it begins thus:-" Whereas we Râm Râja by the Providence of God king of the Chengie kingdome and territories have at the desire of the Honorable Elihu Yale Governor and Council of the citty and castle of Maddras." Here he is styled as Râm Râja, and so it is clear that Râm Râja is no other than Râjârâm, the second son of Sivâjî. In the records of the East India Company he was styled Râm Râja.

Gingee<sup>5</sup> was under the sway of Sivâjî and his son Râm Râja between 1677 and 1698. In 1698 it fell into the hands of the Mughals. These coins were therefore issued by Râm Râja during the period from 1683 to 1698. These may be called Râma Râja fanams as their weight is the same as that of other known fanams of South India.

The lines and dots on the obverse side of the coins may at first sight appear to represent a dagger but from a knowledge of coins generally we know that the dagger is not usually used alone. But it is sometimes used in seals on grants with other emblems of royalty, with the sun and moon to denote eternity. We know also that in ancient times these lines and dots were in some cases used conventionally to represent some figure or other. So I think that the lines and dots on the coins now being discussed may represent only the figure of the Râja, and this view receives confirmation from the Dêvanâgarî legend on the reverse side. We learn that coins similar in design were minted by the French at Pondicherry and by the Dutch at Negapatam with their respective bale mark on the reverse. The figure

<sup>2</sup> James Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, revised by S. M. Edwardes, 1921, vol. I, p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> James Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, p. 371 note.

<sup>4</sup> South Arcot District Gazetteer, p. 41. 5 Ibid., p. 350, and foot-note under.

<sup>6</sup> Cte Maurin Nahuy's Numismatique des Neerlandaises, part II, page 14.

is similar to that found on coins struck at Pondicherry by the Dutch during their occupation of it from 1693 to 1698. It was thought by Colonel Pearse to be Kâli or Suli of Tanjore. It is also stated that this design was found anterior to 1693 in the coins of Negapatam and the Dutch copied this design from them. He states without quoting any evidence that this design was extant as early as the second century of the Christian era during the period of the Guptas; but from the existing literature on the coins of Guptas we do not find any such design on record. Therefore this appears to be a later design, but current in the Eastern Districts at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the French, the Dutch and the Marâthâs have copied it from that earlier design.

#### II. Some Chola Coins.

A treasure-trove consisting of twenty-one gold coins was found in survey No. 169, Parla village, Kurnool District, on 2nd December 1918. These gold pieces were discovered during the removal of stones from a field.

Under the provisions of the Treasure Trove Act, the find was declared ownerless and was acquired for the Government Museum, Madras.

The treasure comprises fourteen varâhas, six Kadamba faṇams and one-quarter Kadamba faṇam. It is with these fourteen varâhas that the present paper deals.

The fourteen varâhas are all round and are of the well known Châlukyan type called Padmaṭanka. They preserve their cup-shaped form in almost all cases. One of them is thinner and larger than the others. They show various punch marks on the surface, the most prominent of which are the two auspicious symbols 'Śrî' in old Telugu-Kannada script on either side of the periphery at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At one extremity of the vertical diameter is found in Telugu-Kannada character the name or title of the king who issued the coin, and at the other end is found a hook attached to a spear bearing the sun and moon. There is also a stroke below the hook. The other symbols are the figures of a lion or tiger with open mouth, raised paw and twisted tail, very crudely represented by dots and lines. The central part is occupied by the figure of a lion. The reverse side of the coin is blank. Ten of the coins bear the legend ['nṭa]kaka,' one of them bears 'nnakîti' another 'A[ksha],' another 'kshada' or 'Ksha[pa'] and one 'na.' The legends are incomplete.

These fourteen varâhas are of five different types :-

No. 1. This comprises ten coins. They are round but slightly bulging out on the four sides. [Nos. 14, 15 & 16 in the Plate.]

Size. Varying from 20/24 to 21/24 of an inch in diameter.

Weight. Varies from 54.25 to 55.5 grains.

Description. At the top of the vertical diameter is the legend '[nta]kaka' in Telugu-Kannada script, and at the other end there is a spear with a hook turned towards its proper left. The handle of the spear is turned towards the centre of the coin. There are two dots on the proper right of the spear, which probably stand for the sun and moon. The symbols 'Srî' are found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The inter-spaces are filled with pellets, dots or rows of dots which probably represent lions.

No. 2. Number. There is only one coin of this kind. [No. 17 in the Plate.] Size. Round, 1 1/24 inches in diameter.

Weight. 54.5 grains.

Description. It bears the Telugu-Kannada 'nnakîti' at the top of the vertical diameter. Right below at the opposite extremity we find an ankusa. The symbols 'Srî' are found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. There is a standing lion in the centre and along the border, and the inter-spaces between the four punch marks already described are stamped with the figures of standing lions.

No. 3. Number. There is only one coin of this kind. [No. 18 in the Plate.]

Size. Round but bulging out on four sides. The horizontal and vertical diameters are
20/24 and 21/24 of an inch.

Weight. 55 grains.

Description. The legend 'A[ksha]' in Telugu-Kannada appears at the top of the vertical diameter. Right below at the opposite extremity is found the spear with the hook turned towards the proper right. There are three dots on the proper left of the spear. The symbol 'Śrî' is found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The interspaces are filled with pellets, dots or rows of dots, which probably represent a lion.

No. 4. Number. There is only one coin of this kind. [No. 19 in the Plate.] Size. Roughly round, varying from 19/24 to 20/24 of an inch in diameter.

Weight. 55 grains.

Description. A star surrounded by a number of dots with the moon, which is indicated by a dot within a circle, is found at the top of the vertical diameter. At the other extremity is found the legend 'kshada' or 'Ksha[pa]' in Telugu-Kannada characters. The symbol 'Śrî' is found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The interspaces are filled with figures of lions.

No. 5. Number. There is only one coin of this kind. [No. 20 in the Plate.] Size. Varying from 20/24 to 21/24 of an inch in diameter.

Weight. 55.25 grains.

Description. The legend 'na' inverted in Telugu-Kannada is found at the top of the vertical diameter. At the other extremity we find the spear with the hook and three dots, as found in No. 3 described above. The symbol 'Śrî' is found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The inter-spaces are filled with figures of lions.

The several legends noted above are all incomplete and until more coins with sufficiently intelligible legends are forthcoming it is not possible to say what they mean. 'Nnakîti' may probably stand for 'Punyakîrti,' and from the existing records we know of no king with such a name. There existed one Chôla chief Punyakumâra' by name who is supposed to have flourished in the eighth century A.D. The coins are similar to the Telugu-Chôla coins of the Kôdûr Treasure Trove case and were probably issued by the Telugu-Chôla chiefs who were ruling in the Telugu districts in the thirteenth century A.D.

# III.—Coins of Kavaliyadavalli Treasure Trove Case.

In September 1921, while some men were grazing their cattle on a hillock near the village of Kâvaliyadavalli, Âtmakûr taluk, Nellore district, they were attracted by the glitter of metal, and on close examination discovered some coins on a slab in a potsherd. They are sixteen in number, four big and twelve small ones. These form a hitherto unknown variety and are of some interest, and a closer study of them is likely to give valuable information to the history of Numismatics.

By size, shape and weight and the legend and other marks found on them they group themselves under different heads.

Class I. These consist of three big gold coins, which are nearly of the same diameter, only varying from '78 to '82 of an inch, and are of the same weight, 55 grains each. The metal is 16 carats fine. They are round-shaped and are of the well known Padmatanka type. They are cup-shaped and bear various punch marks on the surface, the most prominent of which is the symbol 'Srî' in old Telugu-Kannada script on either side of the periphery at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At the top of the vertical diameter is found in old Telugu script a legend which reads as 'R[â]yasa' and a portion of 'ma' in coin No. 1; 'Yasamu' in coin No. 2, and 'Samu' in coin No. 3. [Nos. 5, 6 & 7 of the Plate.]

<sup>7</sup> Epigraphia Indica, vol. XI, p. 344, noticed in Mâlêpâdu plates of Punyakumâra.

Putting these three together, we get a fairly intelligible and complete legend ['Râ]yasamu.' At the bottom of the vertical diameter is found a symbol which may be taken to represent a crown. Besides, there are a few indistinct impressions in the interspaces which perhaps are intended to represent lions. The reverse is blank.

The term 'Râyasamu' ordinarily indicates clerkship. Of course the legend cannot be supposed to mean only clerkship. So it should have a more appropriate meaning. We find that under the Vijayanagar rulers some viceroys had the title of 'Râyasam.' After the conquest of Udayagiri by Śrî Krishna Dêva Râya it was made a seat of a Provincial Government. Râyasam Timmarasayya and Râyasam Kondamârusayya were viceroys there in succession. Venkatappa was a viceroy during the reign of Achyuta Dêva Mahârâya. Râyasam Tirumalayya was a governor under Śr? Vîra Pratâpa Dêva Râya in Śaka 1496. Râyasam<sup>8</sup> Ayyappa was a governor at Kondavidu in Saka 1453. Though all these viceroys enjoyed the title of Râyasam, Kondamârusayya was the most powerful of them, so powerful that he was even addressed as Mahârâja. He 10 planted the Vijayanagara colours on the Simhâdri and Śrîkûrmam hills during Krishna Dêva Râyâ's famous campaign in the north. He11 conquered the Reddis who ruled at Chundi and annexed their territory. He was so powerful and enjoyed such great independence, that in his own name he made several grants for the spiritual benefit of his master. If only the legend 'Râyasamu' is to be our guide we may be tempted to conclude that these coins were issued by this powerful viceroy. But on palæographical grounds we have to assign these coins to an earlier date12.

Again the shape and size are so dissimilar to the extant Vijayanagar types and are more like those issued by the later Châļukyas of Kalyâṇi and the Telugu Chôla chiefs who ruled in parts of the districts of Cuddapah and Nellore. Further these coins bear a mark which is exactly the same as those found on coins of group X of the Kôdâr Treasure Trove Case<sup>13</sup>, which are ascribed to the western Châlukya king Jagadêkamalla. This mark was then thought to represent a temple, but on closer and more careful examination it seems to me to represent a crown. So far as our present knowledge goes there is no western Châlukyan king or Telugu Chôla chief who enjoyed the title of, or had the name, 'Râyasamu.' So unless and until we get further evidence from inscriptions or records which may be discovered in future we cannot ascribe these coins either to the Châlukya kings or to the Chôla chiefs.

Ambadêva<sup>14</sup> of the Kâyastha family was a feudatory of the Kâkatîyas. He defeated several Telugu chiefs and overthrew Śrîpati Gaṇapati. Ambadêva usurped the Kâkatîya throne in the interval between the reigns of Rudrâmba and Pratâpa Rudra Dêva. After the overthrow of Śrîpati Gaṇapati, Ambadêva assumed the title of Râyasahasramalla. It would be too far fetched to suppose that our legend 'Râyasamu' was a contraction of Râyasahasramalla ['Râya' for Raya, 'sa' for Sahasra and 'mu' (taking it to be ma) for malla], and we know of no instances in which there have been such contractions in the case of legends.

Upon palæographical grounds we have to ascribe these coins to about the same period as that during which Ambadêva flourished. In shape, size, weight and in the quality of the metal used these are very much the same as the one under class II, which as

<sup>8</sup> Mackenzie MSS., bk. XVIII, p. 104, and Local Records, vol. 57, pp. 255-256.

<sup>9</sup> Nellore Inscriptions, p. 1264. 10 Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, vol. I, pp. 7-8.

<sup>11</sup> Nellore Inscriptions, pp. 478, 479 note.

<sup>12</sup> The first point in regard to this view is whether Vijayanagar viceroys were allowed to issue gold coins. Secondly, whether the combination of the legend is valid. Rayasa, it will strike one is the terminal syllables of a Prakrit legend.—ED.

<sup>13</sup> Madras G. O. No. 1106 (Home Dt. Misc.), dated 11th October 1917.

<sup>14</sup> Madras Epigraphy Report for 1912, pp. 76, 77,

will be seen later on, is identified as a Kâkatîya coin which was current some twenty or thirty years before the period of Ambadêva Mahârâja. Hence it may be possible to hold that these coins were issued by Ambadêva who had for his model the earlier coins of the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâni, or it may be that these legends were a second time impressed on the western Châlukyan coins that existed before.

These are some of the possible theories which may be advanced as to the date and origin of these coins. But nothing definite can be said about them until fresh and more assuring evidence is obtained.

Class II. There is but one gold coin in this class. [No. 8 of the Plate.] It is almost round and has a diameter of '81 of an inch and weighs 56.25 grains. The metal is 16 carats fine. The symbol \$\text{Sr}\tilde{\gamma}\$ is found on either end of the horizontal diameter. At the top of the vertical diameter there is a legend ['ka]ti' and at the bottom, 'Gaṇa' in old Telugu script. The interspaces are filled by figures of what may either be a lion or tiger, with open mouth, raised paw and twisted tail, all these very crudely represented by dots and lines. The other side is blank.

There was a dynasty of Kâkatîya kings very powerful in the twelfth century. Gaṇapati was the greatest of the kings of this dynasty. We read from Gaṇapeśvaram inscription, that he conquered the entire country of Velanându, which extended from the borders of the Guntûr district to the modern Ellore. After subjugating the north he turned to the south and extended his empire far into the interior of the Tamil country. This is evidenced by the fact that one of his Viceroys, Sâmanta Bhôja at Kânchî, granted the village of Kalattûr to Êkâmranâtha temple at Kânchî for the spiritual merit of his master. From the Môtupalli inscription it appears that he extended his conquests as far as the east coast. Inscriptions of this king are found in the Podili and Dârsi taluks of the Nellore district and Ôngole taluk of the Guntûr District. Inscriptions of Pratâpa Rudra Dêva, another of the Kâkatîya kings, are found in plenty in the taluks of Âtmakûr, Kandukûr and Nellore, all which abundantly prove that the Kâkatîya empire embraced almost the whole of the modern Nellore district. Therefore the village of Kâvaliyadavalli in which this coin was discovered was presumably within the Kâkatîya kingdom.

It seems to be clear therefore that the '[ka]ti' of our legend is a contraction of Kâkati and represents Kâkatîya, and 'Gaṇa,' Gaṇapati, the most powerful of the Kâkatîya kings. The name Kâkatîya is derived from 'Kâkati,' the name of the goddess, whom they worshipped. This coin ought to be identified as the coin issued by Gaṇapati of the Kâkatîya dynasty, and between the years of 1199 and 1260 A.D., as from inscriptions 181, 196, 213, 220, 194 and 196 of 1905 noted in the Madras report on Epigraphy we infer that Gaṇapati reigned during that period.

Sir Walter Elliot in his History of South Indian coins says that in many of the seals of the grants and some coins of the Kâkatîya dynasty he found a bull couchant between two candelabra with an umbrella above and a chowrie on each side. Unfortunately he does not mention the names of the kings whose seals and coins he had examined. We have not come across any coins of the Kâkatîya dynasty answering to his description. In the seals of grants of Gaṇapati we do not find any bull, candelabra or umbrella. Instead, in the seal attached to the grant 19 of the village of Kolavennu by Gaṇapati we find a boar with the sun and moon. In the copper-plate grant of the time of Gaṇapati noticed in page 122 of the Annual Report on Epigraphy (Madras) for 1917, there is a seal which bears the emblems of a boar and a cow. Verșe 13 in the Êkâmranâtha inscription states that the mudra

<sup>15</sup> Epigraphia Indica, vol. III, p. 82. 16 Mad. Epi. Rep. for 1910, p. 106. 17 Ind. Ant., vol. 21, p. 197. 18 Mad. Epi. Rep. for 1910, p. 107,

<sup>19</sup> Catalogue of Copper-plate grants in the Madras Museum, p. 26.

(seal) of Gaṇapati was a boar.<sup>20</sup> The mudra<sup>21</sup> (seal) of Pratâpa Rudra Dêva was a boar. On the east face of the pillar on which the Anumakoṇḍa inscription<sup>22</sup> of Prôla, grandfather of Gaṇapati, is engraved we find a Jaina figure flanked by a cow and a calf on one side and a dagger and a shield on the other. Thus the mudra of Prôla too contains a cow, and we nowhere find a bull among the seals of grants or inscriptions of any of these kings. It is not therefore easy to understand how Sir Walter Elliot came to make the statement that the emblem of the Kâkatîyas was a bull.

However this may be, in the coin under investigation we find lions in and around the centre. From the foregoing discussion I have come to the conclusion that Gaṇapati's emblem was a boar. We usually find kings using on their coins the same emblems as they use for their seals in their grants, and therefore it is matter for consideration how lions came to be on Gaṇapati's coins. It is very likely that he accepted coins that were current before his time, and had his own name punched on them to indicate that he recognized them as legal tender. The formation of the punch marks on the coin and the fact that a portion of the legend overlaps a portion of the lion, show that the legends 'kati' and 'Gaṇa' were punched on old coins of kings who had lions for their emblem.

Class III. There are twelve gold coins in this class. They are all round with diameters varying from '4 to '45 of an inch, weighing all alike 5.75 grains each. The metal is 16 carats fine. All these have the legend 'Sung' in old Tamil script on the obverse side. Just below the legend there is also a number in the same old Tamil script, which very likely denotes the regnal year in which each was issued. On the reverse there is a bow, a tiger in sitting posture and some other symbols which are indistinct and are incapable of exact identification. In the case of one coin there is a legend 'Kanchi' and some others have 'Nê' in old Tamil script. In some 'Nê' is in an inverted form. Therefore these coins have to be sub-divided into five different classes, as under:—

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Variety No. (1) 

Obverse—'Sung.' [No. 9 of the Plate.]

27.

'Reverse—Tiger, Bow, and indistinct marks, 'Kanchi.'

No. (2) 
Obverse—'Sung.' [No. 10 of the Plate.]

31.

'Reverse—Tiger, Bow, some indistinct marks, 'Nê.'

No. (3) 
Obverse—'Sung.' [No. 11 of the Plate.]

31.

'Reverse—Tiger, Bow, some indistinct marks. 'Nê' inverted.

No. (4) 
Obverse—'Sung.' [No. 12 of the Plate.]

31.

'Reverse—Tiger, Bow, some indistinct marks.

No. (5) 
Obverse—'Sung.' [No. 13 of the Plate.]

34.

'Reverse—Tiger, Bow, some indistinct marks and dots.
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In the case of coins in which the number 31 appears there is also some mark which may be a simple line or a portion of the Tamil letter r. In either case it appears to be something distinct from the numeral and was perhaps intended to represent some symbol which is unfortunately indistinct and cannot be identified.

The emblems tiger, bow, and something else indistinct and the legend 'Sung' appear on all the coins. It is evident therefore that these coins have been issued by some king or kings of a dynasty which had for its emblem, among other things, the tiger and bow. The legend 'Sung' was very probably intended to denote the particular king who issued them. There can be no doubt that 'Kanchi' denotes the place from where, or the mint from

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<sup>20</sup> Ind. Ant., vol. XXI, p. 200.

<sup>22</sup> Epi. Ind., vol. IX, p. 257.

<sup>21</sup> Pratáparudrîya, by Vidyânâtha, Kâvyaprakarana, verse 10.

which, that coin was issued. Kanchi was the name of the modern Conjeevaram, which for many centuries was the seat of a king or viceroy. Hence the legend 'Nê' must also represent the contraction of the name of another place from which also coins were issued. From the inscriptions and records we already possess we know that the tiger was the

From the inscriptions and records we take of the Chêrâs and the fishes the emblem of the Chôla dynasty, the bow the emblem of the Chêrâs and the fishes the emblem of the Pâṇdyas. In the seal attached to the Tiruvalangâḍu²³ plates of Rajêndra Chôla I, we find the combination of all the three emblems. During the reign of Rajêndra Chôla we know that all the three kingdoms, Chêra, Chôla and Pâṇḍya, were brought under one sway. It is perfectly reasonable therefore to suppose that the Chôlas have added the emblems of the Chêras and the Pâṇḍyas, to their own tiger, to proclaim the fact that they had conquered and annexed to their own, the territories of the Chêras and the Pâṇḍyas.

Châlukya Râjêndra was from A.D. 1061 the ruler of the Eastern Châlukyan kingdom Vengi which had for its capital Râjahmundry. He was adopted by Râjêndra Chôla as heir to his throne. Thus Châlukya Râjêndra, who assumed the title of Kulôttunga Chôla Dêva I, became in A.D. 1070 the virtual ruler of the whole of the Châlukya and Chôla empires extending from Vengi in the north to the extreme south. He held possession of the kingdoms of Kêrala, Pâṇḍya²⁴ and Kuntala and extended his conquests as far north as Kalinga (modern Ganjam). He had his headquarters at Gangai Konda Chôlapuram (Trichinopoly district) and continued to rule for at least fifty years.

Kâvaliyadavalli, whence this find was discovered, was once under the sway of Kulôttunga Chôla I. During his reign he found that his subjects were groaning under heavy taxation and in order to give them relief abolished all 'sungam.' Sungam in Tamilindicates taxes or tolls. His subjects were so much overjoyed by this measure of relief that they acclaimed their sovereign as Sungam-tavirtta Kulôttunga Chôla Dêva. From that time forward he was known by the name of Sungam-tavirtta Kulôttunga Chôla I<sup>25</sup>. The legend 'Sung' must be a contraction of Sungam-tavirtta (who has abolished tolls). It can only indicate that these coins were issued by this Sungam-tavirtta Kulôttunga Chôla, otherwise the legend will be absolutely inexplicable.

I have already said that Kanchi represents Conjeevaram, the place from which the coin was issued; 'Nê' must indicate Nellore. From inscriptions found in the district of Nellore we find there are frequent references made to a coin called 'mâḍai.' Mention is made of 'mâḍai' from the interest of which a lamp was maintained in a temple during the 35th year of the reign of Kulôttunga I. From another inscription<sup>27</sup> we learn that there existed coins called 'Nellore mâḍai,' for we find that in the 3rd year of Allam Tirukkâḷatti Gaṇḍa Gôpala Dêva grants of 'Nellore mâḍai' were made to a temple. From the above it is clear that at one time or other there was a mint at Nellore. So the legend 'Nê' must represent Nellore.

The numerical figures 27, 31 and 34 are evidently the regnal years of the king Kulôttunga who issued them, for we know that coins of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinganagara bear the impress of the regnal year in which they were issued.

We can therefore safely conclude that the coins in this class were all issued between the years A.D. 1070 and 1120, by Kulôttunga Chôla I and that they were minted, some at Kanchi and others at Nellore. These coins have brought to light that the Chola king Kulôttunga had mints at Kanchi, or Conjeeveram, and Nellore.

In weight they are very much equal to other South Indian fanams that we know of. Only these are a bit larger, but thinner. Probably these were also called fanams in those days.

<sup>23</sup> South Indian Inscriptions, vol. III, part III, p. 413, see plate attached.

<sup>24</sup> Nellore Inscriptions, page 826 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Inscription No. 377 of 1907, Mad. Epi. Rep.

<sup>26</sup> Nellore Inscriptions, page 835.

<sup>27</sup> Inscription No. 300 of 1921, Mad. Epi. Rep.

#### MISCELLANEA.

#### COPPER-PLATES WANTED.

Can any body tell me where the following copperplates are preserved ?

#### I. Valabhi Plates.

I have not yet been able to trace anywhere the following Valabhî plates which have never been published but have been noted in the following way :-

- (1) A grant of Sam. 291 Ashâdha Sudi 3, found in Bhâdarana near Baroda, noted by the late Dr. H. H. Dhruva in his book "Baroda delegate at the VIIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Stockholm and Christiania in 1889."
- (2) A grant of Sam. 315, referred to in Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, pt. I (History of Gujarat), p. 92.
- (3) & (4) Two grants of Sam. 322 and 328 referred to by Dr. Bühler in Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 73.
- 5) A grant of Sam. 332 referred to in Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, pt. I, p. 92, and in Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 73. It records the grant of the village Pedhapadra. As it is noted that the plates were in the possession of the Chief of Morvi, I personally went to Morvi and made enquiries but got no clue of them whatsoever.
- (6) A grant of Sam. 376 Margasira Sudi 15, referred to by Dr. Kielhorn in his List of Northern Inscriptions, No. 492, as "from impressions supplied by Dr. Burgess."

The following plates are published but the whereabouts of the originals are not known :-

## Of Dhruvasena I-

330

Of Kharagraha II-

Of Sîlâditya III-

Sam. 365(?) ?

Sam.	207	Kukada	In	d. Ant	., V,	p.	204	
,,	216	Valâ		,,	IV,	p.	104	
,,,	221	Vavdia Jogi	a, Wien	er				
			Zeitsc.	hrift,	VII,	p.	299	
Of Guha	asena	ı—						
Sam.	240	Valâ,	Ind.	Ant.	VII,	p.	66	
,,	248	?	,,	,,	V,	p.	206	
Of Dhan	rasen	a I—						
Sam.	252	Jhar,	Ind.	Ant.	XV,	p.	187	
,,			,,	,,	VI,	p.	9	
,,	270	Alînâ,		,,				
Of Dhruvasena II—								
Sam.	320	Nogawa, Ep	. Ind.,	vol.	VIII,	p.	188	
		,,						
Of Dharasena IV—								
Sam	330	Alînâ ,Ind.	Ant.	vol.	VII.	n.	73	

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, MADRAS, December 22nd to 24th, 1924; Madras, Law Printing House

Sam. 337 Alînâ, Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 76

This volume, which embodies the proceedings and administrative details of the 3rd All-India Of Śîlâditya IV-

Sam. 372 Bhavnagar, Ind. Ant., vol. V, p. 207 ., 441 Lunavâdâ, " VI, p. 66 ,,

447 Alînâ, ., VII. p. 79

II. Malva Paramara Plates. Of Vâkpati Muňja—

Sam. 1031 Indore, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 51 ., 1036 Ujjain,

,, " XIV, p. 160 Of Bhojadeva-

Sam. 1078 Indore. " VI, p. 53 Of Harischandravarman-

Sam. 1235 (6) Piplianagar, JASB., vol. V. p. 378 Of Udayavarman-

Sain. 1256 Bhopal, Ind. Ant., vol. XVI, p. 254 Of Arjunavarman-

Sam. 1267. Piplianagar, JASB., vol. V, p. 378

" 1270 Bhopal, JASB., vol. VII, p. 32 " 1272 Bhopal,

" " VII, p. 25 III. Gujarat Chaulukya Plates.

Of Mûlarâja-

Sam. 1030 Pâtaņa, noticed in Wiener

Zeit., vol. V, p. 300

1043 Kadi, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 191 Of Bhîma-

Sam. 1086 Radhanpur, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 193 " [10]93 Cutch,

" " XVIII, p. 108 Of Kumârapâla-Sam, 1213 Nadol,

Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 202 Of Ajayapâla-

Sam. 1231 Kadi, Ind. Ant., vol. XVIII, p. 80 Of Bhîma-

Sam. 1263 Kadi, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 194 " 1264 Timana XI, p. 337 \*\* 1266 Kadi XVIII, p. 112 1283 VI, p. 199 ,, ,,

VI, p. 201 1287 ,, ,, 1288 VI, p. 203 " 1295

VI, p. 205 75 VI, p. 207 1296

Of Jayantasimhadeva-Sam, 1280 Kadi, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 196

Of Tribhuvanapâladeva-Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 208 Sam, 1299 Kadi,

Of Vîśâladeva-Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 210 Sain. 1317 Kadi, D. B. DISKALKAR.

#### MORVI PLATE.

In reply to Mr. B. F. Gharda's query, Ind. Ant., vol. LIV (1925), p. 140, as to the whereabouts of the Morvi plate, dated s. 585, I have to write that it is preserved in the office of the Diwan, Morvi State in Kathiawad.

D. B. DISKALKAR.

#### BOOK-NOTICES.

XV, p. 335

JASB., vol. VII, p. 96

Oriental Conference, as well as the papers read before the various sections, constitutes a valuable addition to the literature of Indian antiquarian research. It is impossible within the limits of a short review to do more than call attention to a few of the subjects which figure in the papers read before

the Conference; but it may be said without fear of refutation that Indologists will here find matter to suit various tastes and various lines of research. Mr. N. B. Pavjee's paper, in which he maintains that the famous Soma juice was not liquor, is as interesting in its way as Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi's thesis on the relation of two dramas, Dâmaka and Traivikrama, to the published dramas of Bhâsa. Dr. Daruwalla contributes a critical survey of the political social and religious condition of Iran in the time of Ardeshir Bapak, while the rather obscure development of Buddhism known as Vajrayana, associated with the name of king Indrabhuti of Orissa, is discussed by Mr. B. Bhattacharya, who incidentally corrects some of the identifications of places suggested by Waddell.

The Dravidian languages and literature of Southern India from the basis of several good papers, including a lengthy one on "The Aryan affinities of Dravidian pronouns" by R. Swaminatha Aiyar, another by J. R. Pantulu on "Dravidian Lexicography," and a third on the date of Silappadikaran by Pandit E. M. Subrahmanya Pillai, who gives reasons for dating the burning of Madura in A.D. 144 and the installation of Kannaki in A.D. 149. A good deal might be added to Mr. G.V. Acharya's brief paper on "Memorial Stores in the Bombay Presidency." The writer of this review discovered a curious stone at Junnar in 1904, which recorded an eclipse of the Sun, and managed after some trouble to have it removed to the library of the B.B.R.A.S. Presumably it is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, together with the Silahara inscribed stones from Thana and Kolaba Districts. Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya has a suggestive paper on "Dionysus in Megasthenes"; Mr. B. Bhattachraya gives good reasons for assuming that a hitherto unidentified statuette in the Indian Museum represents Mahâśrî Târâ; and a learned essay by Mr. K. V. S. Avvar on "The Earliest Monuments of the Pandya Country and their Inscriptions" will repay

Several good papers are included in the Section devoted to History, Geography and Chronology, and much learning has been expended upon the papers concerned with Oriental Philosophy. The author of a discourse on electricity and magnetism in Ancient India deals mainly with the origin of the common Indian superstition that one should never sleep with one's head pointing towards the north. I remember calling attention to the fact that the street-sleepers of Bombay City during the hot weather months invariably avoided lying with their heads pointing northwards, and was then informed by a local wiseacre that it was owing to popular fear of the Pole star, and that the general opinion was enshrined in the adage; kibla muaf karta hai, par qutb hargiz nahîn. Rao Sahib R. K. Bhonsle investigates the subject more fully. Professor K. Rangachariar contributed an interesting paper on "Gotra and Pravara", and the veteran Iranian scholar, Dr. J. J. Modi, has a characteristic article showing that the Huns, who invaded India, were followers of the ancient religion of Iran. Professor M. Shafi is the author of a sound account of the Nurbakshi sect.

The volume has been arranged and prepared for publication by the Secretaries of the Congress, Professors S. K. Aiyangar and P. P. S. Sastri, who are justified in regarding with satisfaction the production of a work which, compact as it is of learnings, is bound to attract the attention of Orientalists.

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE LADY OF THE LOTUS, by AHMAD-UL-UMRI, translated with Introduction and Notes, by L. M. CRUMP, Oxford University Press, 1926.

This is an admirably printed work and the format is worthy of the Oxford Press. The illustrations also are extraordinarily good and interesting. The book tells the story of the well-known 16th century Rajput romance of Rupmati and Baz Bahadur of Gujarat, but although Rupmati is described as "Queen of Mandu" on the title page, it is pretty evident that she was in reality a dancing-girl and never really married to Bazid Khan, i.e, Baz Bahadur.

An immense amount of labour has been bestowed by Mr. Crump on the book, and his story of the discovery of a copy of the 17th century copy of Ahmadu'l-Umrî's MS., and of the pictures connected therewith is in itself a literary romance of unusual attraction. He is to be congratulated thereon. He describes himself as being no scholar and though one may take it that this self-depreciation is rather over-strained, in some of his many useful notes there are errors in the spelling of personal names and occasionally somewhat naive remarks as to classical allusions. But these are only minor blemishes in a work of much research.

Ahmadu'l-Umrî was a Turkoman noble of Akbar's period and was obviously imbued with the exceedingly florid Persian style of his time. His prose is therefore trying to European readers in places, but nevertheless the spirit of it is well reproduced by Mr. Crump. Rupmati, among other things, has been credited with much popular verse, and Mr. Crump has been at great pains to unearth some of this and to turn it into English verse. She was not what one would call a great poetess, but it is of value to have what she is credited with before us in a pleasing manner. Altogether Mr. Crump has been successful in his efforts to bring home to Europeans a story and a literary style much appreciated by all Rajputs.

R. C. TEMPLE.

749. In 1807 Said Saeed of Muscat defeated a piratical attack of the Joasmis on Mekran, but in 1808-9 the Wahabis established their influence at Muscat (Bomb. Sel., N. S. XXIV, 124). Precluded by the Treaty of 1806 from attacks on British trade in the Gulf, the Joasmis, urged on by the Wahabis, extended their forays to the coasts of Muscat and India (Capt. Mignan, p. 39) and after the return of the British squadron from the Persian Gulf to Bombay in 1808, Joasmi dhows from Rams, Shargah and other places on the coast (under a chief named Gadeff), without the permission of their lawful chief Sultan-bin-Suggur of Ras-ul-khymah, began to practise piracy on the coast of Gujarat. Four of their boats, having been beaten off by the Lively (Lieutenant Macdonald) had the impudence to present themselves as simple traders at Surat. Though their real character was known beyond doubt, the Bombay Government allowed them to go free. This easy treatment so encouraged them that Sultan-bin-Suggur actually demanded tribute from the British and "the blood-red Joasmi flag was seen flaunting itself on the coasts of Cutch and Scinde, and twenty native craft were captured in Indian waters" by the Joasmi chief Gadeff (Captain Mignan, p. 39; Low, I. 324).

750. Lieutenant Charles Gowan of the Company's cruiser Fury (six guns) having on the 10th May 1808 beaten off an attack by two dhows of ten and six guns, the larger carrying 300 men, was censured by Governor Jonathan Duncan (1793-1811) for disobedience to orders in firing the first shot and "daring to molest the innocent and unoffending Arabs of these seas." These same unoffending Arabs, in spite of the heavy fire from the Fury, attempted to board her "heaving spears and large stones into us" (Bombay Courier, 14th May, 1808; Low, I. 320).

751. On the 20th October 1808 Joasmi pirates from Ras-ul-khymah seized, thanks to the Commander's observance of Governor Duncan's stupid orders, the Company's cruiser Sylph (Lieut. W. G. Graham), and were about to murder the crew when H. M. S. Nereid (Commodore Corbett) coming up, sank their vessels and prevented them from effecting their villainous intention (Bomb. Sel., N. S. XXIV, 130). According to the account given by Monsieur Morien (Journey to Persia) the Joasmis had murdered some of the crew of the Sylph before they were interfered with by a shot from the Nereid. Rushing to their two boats they proceeded to attack the Nereid, which quietly allowed them to approach and sank them at close quarters with a couple of broadsides (Naval Chronicle, XXVIII, p. 284). Three days later the Nautilus (Lieut. Bennett) beat off four Joasmi ships near the Island of Anjar south of Kishm (Buckingham, II. 231). (Low I,322) points out that the Bombay Government by sending on such dangerous missions ships of only 80 tons like the Sylph, not one-third the size of an ordinary Joasmi vessel, simply invited disaster. Sultan-bin-Suggur pretended that Gadeff (See para. 749 above) had acted contrary to his orders and apologised for the attack on the Sylph.

752. On the 29th May 1809 about fifty-five Joasmi dhows attacked the merchant ship Minerva (Captain Hopewood or Hopgood) about a fortnight's sail from Muscat and, after a defence which lasted two days and a night, carried her by boarding, killed all the Europeans in her except the First Officer and some of the crew, who offered to turn Muhammadans, and some ladies and women (who had actively employed themselves in making and filling bags of gunpowder) whom they carried to Ras-ul-Khymah and (?) released (Madras Courier, 13th October 1809; Naval Chronicle, XXIII. p. 281). According to Lieutenant Heude (p. 38) when the fight was over, the Joasmis solemnly purified the Minerva with water, perfumes and prayers, and then, invoking Allah, cut the throats of their victims over the prow of the vessel (Low, I. 320; Wellsted, Arabia, I. 247). These piratical sacrifices of prisoners were, of course,

of very ancient origin (See para. 113 above).

753. In 1809 the Wahabi Chief, Shaikh Saood, obtained supremacy over Oman, and considering that Sultan-bin-Suggur had shown cowardice by his apologies to the British, appointed his cousin, Husain- (or Hassan)-bin-Ali, Joasmi Chief of Rams (See para. 742 above), the Wahabi representative on the Pirate Coast. Sultan-bin-Suggur escaped to Muscat and was established by the Imam at Shargah (Bomb. Sel., N. S. XXIV. 59, 130). The fleets of Rams, Lingah and Ras-ul-khymah, always commanded by either Husain or his brother (?) Ibrahim-bin-Ali, now cruised in the Wahabi interest in the Persian Gulf against the ships

of all nations, Husain taking one-fifth of all booty as his share. The combined forces of these pirates were estimated at more than 70 vessels, carrying crews of between 80 and 200 men (Low, I. 324). At last, in 1809, a small expedition under Colonel Smith and Captain Wain. wright was organised to relieve Seyyid Said of Muscat from Wahabi influence. In November Ras-ul-Khymah was taken and burnt: Lingah suffered the same fate: Luft, on the Island of Kishm, was abandoned by the pirates, who were, in short, cleared out of the whole Gulf. Still, all that could be extracted from the Wahabi Chief, Saood, was a contemptuous promise that he would not approach the shores of the Company, in other words that he persisted in his right to attack ships belonging to Hindus or to other nationalities than the British (Bomb. Gaz., XIII, 521 n; Low, I. 325—335). It is true that the Joasmis concluded a treaty with Mr. Bruce, the British Resident at Bushire, but their delegate was disgraced on his return for having signed a document in which the Joasmis appeared as no better than mere equals of the British (Buckingham, II. 245). It was suggested to the Bombay Government that the best way of reducing these obstinate people to reason was to cut off the supply of ship-timber from Malabar (Captain Mignan, p. 40).

#### Chinese.

754. Mr. J. Turner, Chief Mate of the Tay (William Greig, Master) was taken by Ladrone pirates in November 1806 and was kept prisoner for some time, so that he had a good opportunity for observing their character and customs. He reported that they were very religious, always taking the advice of the Gods before any expedition, and making recruits swear fidelity before the idols. When prisoners were ransomed, they had to make presents to the priests and offer sacrifice before they were released. Their Chief at this time was Ching Yih, kinsman (i. e., younger brother, See para. 720 note) of Ching Tseih, who had been very powerful in Cochin-China; but Yih was drowned in 1807 during a storm and was succeeded by his widow, who employed as her lieutenant one Chang Paou, originally a fisher boy whom her husband had picked up at sea. The strongholds of the pirates were in Hainan, Formosa and Tonquin, from the last of which they had recently been expelled (See para. 720 and 738 above). They had regular agents at Canton and other Chinese ports and were supplied with all they wanted by merchants at Amoy. They formed (Gutzlaff, II, 71) six squadrons, the red, black, yellow, green, blue, black-and-white (Turner, Naval Chronicle, XX. p. 456, gives only five, See para. 773 below) and on one occasion had beaten an Imperial fleet, taking or destroying 28 out of 40 vessels as well as 500 guns and 8000 men (See para. 736 above). 144 They served under strict regulations, the breach of any one of which was punished by death. The most important of these were: (1) No pirate might go secretly ashore. (2) All booty taken was to be registered and distributed in equal proportion. (3) Of money taken one-fifth was to go to the captors, the remainder to a common fund. (4) All provisions, stores etc. procured from the country people were to be honestly paid for. (5) The handsomest female captives were to be kept for wives or concubines but indiscriminate intercourse with female captives was prohibited.146 Rules, very similar to the first and second of these, are to be found in the code established by the Baltic pirate Palnatoki of Jomsburgh in the latter half of the 10th century, but Palnatoki excluded all women from Jomsburgh (Mallet, Northern Antiquities, p. 139). The treatment of female captives is however much the same as that prescribed in the Malay Maritime Codes which are supposed to date from the 13th century (See R. A. S. Straits Journ., No. 3, July 1879). Yih's widow divided the six squadrons above mentioned into three fleets, of which she commanded one herself, giving the remaining two, the first or red squadron to Paou, already mentioned, and the second or black squadron to another Commander Kwo Potae (Chinese Repository, III. 72-83; Gutzlaff, II, 71, China Review, XXI. 151). The Chinese, it may be noted, called these pirates "foam of the Sea" which reminds

<sup>144</sup> This victory was won by the Red Squadron under Chang Paou (China Review, XXI. 156). 145 According to Glasspoole, the women who were not ransomed were sold at 40 dollars each to the Ladrones and were looked upon by them as legitimate wives, desertion of whom was punishable by death

one of the French "écumeur de mer," meaning a pirate (S. Wells Williams, History of China, p. 49). According to Mr. Wells, the fear of the pirates was so great that the Chinese Governor of Canton went to reside in Macao. As for Kwo Potae (or Opo-tai or patriot, and from what has been said of the constitution of the pirate fleet, it is clear that it Chang Paou's look-out and fortified head-quarters between 1806 and 1810 were situated on Victoria Peak in the Island of Hongkong.

Malagasis. 755. The Sir Edward Hughes (Captain James Urmston) being at Johanna on the 11th August 1802, the Captain went ashore and returned the King's visit. "He gave us an account of the distressful state of the Island in consequence of the frequent attacks made by the Madagascarians (See para. 757 below), who came over in large canoes that hold 25 men each, to the number of 100, armed with musquets and spears, and destroy all their cultivated grounds, and that in two months from the present time he expected another attack. Their object is to take the inhabitants off the Island and to sell them to the French as slaves. They have taken and killed 50 of their Gentlemen (See para. 329 above) as they call themselves. That is the distinction between them and the original natives who are their servants and cultivate their lands. I could not get the number of the latter that were killed and taken, but the number was considerable. What remains of them have come into the King's Town, where they unite for the general defence under the protection of a small fort. They were out of powder and their musquets had been taken off by the enemy. In this helpless state I sent them the undermentioned supply as from the Hon'ble East India Company. They felt themselves quite happy and expressed their grateful thanks for so seasonable a supply. I also gave them at their request a Union Jack, which they instantly hoisted. The King and the Governor said they would give up the Island to the East India Company and would with pleasure be their slaves, sooner than be harassed in the manner they have been for some years past by the people from Madagascar, who take and sell them to the French, a people they do not like. These poor, kind and inoffensive people are most cruelly persecuted. They seem much attached to the English."

756. In 1805 a vessel under the colours of the King of Johanna arrived at Calcutta. She was the Louis (formerly the Swallow brig-of-war and refitted in England as a privateer) commanded by a Captain Smith, mounted 19 guns, had a number of Europeans and coffrees on board as well as 130 slaves. As her character was suspicious H. M. S. Psyche took charge of her, the Englishmen on board being a useful addition to her own crew (Calcutta Gazette, 20th June 1805).

757. In the Adventures of a Younger Son (Chaps. 38.39) Edward John Trelawney refers to his experiences among the Marati pirates in Madagascar. Henry Salt (Voyage to Abyssinia), who was in Madagascar in the year 1809, says that they were known to the Portuguese as Sekelaves, but their real name was Marati. They inhabited the north-east coast of the Island, but were subject to the Queen of Pembetoc on the north-west coast. They used to plunder the people of Johanna, Comoro, Mohilla and Mayotta, raiding those islands in fleets of 30 to 100 canoes 45 feet long by 10 or 12 broad, carrying fifteen to thirty-five men each. In 1807 they had cut off a French ship on her way to Mauritius and murdered everyone on board. "They carry cresses like the Malays, from whom possibly they may be descended," [N.B.—The inhabitants of Madagascar are of the same stock as the Malays or perhaps rather of the pre-Malay Polynesians. Bomb. Gaz., XIII. ii. 713 n.] "and exhibit in their attacks a degree of ferocity that can scarcely be exceeded. Their enmity is not particularly directed against the Portuguese, for their maxim is universal war-fare." On one occasion six of their canoes were attacked by a Portuguese brig-of-war and fought with such desperation that all the pirates were killed except four men who were taken prisoners.

French.

758. About the 20th February 1794 off Pulo Way two French seacunnies, five Manila men and one Coffree stabbed the Captain of the Wallajah (from Manila) and left him for dead.

They then killed the Chief and Second Officers and two or three black people, lowered three chests of treasure into the ship's boat and escaped ashore. The same day the Wallajah was taken by the French privateer Pillage (Calc. Gaz., 5th May, 1794).

759. On the 29th October 1795 nine Frenchmen, prisoners on parole, hired a budgerow on the Hugli and went down to Tumlook. Placing on the upper deck an English woman and child, whom they had persuaded to accompany them, they approached the Pilot schooner Gillet, as if they wished to pay her a visit, and when the ladder was let down, rushing out suddenly armed with pistols and cutlasses, stormed the vessel, which they carried off after setting the Pilot and his crew adrift in a boat (Calc. Gaz., 5th November 1795). What became of these runaways is not stated.

760. The piratical character of the privateers in the Indian seas is shown by the fact that they carried crews of all nationalities. Thus the French privateer Psyche had a crew of all nations, including 20 or 30 Englishmen, of whom 2 had been in the Bengal Pilot Service (Calc. Gaz., 16th Feb. 1804), and the Revenu (Captain Robert Surcouf) included in her crew a number of Englishmen from a Guineaman which she had captured on her voyage out to India (Prince of Wales Island Gaz., 14th Nov. 1807). Others of these privateers 140 are said to have been frankly piratical, attacking not only British ships but Malays and other foreigners. Such for instance was La Petite Caroline commanded by Jean Lafitte. She was a vessel of about 200 tons and a fine sailer, but armed with only two or four carronades and carrying only 26 men (Louis Garneray, Voyages, Aventures et Combats, pp. 64, 65). With this it is said that he captured an armed English schooner in the Bay of Bengal, and in her took the East Indiaman Pagoda (carrying a battery of 26 twelve-pounders and 150 men) by surprise, pretending that he was a Ganges pilot (a trick played by the celebrated Surcouf). Transferring his crew to this vessel, he carried his prizes to Mauritius, where he sold them and bought La Confiance, which he armed with 26 guns and 250 men. Shortly after, in October 1807, off the Sandheads, he took the East Indiaman Queen, pierced for 40 guns and manned with about 400 men. The terror created by this exploit forced the British to protect their trade by convoys, and Lafitte, finding the game no longer pay, returned to France. Thence he went to the West Indies and with a commission from Cartagena, newly revolted from Spain, became, with his brother Pierre, the head of a piratical community in Barataria (Louisiana), preying chiefly on Spanish commerce. This community, founded in 1811, was broken up by the United States Government in 1814. The Lafittes were offered service by the British in the war with the United States, but joined the latter, and for their services in the defence of New Orleans received a pardon from Governor Madison. In 1816 they formed a kind of Settlement in the Island of Galveston, but of such a character that the United States Government was forced to break it up in 1820. The Lafittes resumed their piratical career, and Lafitte is said to have been killed in fight with a British sloop-of-war about 1826 (The Pirates' Own Book, p. 62; De Bow's Southern and Western Review, October 1851, pp. 372-387; New International Encyclopædia; Keble Chatterton, Old East Indiamen, p. 317). As a matter of fact, it seems certain that there was a privateer named Jean Lafitte in the Eastern Seas early in the 19th century, but there is no mention at all in Hardy's Register of any Indiaman named Pagoda or of any Indiaman named Queen<sup>147</sup> which was taken by the French. The Logs in the India Office furnish no confirmation of the story. The Anglo-Indian Newspapers are equally silent. In short there seems no authority for identifying Jean Lafitte the Privateer in Indian waters with either of the historical brothers Jean and Pierre, who started life in America in the much more prosaic character of blacksmiths.

<sup>146</sup> According to the Biographie Universelle, Robert Surcouf himself was open to the charge of piracy, for in 1795 he commanded, without any commission, the Emilie, in which he took a number of English ships in the Bay of Bengal to the value of 600,000 livres.

<sup>147</sup> The only Indiaman of that name, which was in the Bay of Bengal anywhere near this date, was lost by fire in 1801.

## Americans.

761. In 1807, an English sloop-of-war at Macao found there an American schooner from Chili and took out of her certain English seamen. These said that on the coast of Chili she had plundered several Spanish vessels. It was therefore determined to seize her, which was done by the boats of the sloop after a desperate fight, in which the American Captain and several of his men were killed. Upwards of 150,000 dollars and much other property were found on board. She was sent to Bombay for condemnation (annual Register, 1808, Chronicle p. 14).

## Chinese.

762. In the summer of 1807 H.M.S. Phaeton (Captain P.B. Pellew) and H.M.S. Bellone (Captain John Bastard) arrived in China to convoy the first fleet of country ships. "About 60 or 70 sail of Ladrones passed in the most impudent manner within range of the guns and the Captain of the frigates, recollecting the attempt which had been made on the Bellone, 148 determined to punish the presumption of these pirates—immediately that they were abreast of the frigates, opened a smart fire on them which was received by the Ladrones with the utmost coolness and indifference and without even returning a shot or making any particular exertion to hasten without the range of the guns" (Dalrymple, App. p. 15). In this year it was estimated that the Ladrones had 500 ships and 25,000 men (Chin. Repos., III. 82).

763. In 1808 the American schooner *Pilgrim*, belonging to Mr. Wilcocks of Canton, was taken by the Ladrones. In the same year H. M.SS. *Lion* <sup>149</sup> and *Dover*, on the China Station, sent out boats to hunt the Ladrones. On one occasion the latter surprised the launch of the *Dover*, and, as was their custom when fighting against boats, threw a fishing net over her. Fortunately for the crew, they were able to cut themselves free and to beat off the pirates (Dalrymple, App. 16).

764. Much as the Chinese dreaded the pirates, their national dignity was offended by any offer from foreign officials to assist them. For this reason they had declined Captain Page's offer in 1804 (See para. 738 above) and, when on the 21st September 1808, Admiral Drury occupied Macao as a precautionary measure against a possible French'attack, he was forced to comply with their demand for his withdrawal, though it was couched in the most insulting terms (British Relations with the Chinese Empire in 1832, p. 127; Petition of Canton Merchants to Parliament).

765. In the beginning of 1809 a Mandarin fleet attacked the Ladrones near Macao, but was defeated with the loss of many ships. Later on H.M.S. Barracouta, dismasted in a storm, came into Macao to refit and, whilst still disabled, was attacked by the Ladrones, but was able to beat them off (Dalrymple, App. p. 18).

766. At the end of August 1809, eighteen Ladrone vessels (their Admiral carrying 28 guns) attacked the Atahualpa of Boston (Captain Sturges) in Macao Roads, whilst the Captain and part of his crew were ashore, but, though she had only six-pounders, she managed to repulse them and escape under shelter of the guns of the fort (Naval Chronicle, XXIII. 278). In the Log of H.M.S. Dedaigneuse (Captain George Bell), it is stated, under the 23rd August 1809 that, observing an American (a ship under American colours) in Macao Roads attacked by Ladrones, she drove off the latter but was compelled to fire again on the Ladrones next day. The Atahualpa had four lakhs of dollars on board (Prince of Wales Island Gazette, 4th November 1909). In August 1809 Admiral Ting Kwei, having been defeated by Chang Paou off Kwei Këa Mun, committed suicide (Yung Lun Yuen, pp. 27, 28).

767. On the 10th September the *Trowbridge* (Captain Gourlay), leaving Canton, observed 100 sail of Ladrones waiting at the Second Bar, apparently to attack her—though they did not do so—as they had attacked the *Auspicious* and *Dadaloy* going in, when they inflicted some damage, but could not take the ships. Captain Gourlay stated that the Chinese Government had taken up the *Mercury* as a Privateer at 2000 dollars a day, to act against the pirates.

<sup>148</sup> La Bellone (Captain John Bastard) was badly damaged by a storm on the 27th July 1807, but

her Log does not mention this attack.

149 The Log of the Lion (Captain Henry Heathcote) for the 26-27th November 1808 mentions 8 men
wounded in a boat attack on the Ladrones.

She was commanded by Captain Williams (late of the Palmer) and had 50 American volunteers on board (Prince of Wales Island Gazette, 4th November 1809).

768. In spite of their dislike of foreign assistance, the Chinese authorities found their hands forced by the fact that early in September the Ladrones had taken three large Siamese junks carrying the Siamese Ambassador with presents for the Emperor of China. At their request the Canton (English) Merchants in two days equipped the Mercury (? Captain Jones or Williams) with 20 guns and a strong crew including 50 volunteers from the American ships in the river. "The pirates never stood her fire after the first day; for with grape shot she cleared the decks of such ships as she came up with, destroyed seven or eight vessels and took one prize." After a cruise of about fifteen days, in which she recovered the tribute and cleared the river, she returned to harbour, on the 30th September 1809. The Chinese authorities were so astonished at this performance that they asked for her services again, but these were refused (Dalrymple, App. p. 76).

769. The Ladrones had now approached Macao, and their strength may be judged by the fact that Mr. Richard Glasspoole (Report dated 8th December 1809), fourth officer of the Company's ship Marquis of Ely, who was, with his boat's crew, captured by them on the 22nd September 1809 and not ransomed until the 8th December, estimated them to have had between eighteen and nineteen hundred vessels of all sizes, whilst the large ones, of which there were between one and two hundred in all the squadrons, were from five to six hundred tons, mounted 20 to 30 guns, 18, 12, 9, and 6-pounders, and carried from three to four hundred men. Some of these were merchant vessels cut down as, for instance, was that of their Chief, which mounted 38 guns for one deck (two long 24-pounders, eight or nine eighteens, the rest nines or sixes). All the guns were mounted on trucks without carriages, breechings or tackles and were trained with handspikes and a rope attached to the muzzle through the gunwale. On the 20th October the Ladrones defeated the Chinese fleet, taking three ships, sinking two and putting eighty-three to flight. The Chinese Admiral blew up his ship rather than surrender (Miles. p. 35). The pirate Chief (Apotsye, Kwo Potae or Kwo Apou) ordered Glasspoole and his men to assist in the fighting, under the threat that otherwise he would not allow them to be ransomed. Glasspoole says that he refused and tried to persuade his men to do so, but that they readily volunteered when Apotsye offered to take a ransom of 4000 dollars for the prisoners, and to give them a reward of 20 dollars for the head of every Chinaman they killed, if they could take the fort at Little Whampoa. This they did on the 1st November. On the 4th November the pirate fleet of about 300 vessels went for repairs to Salowung Bay on the north side of Lantao, where on the 8th they were attacked by four Portuguese vessels, a brig and a schooner. These did not venture to enter the harbour but blockaded it until the 20th, when they were joined by 93 Mandarin vessels. The Ladrones rejoiced at the appearance of the latter and immediately attacked them with such junks and boats as they had ready. On the 20th one of the Mandarin boats was blown up by a brand flung from a Ladrone vessel. On the 23rd, another of 22 guns and 74 men was captured and all the crew immediately butchered in the most inhuman manner. On the 28th, the whole Ladrone fleet, now fully repaired, put to sea and very nearly succeeded in surrounding the blockading fleet, which retired precipitately. In the fighting the Ladrones lost only about 20 to 30 men and their ships suffered no serious damage. According to Glasspoole, the Ladrones seldom attacked European ships except small ones, or when they appeared to be in distress. They were accustomed to send boats, under pretence of selling fish and such things, to small ships in order to ascertain their strength (Ind. Off., Marine Records, Misc., No. 324).

770. Failing to obtain the further services of the *Mercury*, and not wishing to ask for British assistance, the Viceroy of the two Provinces of Quantong and Quangsi concluded a treaty with the Portuguese of Macao (which was Chinese territory until 1887), on the 23rd November 1809. Captain Amural, who was Governor of Macao, 1845-1849, insisted that the Peninsula of Macao should be regarded as wholly Portuguese property, subject only

to an annual rent of 500 taels or 3750 francs, but he was murdered, apparently with the connivance of the Chinese authorities (De la Gravière, I, 106—111; II., 249). The Portuguese were to provide six vessels, carrying 118 guns and 730 men, as a guard for the coast, for which they were to be paid 80,000 taels. The East India Company's Supercargoes at Canton undertook, at Chinese request, to supply shot and other naval stores (As. Ann. Chinese war-junks (which took no real share in the fighting), before April 1810 they took 360 pirate vessels, 1200 cannon and nearly 7000 guns. Of the pirates, 126 were beheaded and 226 banished, whilst 20,000 male and female prisoners were restored to their homes (Ljungstedt, p. 115). From Glasspoole's account, however, the reduction of the pirates would appear to have been due rather to diplomacy than to hard fighting.

771. In January 1810 the Portuguese and Chinese again surrounded Apotsye. The Viceroy, afraid to attack, opened negotiations and offered a free pardon. In February 1810 Apotsye brought in about 100 vessels, but, objecting to the terms offered him, returned towards Macao and resumed his depredations. According to the Chinese Repository (III. 78) the Chinese and Portuguese did not venture to attack the pirates, but the rivalry between Paou, who commanded the Red Squadron (of 350 vessels) and Kwo Potae (Apotsye), who commanded the Black (of 250 vessels) resulted in a fight in which Kwo Potae, though victorious, lost so heavily (though Paou had only a small force present at the time) that he took advantage of the Chinese offer of amnesty and, under a new name, became an Imperial officer. His late mistress and Paou soon followed his example and Paou went to Court. He and Kwo Potae now became very active in hunting down and destroying pirate gangs, just as Sir Henry Morgan had, in the West Indies more than a hundred years earlier, hunted down his old comrades the Buccaneers. According to Ljungstedt (pp. 112–114), Paou (or A-juo-chay) was surrounded on the 12th April 1810 (As. Ann. Reg., 1810, Chron., p.39) and disheartened by the loss of his sacred junk, 150 gave up the struggle and surrendered. His fleet was estimated at 360 vessels, 1200 guns and 20,000 men.

772. In the Asiatic Annual Register (1810-11, vol. XII, Chron. p. 39) the credit of reducing the pirates to despair is given to the six (?) Portuguese vessels, and the actual arrangement of the terms of submission to the Portuguese Commander, Don Miguel de Arriaga. It is here stated that Qua-a-pou (? Kwo Potae) surrendered in January with 100 junks and 8,000 men, and that, later, the Portuguese, having surrounded the fleet of A-juo-Chy (? Paou). the latter asked for terms and surrendered more than 270 vessels, 16,000 young men, 5,000 women and 1,200 guns, beside small arms. According to The Ancient and Modern History of China (p. 37), a Chinese fleet of 100 war junks co-operated with the Portuguese, but the allies, after many unsuccessful attacks on the rebels, retired. The pirate chiefs now quarrelled at Lantao, and an engagement took place, in which many of the vessels were blown up with all on board—others held out while a man was left to protect them. The deeks were literally floating with blood and covered with the bodies of the slain and wounded. At length victory declared itself in favour of Opo-tai, who, fearing future revenge from his adversaries, surrendered to the Chinese, by whom he was created a naval mandarin and employed to subdue the remaining pirates<sup>151</sup>. When terms were arranged with the widow of Ching-Yih, her fleet sailed up the River of Canton towards the Bocca Tigris with flags flying and all the ensigns of triumph. The Treaty was concluded at Canton. It was stipulated that the fleet should be surrendered, that Paou should be made a naval Mandarin and that the common sailors should be permitted to return home or join the Imperial navy. Thousands of them adopted the latter alternative, and, under the command of Paou, cleared the China Seas.

<sup>150</sup> Mr. Montalto de Jesus says that on this he carried a number of idols and priests. It was looked upon with great veneration by the pirates who were filled with despair when it was sunk by Alcoforado, in Lantao Bay on the 12th April 1810 (China Review, XXI. 153).

<sup>151</sup> According to Peter Dobell (pp. 154-5), he was made Governor of Fohkien, but when Suan Tsung Chen came to the throne in 1821 he sent him word that as he had put to death Suan's uncle when he had taken him prisoner, his own head was required in return. So he was beheaded and his head taken to Pekin. According to Yung Lun Yuen, (pp. 17-20) this story refers to Paou, who in September 1808 defeated the Chinese commander, Kwo Lang Lin. Paou wished to save Kwo's life, but Kwo committed suicide.

773. Dalrymple gives many details about the Ladrones. He writes (App. p. 23):—"The Ladrones had several excellent places of shelter, conveniently situated for refitting their boats, along the south coast of China, such as the harbours of Nowchow, Sattye, Loompakoo and Wanchunchow. At these places, often fleets of 150 sail would rendezvous and keep their festivals; here the large boats refitted, whilst the smaller ones, either in fleets or singly, plundered the adjacent country; latterly, whenever one of these formidable fleets appeared off the villages, the inhabitants removed into the interior with their families and effects until the Ladrones thought proper to retire. This did not entirely exempt them from feeling their power, for unless the villagers produced either a certain sum of money or a quantity of rice, the pirates inevitably burned their houses and destroyed every blade of paddy within their reach; this severity was in the end sure to oblige them to comply with their demands, and it was notorious that several villages, and even towns, paid the pirates annual tribute. This was found the only way to avoid the barbarities inflicted upon those who refused to conform to their extortions. Notwithstanding the Ladrones were so formidable affoat, they were easily repulsed on shore : and occasionally, when a body of villagers resisted them, it is incredible how speedily they were driven to their boats." Their largest vessels mounted from 20 to 30 guns of different calibre, poorly mounted. Their boats were badly built above the water, but the bottoms were kept well cleaned and oiled and were admirably shaped for swift sailing in smooth water. They seldom had more than two masts, but these so strong as to require little rigging and so were difficult to cut away by round shot. In action the men were much exposed, but protected themselves against boarding and spears by fishing nets and bullock hides. Their weapons were chiefly a short heavy sword like a woodcutter's bill, and a long bamboo spear, formed at the end like a broad knife. They used boats taken at Chinehew, as being strongest. to carry the flags of their chiefs. The Ladrones were chiefly outlaws, gamblers, villains of every description, but included a number of men driven to despair by the oppression of the Mandarins (thus resembling the Cilician pirates in the Mediterranean in the first century B.C.). They had a number of women with them, each man who had a woman having a separate cabin. Each Chief of a squadron carried a flag. (See Para. 754 above). Five of these are mentioned (p. 67) namely (1) red triangular flag with white scolloped border, (2) black triangular flag with white scolloped border, (3) red square flag without border, (4) red triangular flag with a plain yellow border, (5) square flag blue and white horizontally 152. The Admiral of the red was supreme; next came the Admiral of the Black (App. p. 42; See also Naval Chronicle, XX. p. 456). Desertion was punished by death; secretion of plunder by whipping. In cases of adultery the man was beheaded, the woman thrown overboard with a weight attached to her legs. Places of worship were seldom destroyed, the Ladrones visiting them and making presents to the priests. Passes could be bought from the Ladrone agents at Macao, Canton, and probably at other towns. Their Chief was treated with uncommon reverence (App. p. 40), almost as a God, even when the Chief was a woman-in many cases the junks were commanded by women. The Ladrones were very resolute, always praying before going into action. On the other hand they were extremely savage in their resentment, frequently eating with rice the hearts of their enemies. This horrid repast they thought gave them fortitude and courage. They had the utmost contempt for the Mandarins and the Portuguese (See para. 917 below) and were exasperated with the Americans (See paras. 767-768 above) for assisting the latter, but they feared the English, who, now and then, had given them severe lessons with grapeshot.

<sup>152</sup> According to Yung Lun Yuen, there were 6 squadrons as follows:-

i. The Red commanded by Ching Yih and on his death by his widow with Chang Paou as her lieutenant. This squadron was as large as all the others together.

ii. The Green commanded by Le Shang Tsing, known as Frog's meal.

iii. The Yellow commanded by Wooche Tsing, known as the Scourge of the Sea.

iv. The Blue commanded by Meih Yew Kin and Nëau ship, known as the Bird and Stone.

v. The Black commanded by Opotai, known, when he returned to his allegiance, as Lustre of Instruction.

vi. The White, commanded by Leang Paou, known as the Jewel of the whole crew

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- 3. Indicate paragraphs clearly by a wide indention at the beginning; or, if the break is an after-thought, by the usual sign (¶). Begin all, larger divisions of an article on a fresh sheet of paper. It is hardly necessary to say that the proper construction of paragraphs is far more than a matter of external appearance.
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- as good typography, that footnotes be kept within moderate limits. References to footnotes should be made by brief series of natural numbers (say from 1 to 10), not by stars, daggers, etc. As to the method of inserting footnotes in the copy; good usage differs. A way convenient for author and editor and printer is to insert the note, with a wider left-hand margin than that used for the text, beginning the note on the line next after the line of to which it refers, the text itself being resum on the line next after the ending of the note. But if the note is an after-thought, or if it is long, it is well to interpolate it on a fresh sheet as a rider.
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Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the Indian Antiquary.

### MAIYILARPU.

By Prof. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., (Hony.) Ph.D.

Professor Franklin Edgerton of Yale, the learned editor of the Panchatantra, wished to know, during his stay in Madras, whether I knew of any place which would correspond to the Mahilârôpya of the Panchatantra, as he suspected that it might be a place in South India. Having regard to the difficulty that he himself suggested, that the word did not look quite as a Sanskrit expression, I suggested to him that, as Sanskrit authors were sometimes in the habit of Sanskritising words of other Indian languages, Mahilârôpya may possibly be a Sanskritising from the word 'Maiyilârpu', which was the old name of Mylapore, and I put together the following note for his information. As the remarks may be of some use to others as well as to the learned professor, I am publishing it as a note in the Indian Antiquary. Should the possibility of a closer connection between Mahilârôpya and Maiyilârpu seem to me worth putting forward, I shall take occasion to send another similar note then.

The town or the ward which goes by the name of Mylapore in modern times, is hardly referred to in that form in Tamil literature. The form usually found there is Mayilai with various additions in the shape of affixes and prefixes of a more or less complimentary character according to occasion. The combination in which it usually occurs is Mallai and Mayilai 1 in the period of Pallava ascendency, Mallai standing for what we now know as Mahâbalipuram and Mayilai similarly standing for Mylapore as we call it at present in the Anglo-Indian form of the name. But this Mayilai seems at one period of history, a pretty long period, to have take form of Mayilârpu in inscriptions, and even in literature, notwithstanding the fact that the ordinary form is Mayilai, as I stated already, is found in inscriptions ranging from the seventh year of Kampavarman, one of the last Pallavas in the ninth century, down to almost the end of the eleventh century. This occurs in inscriptions in various localities where flourished mercantile guilds or communities called Valanjiyar in Tamil, Banajigas in Kanarese, Balija in Telugu, corresponding exact the North Indian term Baniya. A community of 500, referred to as connected with Mylapore, entered into an agreement of a mercantile and fiscal character, along with matters of local government, in respect of the town.2 Some of these inscriptions belong to Tiruvottiyûr, a northern suburb of Madras where the donor is described as coming from Mayilârpu, defined as belonging to the particularly smaller unit of its own name, and the larger division of the country, giving us to understand unmistakably that what is referred to is the then little town of Mylapore.3 Thus we have inscriptional authority for the name Mayilârpu in inscriptions of Kampavarman datable to the ninth century, of Râjarâja datable in the early years of the eleventh century, and one or two others in characters generally referred to the eleventh century.

Mayilârpu in Tamil falls into two parts, 'Mayil,' peacock, and 'ârpu,' an abstract noun or noun of action, from 'âl' to move, a movement indicating the peculiarly majestic strut of the peacock. In literature it is ordinarily described as a feature peculiar to the peacock dancing in this fashion, as it is a peculiar feature of the cuckoo to sing, as in Mayil âla and Kuyil ahava, the two verbs, âla meaning to move, and ahava meaning to speak or produce sound. In the Prabandham of the Vaishnavas, in the section relating to Triplicane in the work Tirumangai Alvâr, the dancing of the peacock is described in general terms as a feature of Mylapore in

<sup>1</sup> Tirumangai Âlvâr's Periya-tirumoli, II, iii, 2, 9, 10. Nandikkalambakam, verses 1, 3, 24, 44, 51, 55 for Mayilai. Verse 69, however, shows the form Mayilâpuri in some MSS, and this is only a variant of Mayilai. Verses 1, 9, 25, 34, 40, 46, 54, 72, 73, 75, 83, 88 for Mallai.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> No. 256 of 1912 and section 25 of the Epigraphical Report for 1913.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> No. 261 of 1910, 18th year of Râjarâja I; No. 189 of 1912, 7th year of Kampavarman.

<sup>4</sup> Periya-tirumoli, II. 3, 7.

describing the shrine of Triplicane. That is so far indirect. But in the  $\hat{Tevaram}$  of Appar referable to the previous century, in the middle of the seventh century at the latest, there are two clear references<sup>6</sup> where the place is referred to as Mayilappil. The last particle in the compound il is a case affix of the locative in Tamil. Therefore in the nominative it would stand Mayilappu. The second part of the word appu is a permissable variant of the Tamil stand Mayilappu. The second part of the exact equivalent of the classical Tamil form arpu, so that Mayilappu in the Tevaram is the exact equivalent of the twelfth, we have references Mayilappu. So from the seventh century to the eleventh or the twelfth, we have references in one way or another to the form of the name Mayilappu.

We may find justification for this interpretation of the name in the fact that these names are found associated with the names of the local deities usually. In the case of Mylapore there is a Vishņu shrine and there is a Siva shrine, both of them native to the town, and taken to have come into existence along with the town itself. While the goddess of the Siva shrine is Karpakâmbâl, the goddess of the Vishņu shrine is Mayuravalli. The latter particle in the two words being merely honorific, we see that it is the Vishņu goddess that has the name Mayûra, the Sanskrit equivalent to the Tamil 'mayil'. Probably she was regarded as the guardian deity of the town, and thus partook of the name of the locality. There is justification for this that in the decad devoted to the Siva shrine in Mylapore in the Saiva collection, the Têvâram, the temple of Siva, Kapâlîchcharam (Kapâlîśvaram) is described as being in a part of Mayilai, meaning thereby that while remaining in Mylapore, still it did not constitute the whole of Mayilârpu proper, which would go to show that the guardian deity of the townlet proper must have been the Vishņu goddess, and thus the Vishņu shrine marks ore of the town known as Mayilârpu.

The occurrence of the peacock feature in the St. Thomas' legends associated with Mylapore only confirms, or is entirely in keeping with, the origin of the name as explained above. It looks likely that the name had been given to the place because of the large number of peacocks found in the place and the noise they were a make. In fact, very many of the names of localities in Madras, the names of the various wards of the town, take their origin from features of a physical character like this. To give but one instance, Chepauk is from Tamil Śċlpâkkam, meaning the shore-hamlet where fish of the śċl variety abounded. Vêpêry, Puraśavakkam, etc., would be other instances.

I shall not make any attempt to establish any connection between Mayilârpu as such and Mahilârôpya of the *Panchatantra* as such. I am concerned only to show that *Mayilârpu* was the recognised old name of what now goes by the name Mylapore, which after all is different from it only to the extent of a comparatively slight metathesis, a change commonly found in many other well-known names, from which, by Sanskritization, Mahilârôpya is possible of derivation.

5 Appar, Koilpakka-tiruttûndakam, I:

மங்குல் மதிதவழு மாடவீதி

மயிலாப்பி ஜாள்ளார் மருக ஜோளார்

Tiru-Vîraţţânam, Kâpputiruttândakam, 12:

வள்கீர் வளம்பெருகு மானிருபமும்

மயிலாப்பில் மன்னிஞர் மன்னியேத்தும்.

6 See stanza 4 in Śambandar's Pumbâvaittiruppadikam, where Kapâlîchcharam (Kapâlîśvaram) formed a ward of Maiyilai:—

கூர் தருவேல் வல்லார்க்கு கொற்றங்கொள் சேரிதனில் கார்தருசோலேக் கவாலீச்சாம்.

7 Vêppu+êri = margosa tank.

<sup>8</sup> Puraśa + pâkkam = Pûvaraśu or Puraśu + pâkkam; Sea-shore hamlet of the Indian 'fig with flowers', or even Puraśu (Butea frondosa). The former tree is a feature of the locality, the latter is not.

## JEAN DE THÉVENOT'S ACCOUNT OF SURAT. By H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A.

JEAN DE THÉVENOT was born and educated at Paris. His uncle Melchisedech was the author of a well-known collection of Voyages, and this may have inspired the nephew with a desire to explore the East. He set out in 1652, at the age of 29, and visited England, Holland, Germany and Italy. In 1655 he reached Constantinople, whence he explored the Levant and Egypt. He went on the Lenten pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visited Palestine, and returned home in 1659, after some exciting adventures with pirates. In 1663 he once more sailed for the East, and this time devoted his attention to Iraq and Persia. Landing at Sidon, he travelled through Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul and Bagdad. Near Kirmanshah, he met the celebrated Tavernier. In November 1665 he took ship from Basra to Surat in the Hopewell. reaching Surat in January, 1666. After a journey from Surat to Masulipatam via Golconda. he set out for home, but died from the effects of an accident with a pistol, near Tabriz, November 28th, 1667. An excellent orientalist and naturalist, Thévenot has left a lively account of what he saw and heard on his travels. Students of Indian history know all too little his Voyages aux Indes Orientales, a very rare book, the best-known edition being the handy little third edition printed at Amsterdam in five volumes, 12mo. 1727. It has only once been rendered into English,—a very bad translation by Lovell, London, 1687, now almost unprocurable, and in any case, a sad example of bookseller's hackwork. It is a pity that, while the travels of Bernier, Tavernier, Chardin, Manucci and other foreigners have been duly rendered into English, Thévenot remains practically untranslated and almost unread. It is for the eason that I put before readers of the Indian Antiquary his account of the city of Surat, as ne sew it the year after the first visitation of the Marathas. The narrative is full of interest, particularly as a commentary on Ovington and Fryer, both of whom evidently made Thévenot gres us a vivid pen picture of Sivaji,-" a little, swarthy man, with sharp, fiery eyes." Equally reginating are his accounts of Father Ambrose, the famous Capuchin monk, whose immuenter the Mughals was almost magnetic, and whose saintliness caused Sivaji to spare his monastery during the pillage, (because "these padres are all good men," as Bernier tells us); of Hugo Lambert, the picturesque French Corsair; of the tomb of the jovial Dutchman, with its stone drinking cup; and of officialdom at Surat and the corruption of the local Government. Tavernier's account of Sivaji, and especially of the first sack of Surat, is of great importance as a contemporary document. Altogether, Thévenot is a traveller who has been unduly neglected and will amply repay further study.

# THEVENOT'S TRAVELS. CHAPTER VII.

#### Surat.

The city of Surat is situated on the Tapti river, and its latitude is 21 degrees and some minutes. When I arrived there, it had only earthen walls, and even these were nearly all in ruins; but they were beginning to build brick ones: they made them a toise and a half thick [a toise = 6·39459 feet]: they did not allow more than this for the height either, and yet it was their intention to fortify the place as strongly as possible, owing to the incursion which had been made some time previously by a râjâh, of whom I shall speak hereafter: however, the engineer made a serious mistake in the alignment of his walls: he built them so close to the fortress that people in the city would be masked from the fire of the castle artillery, and that those defending the castle could easily be harassed by musketry.

These new walls make the city much smaller than it was previously; for they now exclude a considerable number of cane-built houses, which were formerly within the city area, and for which several interested persons claim good compensation. Surat is a medium-sized place,

and it is difficult to state the exact number of inhabitants, because they vary according to the seasons: there is always a large population all the year round; but, during the monsoon, i.e., at the time when vessels can arrive in and depart from India without danger, during the months of November, December, January, February and March, and even in April, the city is so full of people that it is a difficult task to find comfortable quarters, and the three suburbs are crowded.

The city is inhabited by Indians, Persians, Arabs, Turks, Frenchmen, Armenians and other Christians: however, its ordinary population is divided into three classes, which do not, indeed, include either the French or the other Christians, because they are so few in number in comparison with those professing other religions. These three classes of inhabitants are the Moors, Gentiles and Parsees. The term Moors is applied to all the Muhammadans, Mughals, Persians, Arabs or Turks in India, though they are not uniform as regards religion, some being Sunnîs and the rest Shiahs: I have dealt with this distinction in my second book. The second class of inhabitants is the Gentiles, i.e., those who worship idols, and these again are of different kinds. The third class consists of the Parsees, who are also known as Gaures or Ateshperest<sup>2</sup>, fire-worshippers. These profess the religion of the ancient Persians, and they took refuge in India when Caliph Omar subjugated the kingdom of Persia to the Muhammadan power. There are some extremely rich people in Surat, and a Bania named Vargivora, who is a friend of mine, is supposed to be worth eight millions at least. The English and the Dutch have their houses there, which are known as lodges and offices: these houses are very fine indeed, and the English have established the headquarters of their trade there. There are quite one hundred Catholic houses in Surat.

The castle of Surat has been built on the river bank, at the southern extressly of the city, to prevent the entry of anyone who might wish to attack it by coming up the Tapti. This fortress is of reasonable size; it is square, and is flanked on each corner by a stout tower. Its moats are filled with sea water on three sides, and it is watered by the river on the fourth side, i.e., to the west. Several cannon may be see the king's revenues which are collected from the province, and they are never sent to him unless an especial order is given: the entrance is on the west side by a fine gate which is in the bazaar or maidan: the office of the head of the Customs is near by, and this castle has a special governor of its own, just as the city has its own governor.

The houses in this city, which have cost a considerable amount to construct, are flat, as in Persia, and tolerably well built; but they are expensive, because there is no stone in the district; as they are compelled to use bricks and lime, they also require much timber, and this has to be brought from Daman by sea, because the local wood, which is at some distance, is far more expensive owing to the item of transport by land. Bricks and lime, too, are expensive; and even a middling house cannot be constructed without using bricks to the value of five or six hundred francs, and more than double the value of lime. The houses are covered with tiles semi-circular in shape, and half a finger thick, but badly baked; consequently they are still grey when used, and they last no time: for this reason the tilers lay them in double rows, in such a way that the one tile keeps the other up. Canes known as bamboos, which are split into two, serve as laths to which the tiles are attached, and the frame-work which supports all this, is made merely of pieces of wood, round in shape; dwellings of this kind are for the rich; but those which are inhabited by the lower classes, are constructed of canes, and covered by palm branches.

By the way, in India it is better to build during the rains than in fine weather; for the heat is so great, and the sun so fierce, when the sky is bright, that everything dries up before it has a chance to be joined firmly together, and buildings crack in a moment; whereas the rain tempers the heat, and as it prevents the sun from scorching, the masonry has time to dry.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Hindus, as opposed to Moors, Muhammadans.

<sup>3</sup> Gaur, Gaber or Guebra, a Fire-worshipper (Atish, Fire). They landed on the coast of Gujarat, c. 720 A.C.

During the rains the workmen can spread oil-cloths over the masonry, but in the dry seasons there is no remedy: all that one can do, is to soak cloths and to cover over the work piece by piece as soon as it is done; but the cloths dry so quickly that there is no great advantage in it. The streets of Surat are wide and level, but they are not paved at all; and though the area of the city is large, there is not a single public edifice.

The Christians and Muhammadans of Surat usually eat the meat of the cow, firstly because in this district it is better than that of the ox, and secondly because the bullocks are used for ploughing the earth and transporting all the loads. The mutton eaten there, is tolerably good; but besides this, hens, chickens, pigeons, pork, and game of all kinds are available. The oil of the *Cnicus silvestris*, or cartame, is used for eating; it is the best oil in India, and that of the sesame, which is also common there, is not so good.

Grapes are eaten in Surat from the beginning of February until the end of April, but their taste is not very fine. Some think that this is because the grapes are not left sufficiently long to ripen: however, the Dutch, who leave them on the vine-stock as long as practicable, make from these grapes a wine which is so sour that it is impossible to drink it without adding sugar. These grapes, which are white, are large and fine in appearance, and are brought to Surat from a small town called Naapura,<sup>3</sup> in the province of Balaghat,<sup>4</sup> a four days' journey from Surat.

The local country liquor is scarcely better than the wine. That which is usually drunk is made from jagre<sup>5</sup> or black sugar, which is put into water with the bark of the Babul tree to give it some strength, and then both are distilled together. Toddy<sup>6</sup> liquor is also prepared, and this distilled; but these kinds of liquor are not as good as ours, neither is that which they make it rice, sugar and dates. The vinegar which is used is also made from jagre and water. Some cople put in spoiled grapes, when they have any; but to improve it, toddy is mixed with it, and it is then left in the sun for several days.

THEVENOT'S TRAVELS.

CHAPTER X.

#### The Officials in Surat.

There are in Surat a mufti<sup>7</sup> who is in charge of everything concerning the Muslim religion, and a kadi established for legal matters, to whom people have recourse in case of disputes. The Great-Mogul also maintains another high official there, whom the French call Secretary of State, and whose function resembles that of our provincial intendants. He is called Vaka-Nevis,<sup>8</sup> i.e., he who writes down and keeps a record of everything which takes place in the territory in which he is appointed. The king keeps one of these officials in each government, in order to keep him informed of all that happens, and the official is not dependent on any man in the State except on His Majesty himself.

There are two Governors or Nabad<sup>9</sup> in Surat, who are in no wise dependent on each other, and who are responsible for their actions to the king alone. The one is in charge of the eastle, and the other of the city; and they do not in any way infringe upon each other's rights or duties. The Governor of the city judges the civil court cases, and usually settles them speedily: if a man asks another man for money in payment of a debt, he must either show a bond, or produce two witnesses, or else he must take an oath: if it is a Christian, he swears on the Bible; if it is a Muslim, he swears on the Koran, and a Hindu swears by the cow: the oath of the Hindu merely consists of placing his hand on the cow, and saying that he is willing to eat the flesh of this animal, if what he says is not true; but most of them would rather lose their case than swear, because a man who swears is considered as infamous among the idolators.

<sup>3</sup> Navapur.

<sup>5</sup> Jágri, molasses.

<sup>4</sup> The country above the Ghauts.

<sup>6</sup> The juice of the tadi palm.

<sup>7</sup> An expounder of the Law (fatwa). His decrees are executed by the Kazi.

<sup>8</sup> Vāq'ia navīs, news-writer or intelligencer.

<sup>9</sup> Naváb, a Viceroy's delegate.

When one goes to see the Governor for the first time, one places before him on arrival five, six or ten rupees, each one according to his rank; and the same thing is done in India with all those to whom one wishes to show great respect. This Governor does not interfere at all with criminal matters, which are dealt with by an official named Cotoual. This judge corresponds to what is known as the Soubachy in Turkey and the Derogall in Persia. He has the delinquents punished in his presence either by lashes of the whip or by blows with a stick, and the punishment is often carried out at his house, and sometimes in the street at the very spot where the offence was committed. When he passes through the city he is on horseback, accompanied by several archers on foot, some of whom are armed with sticks and large whips, and the others with lances, swords, shields and iron maces looking like large pestles, but all of them wear a dagger at their side. Nevertheless, neither the Civil Judge nor the Criminal Judge can condemn a person to death: the king has reserved the right of the death sentence for himself; for this reason, when anyone deserves death, a messenger is sent to obtain the king's sanction, and they never fail to execute the king's orders as soon as the messenger has returned.

The Cotoual is obliged to go about the city during the night, to prevent any disorder. He stations guards at various places: if he finds anyone in the street, he has him put into gaol, and will seldom let him out of prison without first having him beaten or whipped. Two of the men who accompany him beat two little drums at nine o'clock, whilst another man sounds two or three times a long copper trumpet which I have described in my Persian Travels. The archers then call out at the top of their voices: Caberdar 12 i.e., take care; and those who are in the neighbouring streets respond with a similar cry, to she that they are not asleep. After that, they continue on their way always repeating the finished their ordinary round. This round is made three times during the night, namely at nine o'clock, midnight and at three o'clock in the morning.

This Cotoual has to be responsible for all the thefts committed in the city, but as all those convicted for this offence are very clever, they always and a way of evading payment. During my stay in Surat, an Armenian merchant named cogea Minias was robbed of 2,400 sequins: as two of his slaves had disappeared at the time of the robbery, they were naturally accused of it. All possible measures were taken to obtain information about them, but as no news could be gleaned either of the slaves or of the money, it was rumoured that these slaves had committed the theft, that they had taken refuge with some Muslim who was in collusion with them, and who, in order to take all the money for himself, had killed and buried them, such an event having previously taken place in Surat.

However, the Governor told the Cotoual that this money must be paid at the earliest possible moment, because, if the king were informed of the matter, all the blame would fall on them, and worse things might happen to them than having to refund to Cogea Minias the amount which had been stolen from him, and that therefore this Armenian must be called up, and be asked to state truly what had been taken from him. The Cotoual raised no objection to this, but at the same time he also asked permission to imprison the Armenian and to question him and his servants, so as to discover by means of the torture whether this money had really and truly been stolen from him, and at the same time to find out whether he had not perhaps been robbed by one of his valets. The Governor gave his sanction to this request, but no sooner had the Armenian heard the news than he ceased petitioning the Cotoual, and he preferred to lose all rather than endure to torments which were being prepared for him. This is the usual procedure of the Cotoual.

When anyone has been robbed, this official seizes all the people of the house where the robbery has taken place, young and old alike, and has them beaten mercilessly. They stretch

<sup>10</sup> Kotwal, Police-Magistrate, Chief of Police.

<sup>12</sup> Khabardar,

<sup>11</sup> Darogha, Chief Constable.

them out on their stomachs, and four men hold the victim by the arms and feet, and two others have each of them a long whip made of a stout, round plait of leather; with this they strike the patient one after the other, after the fashion of marshals, until he has received two to three hundred strokes and is bleeding. If this person does not confess to the theft, they begin to whip him again the next morning, and they even continue this for some days, until he has confessed everything, or until the stolen goods have been recovered, and the strange thing about it is that the Cotoual does not send anyone to inspect either his house or his clothes, and if after five or six days he confesses nothing, they let him off.

There is in Surat also a Provost known as the Foursdar<sup>13</sup>, who is obliged to keep the countryside free and secure, and who is responsible for all robberies committed there; but I do not know whether he is as dishonest as the Cotoual. When they want to arrest a person, they merely cry "Doa padecha": this cry is as powerful as that of "haro" in Normandy; and if they forbid a person to leave the place where he is, saying "Doa padecha," he cannot depart without constituting himself a criminal, and he is bound to give an account of himself at the court.<sup>14</sup> This cry is used all over India: as a matter of fact, outrages seldom occur in Surat, and one can live there with a fair amount of freedom.

THEVENOT'S TRAVELS.

#### CHAPTER XI.

#### Foul play against the French Company at Surat.

Who Larrived in India, the Governor of Surat was making extensive enquiries regarding the French Company. As he had at first enquired of other Frenchmen, and especially those in whose interest it was that the Company should not be received in Surat, many bad things had been told him about the French; and thus he had formed a bad opinion of them owing to the artifice of their enemies was already thinking of asking the Court to banish them, when Father Ambrose, the Superior of the Capuchins, who had been informed of the matter, went to him to undeceive him, and to warn him not to trust the enemies of the Company, who were in league to ruin it if they could. He liked this Father on account of his uprightness; and for this reason he did not repel him: he only adjured him to tell him the truth about this matter without dissimulation, and to tell him whether the French who were to come were not pirates, as was rumoured throughout the land, and as several Frenchmen had already assured him. 16

This thought took hold of the minds of the inhabitants of Surat, as soon as it was known that people in France were intending to send vessels to India for trading purposes; and this slander was easily believed, because a certain Lambert Hugo, a Dutchman, who had had some Frenchmen on his vessel, and who was now remembered, had been in Mocha two years before with the French flag, commissioned by Monsieur de Vendôme, the Admiral of France at that time, and had taken some vessels. But what shocked people more, was the history of the boat carrying the luggage of the Queen of Bijapur, which was stranded near Socotra Island, situated at eleven degrees and forty minutes latitude, at the entrance of the Red Sea. This queen, who was on her way to Mecca, was out of reach of the attacks of the pirate vessel, as she had fortunately crossed in a Dutch boat; but having contented herself with one of her own boats for the transport of her luggage, Hugo came up with it, and

<sup>13</sup> Fauz dr, an army officer.

<sup>14</sup> Gujarâti duvât padechhê "he recites duvât." Duvât is "a prohibition in the name of a Râjâor other high authority, implying an imprecation of vengeance in case of disobedience." It is also a solemn appeal for the redress of a grievance, which it is a sin to resist, like the Norman-French appeal Haro! Haro, viens à mon aide, mon Prince, which was effective in the Channel Islands till quite recently.

<sup>15</sup> Bernier (p. 187) says that Sivâji spared the Capuchin onastery in 1664, saying "The Frankish Padrys are good men and shall not be molested,"

knocked the boat with such violence that the Captain was compelled to let her run aground: as the pirate could not easily gain access to the vessel on the spot where she was lying, he did not lose courage, but waited patiently to see the result of the running aground: he did not wait in vain, for, as the Indians had been short of water for a long time, and could not find any at the place where they were in great suffering, they resolved, in order to save their lives, after having hidden in the sea all the gold, silver and jewels they had with them, to resort to the pirate himself, hoping that he might be satisfied with what remained in the vessel.

When Hugo had come up with them, he was clever enough to find out that something had been sunk into the sea; and a false brother told him only the carpenter and his son knew the whereabouts of the queen's wealth (for she had brought a heap of money, jewels and materials as presents for Mecca, Medina, the Great Sheikh, and other places, and she desired to do it handsomely). Finally, after having thoroughly tortured the Captain, the carpenter, and the carpenter's son, whom he threatened to kill in his father's presence, Hugo made them bring out all that had been sunk in the sea, and seized it as well as the rest of the cargo. This action had made such a stir in India that Hugo, who was taken for a Frenchman, was held in abomination in that country, and consequently Frenchmen as a nation also.

The Governor had a great deal to say about this pirate, and Father Ambrose had great difficulty in persuading him that Hugo was not French, as he had come under the French flag, and as it was certain that he had had many Frenchmen on board. Nevertheless, after much talk, he believed it; but he did not on this account excuse the French from the action in which they had assisted, and he still maintained that the desire of plunder was the sole motive in coming to this country. The Father denied that this was their in the coon, and said that they had only come with Lambert Hugo to avenge the affront the nad been offered to some Frenchmen in Aden, a town in Arabia Felix, situated at degrees latitude; and after that, he related to him what had happened to the French is that town some years before. He told him that a patache16 of Monsieur de la Melleraye v separate from the large vessel, and to take refuge at Aden, and that the Sunnis, with unparalleled impiety, had all who set foot on land forcibly circumcised, though at first they had given them a good reception, and had promised to treat them amicably. He told him further that, in spite of this, the king of France had disapproved of the action of the pirate and of those Frenchmen who on board his vessel, just as much as the Indians did, because they had given his subjects a bad reputation, through the cunning of enemies of France; but that he wished to dispel this bad reputation, and that for this reason he had formed a Company to trade in India, with express orders not to commit any hostile action.

The Governor being satisfied with Father Ambrose's reply, requested him to write down in the Persian language all that he had said to him; as soon as this was done, he sent it to the Court; the Great Mogul had it read to him by his Dewan, and both he and his officials were satisfied with it, and they all desired the French vessels to land immediately; indeed, the Governor made much of Messrs. de la Boullaye and Beber, delegates of the Company, and told them that, after the testimony of Father Ambrose, he would render them any services that he could; the English president, too, an old friend of this Father's, did them all the honour that was in his power, after having sent them his carriage and his men to receive them, and he assured the Father that all his property was at their disposal: thus, on the strength of the credit that he had acquired in India, the Capuchin dispelled the bad reports which the enemies of France had sown against the French.

(To be continued.)

# NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE. By Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

#### Prefatory Remarks.

ONCE again<sup>1</sup> I take up the subject from notes thereon made long ago. In the interval much has been learnt about it, but as these notes were largely made on the spot they contain certain information not elsewhere procurable, and this is my reason for now publishing them.

In the previous articles I have carried the enquiry as far as the consideration in detail of the use by the Burmese of raw lump currency, i.e., of lumps of metal without any stamp or artificial marks on them to show fineness or intrinsic value.<sup>2</sup> I now enter on a discussion of the last link between raw lump currency and coinage, viz., of stamped lump currency or lumps of metal stamped to show fineness and quality but not weight.<sup>3</sup>

Before, however, commencing to note on stamped lump currency I would mention that I have previously (ante., vol. XXIX, pp. 29 ff.) noted the effect on the people where there is no coin of the realm and to the remarks made then I would like to add the following. Clifford in the Geographical Journal (vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 1 ff., 1897) speaking of the Malay State of Trengganu has an informing account as to how revenue is raised where money is scarce and the results of the process upon the populace. He is describing the raising of serah and calls it "a very well known manner of obtaining revenue. It is as much valued by the taxing classes as it is abominated by those upon whom devolves the duty of paying taxes. It is managori in one of two ways. Either a consignment of goods is sent to the village or to an indifficult, and a price considerably in excess of that current in the markets demanded in return fo, m; or else a small sum of money is sent, and a message conveyed to the reci-. pients informing them that a given quantity of getah or jungle produce is demanded in return. On the receipt of a serum a village headman calls his people together and enforces a public subscription to meet the sum quired by the raja. The goods are then divided among the subscribers, bar all keeping with the high price paid for them, and as the village elders usually insist on receiving the full value of their subscription, the weaker members of the community get little or nothing in return for their money. Money serah, in return for which jungle produce is to be supplied, is generally made to an individual, who has forthwith to betake himself to the jungle, the property of the district raja, who even goes so far as to enforce payment from the people for the tools supplied in order to enable them to perform this work. Owing to the impassable nature of the Kelemang Falls, the people living above the rapids in Ulu Trengganu are not required to work timber for the district  $r\hat{a}ja$ , but they have to supply large quantities of jungle produce on terms which are very similar to those on which timber is worked by natives of other parts of the country."

Clifford adds that the Sultan makes money from "the coining of tin tokens," which shows that they were still in use so late as 1897.4

I would also like to acknowledge here much kindly assistance given me in making the collection of coins and monetary objects on which these papers are based—aid given me by officials and others in Burma many years ago. Among Europeans they were Capt. Minchin, R.A., and Messrs. H. C. Noyce, Dawson and Betts; and among Burmans and Indians, the Taungwin Mingyi, Maung Law Yan, K.S.M., U Shwe Baw and Jahangir Bakhsh, all of

<sup>1</sup> Previous publication of these notes. Currency and Coinage among the Burmese, vol. XXVI (1897), 6 articles, Plate I, p. 160: vol. XXVII (1898), 9 articles (Plate at p. 141): vol. XLVIII (1919), 4 articles. Development of Currency in the Far East, vol. XXVIII (1899), p. 103: vol. XXIX (1900), Beginnings of Currency, 2 articles, 4 plates. Vol. XXXI (1902), Malagasy Currency, p. 109. Vol. XLII (1913), Obsolete Tin Currency and Money in the Federated Malay States, 7 Plates. Vol. XLVII (1918), Malay Currency in Trengganu, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> I may as well note here that speaking in terms of lump currency Burmese oil-dealers in the bazaars called a "2½ tickal weight," hnajàt-kwêle.

<sup>3</sup> See Poole, Coins and Medals, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> See ante, vol. XLII, pp. 153 ff.

Mandalay. And lastly, the once well-known female dealer Ma Kin of the same city. In Rangoon I had the invaluable assistance of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E., and Mr. Minus, the Parsi Collector of Rates and Taxes to the Municipality.

To keep the subjects of these my last notes on Burmese Currency and Coinage clear before the reader's mind, I subjoin a list of them:--

A. Stamped Lump Currency :- Sycee.

- B. Stamped Lumps of Metal other than Gold and Silver
- C. Oyster-shell Money (Silver).
- D. Coin of the Realm.
  - I. Coins of Bôdôp'ayâ.
  - I. (a) Symbolical Coins.
  - I. (b) Historical Coins (including Kings of Arakan
  - II. Coins of Mindôn Min.
    Gold: Silver: Copper: Iron: Lead.
  - Tr G: (mish) (Whibaw)
  - III. Coins of Thibò (Thibaw).
- E. Coin.
  - I. Tokens.
  - II. Taungbannî Coins.
  - III. Irregular Tokens.
  - III. (a) Shân Shell Money.
  - IV. Majîzî Knuckle-bones.
  - V. Shan Silver Majîzî.
  - VI. Siamese Tickals.
  - VII. Ancient Tokens.
- F. Forgeries.
- G. Siamese Porcelain Tokens.
- H. Gambling Counters or Jetons.
- I. Metal Charms.
- J. King Mindon's Mint.

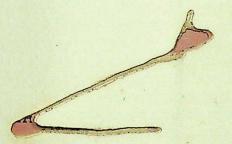
#### A. Stamped Lump Currency.

#### SYCEE.

An instance of stamped lump currency, well-known all over the Far East, is Chinese sycee, the use of which made it really a bank issue, as it was stamped with the name and description of the issuing Chinese banking firm, much after the fashion of the European bank note. With it may be compared longo intervallo the tickal of Siam and the larin or 'hook' money (silver) of Persia and Ceylon, specimens of which are still fairly common in Western Indian bazaars.

It has often been written about and explained, but the following information which I gathered may still be of use to students. Perhaps the best general introduction to sycee is to be found in the remarks of Terrien de Lacouperie, Catalogue of Chinese Coins (1892, pp. xxii-xxv), from which I extract the following notes: "The coinage of ancient China circulated always by weight for its intrinsic value. The weight and the various patterns were regulated by the State, and every one, including guild merchants of private and town communities, subject to these rules, was at liberty to issue his own coins, bearing his distinctive symbol (written characters) or name

"The shape that was commonly given to the ingots of gold and silver in ancient times is not described. The cubic inch of the regulations of the Tchou dynasty for gold, does not seem to have been continued for long, and the non-appearance of any special name for the unit of each of the two precious metals does not permit of any but a negative inference on



the matter. We may therefore surmise that the most common shape was no other than the simplest one, i.e., that of the crucible itself in its most convenient oblong form, which is still at present in use for the silver currency.<sup>5</sup> The metal, while still hot and soft in the crucible, is impressed either with a stamp marked with a legend, or concentric circle-lines, or with several stamps inscribed. The stamping causes the metal to rise all round, and the result is to shape the ingot like a boat or shoe. In the middle ages the Chinese ingots of gold or silver in Central Asia were called bâlish or yâstok, both which words mean "a cushion," and although supposed by some to allude to this so-called shoe-shape, may perhaps refer to the loaf-shape, such as those of ancient Japan and of the Laocian States, which are exemplified in the numismatic collections of the British and other Museums. The previously mentioned shape of ingot is compared to a boat in descriptions of the gold imported from China to India in the sixteenth and seventcenth centuries. Tavernier, in 1676, says that they were called goldschuyt by the Hollanders, i.e., a boat of gold, and this word schuyt is supposed to have suggest. ed the English term shoe, applied not long afterwards to the same ingots. The Chinese silver shoes in the Panjab in 1862, and in Kashgar in 1876, were called yambu, and compared to a deep boat. Kur was also a term used in the latter place.

"There is no reason to suppose that the present shoes of silver and gold in China do not preserve a form that was used in times anterior to the Han dynasty.

"Sycee, Chinese, fine silk, is the general term for lump silver, and is explained as meaning that, if pure, it may be drawn out under the application of heat into fine silk-like threads. This is of course, a script-etymology, and pure fancy, derived from the ideographical meaning inhered in the symbols, while the historical etymology must be sought for in a foreign term transliterated thereby. Yuenpao is the common name among foreigners for the silver ingot which bears some a semblance to a native shoe. There are a certain number of these silver shoes in the British Muse on collection."

In 1834 Prinsep, Useful bles, pp. 29-30 wrote thus on the subject: "Sycee silver, in Chinese Wan-yin, is one only approach to a silver currency among the Chinese. In it the government taxes and duties, and the salaries of officers, are paid; and it is also current among merchants in general. The term Sycee is derived from two Chinese words Se-sze, "fine floss silk," which expression is synonymous with the signification of the term Wan. This silver is formed into ingots (by the Chinese called Shoes), which are stamped with the mark of the office that issues them, and the date of their issue. The ingots are of various weights, but most commonly of ten taels each.

"Sycee silver is divided into several classes, according to its fineness and freedom from alloy: the kinds most current at Canton are the five following:

"1st. Kwan-heang, the Hoppo's duties, or the silver which is forwarded to the imperial treasury at Peking. This is of 97 to 99 touch. On all the imperial duties, a certain percentage is levied for the purpose of turning them into Sycee of this high standard, and of conveying them to Peking without any loss in the full amount. The Hoppo, however, in all probability increases the percentage far above what is requisite, that he may be enabled to retain the remainder for himself and his dependents.

"2nd. Fankoo or Fan-foo. The treasurer's receipts, or that in which the land-tax is paid. This is also of a high standard, but inferior to that of the Hoppo's duties, and being intended for use in the province, not for conveyance to Peking, no percentage is levied on the taxes for it.

"3rd. Yuenpaou, or Une-po, literally "chief in value." This kind is usually imported from Soochow, in large pieces of 50 taels each. It does not appear to belong to any particular government tax.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> One, if not the most, curious form resulting from this process of manufacture is the chûlôn or chaubin-bauk, the well-known Shan shell-money, which is the result of the natural efflorescence of silver under certain methods of smelting.

"4th. Yen, or Eem-heang, "salt duties." It is difficult to account for these being of so low a standard, the salt trade being entirely a government monopoly. This class is superior only to

"5th. Mut-tae, or Wuh-taz. The name of which signifying "uncleansed or unpurified," designates it as the worst of all. It is seldom used, except for the purpose of plating, or rather

washing, baser metals.

"The tael of Sycee in the East India Company's accounts is reckoned at 6s. Sd. sterling. When assayed in London, this metal is frequently found to contain a small admixture of gold. Mercantile account sales give the following average out-turn of China bullion remittances to London, Calcutta, and Bombay; that

£ 316, at 5s. an oz. (including  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per ct. for gold). 100 taels 3078 Sicca Rs. or with charges 3062 Rs. at Calcutta. of Sycee 3335 Bombay Rs. or with charges 3302 Rs. at Bombay."

Sycee is again alluded to by Staunton (Account of Macartney's Embassy to China, 1797, p. 97): "Silver is more properly among the Chinese a merchandise. None of it is coined, but large payments are made in lumps of it in the form of the crucibles in which it was refined and with the stamp of a single character upon it to ascertain its weight, mostly of ten ounces. The value of silver in the current coin varies according to the relative scarcity or

plenty of that metal issued from the Imperial Treasury."

Sycee, as a term, was employed for both gold and silver stamped and certific lumps of currency metal, and regarding it that fine English merchant in the Far East, writing in 1711 (Trade in India, pp. 132-4) says in his informing way :- "Gold kers [in Canton] (as they are commonly call'd) cast all the Gold, that comes thro' heir Hands, into Shoos of about 10 Tale weight, or 12 oz. 2 dwt. 4 gr. of an equal Finence. As one makes them 93 Touch, another is famous for 94, &c. A private Mark is stanpt in the Sides, and a piece of printed Paper pasted to the middle of them, by which wone's Make is bown, as our Cutlers, and other Mechanicks do in their Trades. Both Ends of the Shoos are alike, and bigger than in the middle, with thin Brims rising above the rest, whence the upperside somewhat resembles a Boat. From the middle, which in cooling sinks into a small Pit, arise Circles one within another, like the Rings in the Balls of a Man's Fingers, but bigger. The smaller and closer these are the finer the Gold is. When Silver, Copper, or other Metal is inclosed in casting, as sometimes you may meet with it in small Bits, the Sides will be uneven, knobby, and a Rising instead of Sinking in the Middle. Sometimes they make it not above 50 or 60 o Touch, and guild it four or five times over; so that relying on our smooth Stones, you are liable to be imposed on. Therefore I look on the rougher ones that are used by the Banians of Indostan, with a Ball of Black Wax, to be the best. But for want of these raise the Sides with a Graver, or cut it half through with a Chizel, and break the rest; whence you may see the Colour and Grain, and easily detect their Fraud. Should you cut it quite thro', the Chizel will so draw the Gold over the Allay, that you can learn nothing by it. This they'll not willingly permit, but on the contrary, be affronted at a Request that shews so great a Distrust of them. Therefore the best way is to make a Bargain before you begin the Trial, and you may manage them afterwards as you will. They are call'd after the Makers' Names, or from the Places whence they come; but I think the former; for there is a great deal made at Pekin; but none of that Name. Chuja and Chuckja are 93 Touch. Tingza, Shing, and Guanza 94. Of these the former turn to the best Account. Sinchupoa and Chuchepoa are reckon'd 96 and 95 Touch. The Chinese in Gold and Silver (whom, for the Generality of the People, I look on as the best acquainted with, and most knowing in those Metals of any Nation in the World) always reckon one Touch finer than it really is, and will allow you so in the Receipt of Money. Gold in Bars or Ingots comes chiefly from Cochinchina and Tonqueen, and differs in Fineness from 75 to 100 Touch. 'Tis of several sizes, and easier much

than the Shoos to be counterfeited; which the foregoing Rules may fortify you against." Lockyer had some experience of this currency for he says (p. 102): "We paid near 820 tale Sissee [at Canton]."

In view of the above quotations and the remarks made ante, vol. XLVIII, p. 107 f. on Burmese gold standards, it is worthwhile to draw attention to the following table extracted from Stevens, New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade, 1775, p. 71, where he gives a series of "Chinese characters, whereby you may form some judgement on the value of their gold." From this last statement can be extracted a table of recognised standards of Chinese gold, taking "sycee" at par of 100 touch.

CHINESE GOLD STANDARDS, 1775.

		N	ıme.					Perce	nta	ge of
		1.40	offic.					"sy	rcee	;,
1.	Twanghan (a bar wrapped in par	er	)	1				941	to	95
2.	Seong Kutt or Soang Catt							90	to	92
3.	Tungzee									96
4.	Tungzee, Yenuzee or Tingwan									95
5.	Toozee or Tinjee									92
6.	Cheanzee or Swajzee									92
7.	Scong Pon or Soang Pon									931
R.	Yeukxzee, Seongyeukx or Songy	/eu	x					94	to	
	Ponzee or Seong Pon									94
To.	Chuze or Chiya (in bars)									94
11.	Change or Soarhzy (in shoes)									93
12.	Ongee							90	to	93
13.	m									92
14.	Ponzee or Seong Pobars)									93
15.	Cutzee or Songcatt									90
16.	Yeukxzee (shoes wrapped in pap	er	stamped	"the	double	ring (	Chop "	).		96

It is obvious, however, from an examination of the above table that it must be taken for what it may be worth, as the same name is made to do duty for varying standards. Obviously also both names and standards are taken from the reports of different merchants after testing with their own touch-needles and  $qu\hat{a}$  their appreciation of the Chinese words. It shows once more, then, the difficulty that the old traders had to encounter in their pecuniary transactions.

Writing of Siam, Bock, Temples and Elephants, 1884, p. 398 (footnote) says:—"The Siamese distinguish six qualities of gold: (1) Nopakun kow nam; (2) Nua paat; (3) Nua chet: (4) Nua hok; (5) Nua ha; (6) Nua see. These six grades date from olden times—as early as 1347—when gold was plentiful in Chieng Saan. Gold of the first two grades realizes in

value from sixteen to eighteen times its weight in silver."

To return to Sycee, later on, Yule, Hobson-Jobson 1886, writing (pp. 628-9) on "Shoes of gold," said:—"Shoe of Gold (or of Silver). The name for certain ingots of precious metal, somewhat in the form of a Chinese shoe, but more like a boat, which were formerly current in the trade of the Far East. Indeed of silver they are still current in China, for Giles says: "[Sycee is] the common name among foreigners for the Chinese Silver ingot, which bears some resemblance to a native shoe. May be of any weight from 1 oz. and even less, to 50 and sometimes 100 oz., and is always stamped by the assayer and banker, in evidence of purity' (Gloss. of Reference, 128)."

"The same form of ingot was probably the bâlish (or yâstok) of the Middle Ages, respecting which see Cathay, pp. 115, 481, etc. Both of these latter words mean also 'a cushion,' which is perhaps as good a comparison as either 'shoe' or 'boat'. The word now used in

Central Asia is yambû. There are cuts of the gold ingots in Tavernier, whose words suggest what is probably the true origin of the popular English name, viz., a corruption of Dutch Goldschuyt."

"1566. '... valuable goods exported from this country (China)... are first a quantity of gold, which is carried to India in loaves in the shape of boats...

\_C. Federici, in Ramusio, iii, 391 b."

"1611. 'Then, I tell you, from China I could load ships with cakes of gold fashioned like boats, containing, each of them, roundly speaking, 2 marks weight, and so each cake will be worth 280 pardaos.'—Couto, Dialogo do Soldado Pratico, p. 155."

"1676. 'The Pieces of Gold mark'd Fig. 1, and 2, are by the Hollanders called Goltschut, that is to say, a Boat of Gold, because they are in the form of a Boat. Other nations call them Loaves of Gold... The Great Pieces come to 12 hundred Guilders of Holland Money, and thirteen hundred and fifty Livres of our Money.'—Tavernier, E.T., ii. 8."

"1702. 'Sent the Moolah to be delivered the Nabob, Dewan, and Buxie 48 China Oranges . . . . but the Dewan bid the Moolah write the Governor for a hundred more that he might send them to Court; which is understood to be One Hundred shoes of gold, or so many thousand pagodas or rupees.'—In Wheeler, i. 397."

"1704. 'Price Currant, July, 1704 (at Malacca) . . . Gold, China, in Shoos 94 'Touch.'—Lockyer, 70."

"1862, 'A silver ingot Yambu weighs about 2 (Indian) seers . . . . =4lbs., and it worth 165 Co.'s rupees. Koomoosh, also called Yambucha, or small silver ingot, is worth 33 I...

a square piece of silver, having a Chinese stamp on it; the other . . . in the form of a boat, has no stamp. The Yambu is in the form of a boat, and have Chinese stamp on it.'—Punjab Trade Report, App. cexxvi-xxviii. 1."

"1875. 'The yâmbû or kûrs is a silver ingot something the snape a deep boat with projecting bow and stern. The upper surface is slightly hollowed, and stamped with a Chinese inscription. It is said to be pure silver, and to weigh 50 (Cashghar [Kâshgar]) ser = 30,000 grains English.'—Report of Forsyth's Mission to Kashghar, 494."

Lockyer, like other merchants of his time, was very close and precise in the matter of currency, as the following quotation from Trade in India, (1711), pp, 135-6, will show:—
"Formerly they used to sell for Sisee, or Silver full fine; but of late the Method is alter'd. 10 Tale of Gold 93 fine, sold for 94 Tale weight of Sisee Silver is 7 above Touch. 10 Tale of Gold 100 Touch, sold for 94 Tale Sisee Silver is Touch for Touch. 10 Tale of Gold Touch 94 for 100 Sisee, is 12½ above. To reduce Sisee into Currant Silver, multiply by 100, and divide by 94. The Hoppos divide by 93. All the Eastern People allay their Gold with Silver, therefore a Copperish Hue is Grounds for Suspicion. The coursest, or Gold of the lowest Touch is most advisable<sup>6</sup>: For, in a parting Essay you get all the Silver that is mixt, with it for nothing, viz. 80 Tale weight Touch 58, is 58 Tale of pure Gold and 22 Tale of Silver Allay, which you pay not a Farthing for."

In writing thus Lockyer was following the custom of his day. Witness the remarks of Stevens, Guide to East India Trade, 1766 (p. 125): "At China they divide Things decimally, as in buying Gold or Silver, which is esteemed by the one-hundredth Part, and their Touching Needles (by which they generally try the Fineness of the Gold and Silver) are marked and numbered accordingly. The finest Gold among them is one hundred Touch, called Sycee, that is, pure Gold without any Allay in it. So if a Shoe of Gold touch 93, then it hath 93/100 Parts fine Gold, and 7/100 Parts of Allay in it. Goldrises and falls in China according to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> This remark shows Lockyer's judgment in currency matters.

Demand for it. Gold bought at Touch for Touch, is when Ten Tale-weight of Sycee Silver is paid for One Tale-weight of pure Gold. Therefore Nine Tale-weights of Silver are to be paid for One of that mixed Mass, for ten times 9/10 is 90, the Sycee Gold there is in, when at 90 Touch. If it touch 96, then are 9-6/10 of Silver to be paid for one of Gold. If it touch 88, then 8-8/10 of Silver for One Tale of Gold, so that if you separate the last Figure of the Touch for a Decimal, and then multiply this Number by the Weight of the Mass, you will have the Weight of Silver to be paid for it."

Sycee was the regular currency in China itself in dealing with foreigners, for Lockyer (Trade in India, pp. 139-40) says:—"Rupees pass Currant for Sisee, English Crowns for Currant Silver . . . All the (silver) Money received for the Emperour's Customs is refined to Sisee and run into Shoos like the Gold . . . . "

Again Colquhoun (Across Chryse, 1883, p. 21) says: "At last we made up our minds, after sifting the evidence in regard to this question, to take Mexican dollars, new and chopped (i.e., stamped), for use on the river and to use sycee silver (stamped) for the Yunnan land-journey [in Southern Yunnan]."

Sycee was found to be currency also at a shortly earlier date, for Capt. Blakiston, writing in 1862 (The Yang Tsze, ch. ix, pp. 146-7), tells us:—"We had hitherto paid in Mexican dollars, but, having run out of our supply of those useful auxiliaries, we were forced to make an invoad on our stock of 'sycee.' Each of us carried 450 tacls weight of silver in this form (i.e. it small lumps), equal to about six hundred dollars, and, for fear of loss from shipwreck or other mishap, we distributed the amount among our different packages. Mine was tied in old socks and kept very various company . . . .

"A money-changer was sent for, and came on board with his balance-scales, and after some little time rendered as a statement to a fraction of a cash—ten cash go to a halfpenny—of the exchange, at the rate of 1720 per tael. The Sz'chuan tael was here in use, and is of greater weight than that on one lower river. The proportion is, 100 Sz'chuan taels equal 101.6 Shanghai, or 102.48 Hankow taels. Mexican dollars had been taken as far as I-chang, in the province of Hoo-peh, at 1000 to 1100 cash."

So high was the position of Sycee that Herstlet (China Treaties, 1896, vol. I, p. 26) says: "Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and China, 26 June 1858: Article xxiii, Payment of Duties in Sycee or Foreign Money. Duties shall be paid to the bankers, authorised by the Chinese Government to receive the same in its behalf, either in sycee or in foreign money, according to the assay made at Canton on the 13th July, 1843."8

The Sycee system had, however, its pitfalls for European Governments, as Chalmers, (Colonial Currency, 1883, p. 373) records an instance where the British Government was misled as to the orders it sent to Hong Kong: "The Home Government herein reckoned without the Chinese. In China, fine, or Hai-Kwan, Sycee, silver had always been reckoned not by tale but by weight, the standard measure being the 'Tael' weighing some 580 grains, sub-divided decimally into 10 mace or 100 candareens. Of the only Chinese coins (copper 'Cash'), one thousand (each weighing one mace) were originally equivalent to one tael of fine or Sycee silver. But owing to adulteration (with sand, etc.), and to illicit coinage, as many as 1,400 cash sometimes passed for a tael.

"Now, as for all but petty transactions the Chinese used silver and measured that silver by its fine weight and not by tale, the introduction of token British silver coins which

<sup>7</sup> In Yule's Ava, 1858, p. 345, there is a very curious remark with reference to Chinese silver:—"A considerable quantity of silver is brought from China in the way of trade. It is imported by the Shans in a very pure state, made up into small slabs or flat plates, which are from five to ten tickals in weight. The silver which these men themselves use is nevertheless very impure, containing often fully 100 per cent. alloy."

<sup>8</sup> There is much more information of the same kind in Parliamentary Papers, 1858, No. 287.

represent fractions of a gold sovereign, proceeded on a fundamental misconception; and the Royal Proclamation of 1844 remained a dead letter. All accounts (except those of the Government) were kept in dollars, and the sole instrument and medium of exchange, both at Hong Kong and at all the open ports (except Shanghai) continued to be the silver dollar, weighed in Hong Kong at 1,000 dollars to 717 taels, i.e., nearly 416 grains per dollar."

In Burma Sycee was well understood and Anderson (Mandlay to Momein, 1876, p. 377) found that "all the coined money [at Bhamo] was exchanged for sycee, or lump, silver, at the rate of one hundred rupees for seventy tickals of the finest quality, or seventy-three tickals and a half of the more alloyed which passes among the Kakhyens (Kachins)."

Coming to my own time, 1887 onward, on Fig. 15, Plate II, I show a piece of myinkâ or saddle silver, which has been chipped for use. This is nothing but the well-known sycee silver of former Burmese commerce and the old books. It had, however, become rare in Burma by 1889 and I only procured one specimen in Mandalay, where I stayed three years and made many enquiries. Nevertheless, it was a standing "product" of Upper Burma, and until 1885, at any rate, the only currency in Bhamo, where our political agents were paid in it. E.g., in 1868 Col. G. A. Strover drew his salary there in sycee silver, while political agent, then and subsequently, though correspondence in 1889 failed to produce a specimen from Bhamo.

In reference to Col. Strover's experience there is a curious allusion to sycee silver, teristic of Burmese ways, in Sladen's Official Narrative of the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo in 1867: 12 "All the money in my possession consisted of Indiacoined rupees, which, it was said, could not pass current among Kalayens [Kachins], or within the Shan States. The rupees must be changed for silver ladion of peculiar standard [sycee], readily procurable and current everywhere. Support the least was the information tendered at Mandalay: and yet on arrival at Bhamo, silver had become, for some unaccountable reason, an unknown commodity altogether. I would gladly have changed 5,000 rupees. It was our all, but no amount of solicitation was of any avail in procuring as many hundreds in bullion. I importuned everyone. The Chinese said they were poor and did not possess silver. The officials excused the emptiness of their treasury by assuring me that remittances had only just been made to the capital on account of the previous year's taxes." All this was the result of organized opposition to Sladen's mission.

Later on Sladen writes that he "lost 30 per cent. on exchanging rupees for silver [sycee] bullion, but this loss obviously had no bearing on the true relative value of the rupees and the bullion. But it is possible in these regions for even the locally current sycee to be of small value." Thus Cooper, "a writing from "Tai-tsan-loo, Western border of China" in 1868, says: "For the information of future travellers I should mention that beyond this place, as far as Lassa, money is at a great discount, two or three needles and a little thread, or a piece of Chinese cloth, procuring what money cannot . . . . Sycee is used at a great loss."

As an instance of the commercial value of preserving the form of a currency, I may mention that in Rangoon in 1891 I purchased in the Municipal Market a piece of inferior silver (now in the British Museum) which came from Bombay and consisted of half a piece

<sup>9</sup> This seems to be the balish silver quoted by Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s.v., Shoes of Gold.

<sup>10</sup> Temple, Travels of Peter Mundy, vol. III, pp. 195, n. 1, 309, n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> See British Burma Gazetteer, vol. I, p. 472.

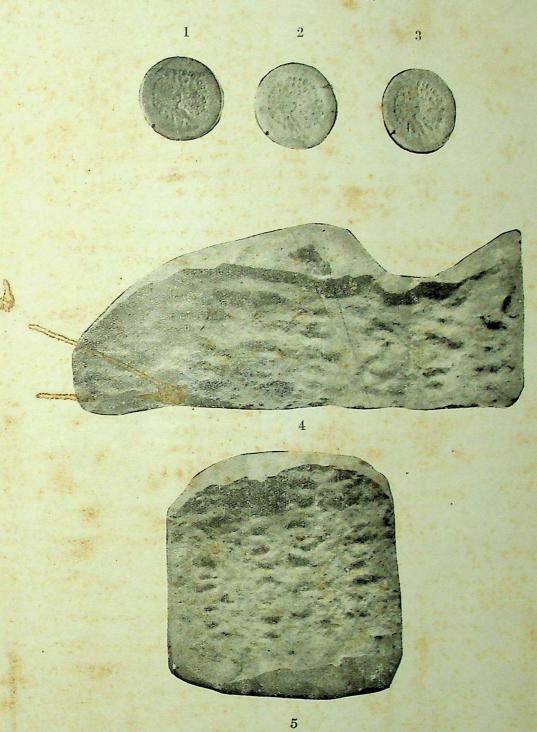
<sup>12</sup> House of Commons, Parl. Papers, No. 165 of 1871, pp. 27, 134.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 146,

Plate VI.

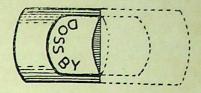
Indian Antiquary.

#### BURMESE CURRENCY.



HORNIMAN MUSEUM, HOLLOWAY,

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar of imitation sycee, cut in the centre exactly like the piece in fig. 15, plate II, but stamped on the back thus:



These words must stand either for some such words as By (rab Doss . . . . ) Doss [Bhairavdâs . . . . dâs], after the fashion of the Bombay nomenclature of firms, or for ". . . Doss [dâs] Byculla."

On Plate VI, figs. 4 and 5, are shown two pieces of Burmese silver of the sycee type, though not sycee, from the Horniman Museum at Forest Hill, London.

And then as to the eighteenth century in Burma we read in Sangermano, The Burmese Empire, ed. 1853, p. 167: "The Burmese have no coined money, but in their commercial transactions they make use of gold and silver bullion. Hence they are obliged to employ scales in all payments. The principal weight that they have, and to which all others are referred, is the ticale [tickal]; it is equal to about half an ounce. The gold and silver used is sometimes quite pure, but ordinarily it is mixed with some alloy; and of course its value depends on its degree of purity. But the inferior money of Amarapura and Rangoon is lead. Its value is not by any means fixed, but varies according to its abundance or scarcity. Sometimes a ticale of silver with a portion of alloy, is equal to 200 ticali<sup>14</sup> of lead, sometimes to a thousand, and even to more. In Tavai and Merghi pieces of tin with the impression of a cock, which is the Burmese arms, <sup>15</sup> are used for money."

The system of currency which culminated in gold and silver sycee is very old, as Yule's remarks show, <sup>16</sup> that the sommo of Pegolotti was worth 5 ducats =  $9\frac{1}{2}s. \times 5 = 47\frac{1}{2}s. = \text{say Rs.}$  24 at par about = the value by weight of an ordinary piece of sycee silver. Again in the above quoted passages the fixed alloy works out at 11 oz. 17 dwt., or 12 oz. fine silver, per sommo, and the varying weight therefore makes it practically certain that by the sommo the old travellers meant a lump of sycee silver.

I also gather that the pieces of gold mentioned by Goes (1605), in Yule's Cathay, vol. II, pp. 582, 583, 586, must have been stamped lumps of gold, i.e., gold sycee, and that the silver measured out to him in bulk must have been sycee silver.

(To be continued.)

#### MISCELLANEA.

DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT INSCRIPTION IN THE JHALAWAR STATE.

This Inscription of Vikram Samvat 746 was discovered by the Curator, Darbar Archæological Museum, in the temple of Chandra-mauli Mahâdêva on the bank of the river Chandrabhaga, Jhalrapatan, in the year 1915. It belongs to the time of Râjâ Durag-gan of the Maurya family. This temple now bears the name of Shitleshwar Mahâdêva. The supporting pillars are cylindrical in shape and are beautifully engraved. The roof of the porch seems to have been repaired lately, although a small portion of it has been left alone, which

shows what the original workmanship was like. The supporting pillars have each a "Bajra Chanta" fastened to chains engraved in stone. Before the idol of Shiva Nandi is seated, and a number of statues of various gods and goddesses stand in the corners. Near by, the river Chandrabhaga flows from west to east. It is held sacred and is visited by thousands of people who come to bathe in its holy waters in the month of Kartik, a fair being also held on that occasion. This place is some 18 miles from the Railway. The nearest station is Shrichhatrapur on B. B. & C. I. Railway.

S. CHERN.

<sup>14</sup> Ticale, ticali are Italian forms of tickal.

<sup>15</sup> I wonder what Sangermano's authority for this statement was.

<sup>16</sup> Cathay, I, p. 117, n. 123: II, pp. 289, 293, 298: and also Introd., vol. I, pp. exxv-vi.

#### BOOK-NOTICES.

DICTIONARY OF THE CAR-NICOBARESE LANGUAGE, by THE REV. G. WHITEHEAD, B.A., Rangoon, American Baptist Mission Press, 1925.

The chief sources of our knowledge of Nicobarese has hitherto been de Roepstorff's Dictionary of the Nancowry Dialect (Calcutta, 1884), and the works of E. H. Man and Sir Richard Temple; and now Mr. Whitehead has made a valuable addition to our information by the publication of this account of the Car Dialect. Although Car and Nancowry are certainly variant forms of the same Môn-Khmêr speech, they differ so widely both in grammar and in vocabulary that it would almost be possible to class them, not as cognate dialects, but as separate languages not very closely allied to each other. Car is spoken by some 5200 people out of the eight or ten thousand Nicobarese, while the number of speakers of Nancowry (Mr. Whitehead spells the word "Nankauri") is about 1165. The other dialects (Chowra, Teressa, and Shompen) share among themselves the remaining speakers of the language.

To his Dictionary proper Mr. Whitehead has prefixed an Introductory Chapter of about fifty pages in which he gives an account of the general features of the language. This does not pretend to be a formal grammar, but is rather a collection of notes of varying length dealing with the main particulars. The most important sections are those devoted to the sounds of the language, to the pronouns, and to the verb. While there is no list of numerals, there is an interesting catalogue of the numeral co-efficients that form an important element in the methods of counting employed by speakers of Indo-Chinese languages.

In the section on phonetics, the vowel sounds are treated with minuteness, the chief features of interest being the many diphthongs and semi-diphthongs, and the tendency of some vowels to change under the influence of a following consonant. As for the consonants, with a few accidental exceptions, there are no sonant stops (q, j, d, b),-in this differing widely from Nancowry-and no aspirated consonants. Two letters,-k and n,-are liable to become "clipped" when final. I presume that by this term it is meant that, as in Burmese and other languages. they are sounded without the off-glide; but this is doubtful, for the author mentions another sound, which he represents by r. This, he says is "a kind of modified (or clipped) r", in which "clipped" can hardly have this meaning, especially as the sound is never final.

The pronouns are the only words that show inflexion. They have three numbers,—singular, dual (only when referring to persons), and plural,—and the pronoun of the first person has two forms each for the dual and plural, one including, and the other excluding the person addressed. So far as I am aware, the latter distinction is not found in Nancowry, which has, however, the three numbers. The comparative table below! shows the principal personal pronouns in the two dialects. It illustrates at once the connexion and the difference between them.

As regards verbs, the author tells us little about conjugation, but gives a long and valuable list of suffixes (which he calls affixes) and prefixes that, as in cognate forms of speech, modify the root-meaning of the word. No information is given about tenses, and I presume that, as in Nancowry, present, past and future are all represented by the same form, the temporal significance being gathered from the context.

Similarly, we are given no information about the declension of nouns. It is true that in languages of this family there are no formal cases, but, to take an example, it would have been interesting to learn how the idea of the genitive is expressed. Does the possessor follow or precede the thing possessed? Is, for instance, "the house of the parent2" pa-ti (house) yöng (parent), or yöng pa-ti? From sentences given as examples of other syntactical uses, I presume that, as in Nancowry, the former, and not the latter, is the correct idiom, but it would have been well if this had been distinctly stated. Readers of Pater Schmidt's Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde will remember how important from the point of view of anthropology is this question of the position of the genitive.

The Dictionary itself is admirable. It is no mere vocabulary, for nearly every entry is supplied with sentences illustrating the exact meaning of the word under examination. Considering the scanty word-store that would be possessed by an isolated and uncivilized tribe of only a few thousand people, it is astonishingly full, and the evident care with which it has been compiled, gives confidence as to its accuracy. I can congratulate not only the author on its successful completion, but also my fellow-students who are struggling with the Môn-Khmêr languages on finding ready to their hands a new and excellent weapon to aid their conquest.

G.A.G.

1		Singular.	Due	al.	Plural.			
	Car.	Nancowry.	Car,	Nancowry.	Car.	Nancowry.		
	chü-ö, chin	tiūe	an, ai-ya-a (In.); an, āi-yö (Ex.).	tieāe	in, ai-yī-ö (In.); in, ī-hö (Ex)	tieōi		
Но .4	man, meh-e <sup>n</sup> an, a-na, ön Nancowry, has i	· · anäh	nan		yin, cha-a	ifä		

HISTORY OF BURMA, from the earliest times to March 10, 1824, the beginning of the English Conquest, by G. E. HARVEY, with a preface by SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt., with seven illustrations and five coloured maps: Longmans Green and Co., London, 1925.

Although just over a century had elapsed since Lord Amherst was forced by the provocations of the Government of Ava to commence the first Burmese War, the average Englishman knows very little more about the history of Burma than he did at that date. Sir Arthur Phayre attempted to lift the veil of darkness which shrouded the annals of the country by the publication of a History of Burma in 1883; but, as Sir Richard Temple points out in a forewor'l to Mr. Harvey's work, Sir Arthur had no access to the inscriptions, which are numerous from the eleventh century onwards, and made no use of Chinese records. These valuable sources, coupled with the less trustworthy vernacular chronicles of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the Dutch and Portuguese records and certain unpublished state papers in the India Office, form the ground work of Mr. Harvey's history, which unquestionably supplies a longfelt want and is likely to be a standard volume of reference for many years to come.

His first chapter, which is devoted to the shadowy ages preceding the rise of the kingdom of Pagan in 1044, is necessarily brief and conjectural. The art of writing was probably brought from South India about A.D. 300 to the Pyus,—that strange, unknown race, which once occupied Prome, and gradually lost its identity and became merged in the local tribes of the Pagan kingdom after A.D. 800, but no inscriptions of an earlier date than A.D. 500 have so far been discovered, and the bulk of those included in Epigraphia Birmanica belong to a much The general conclusion, at which later date. Mr. Harvey arrives, is that the Burmese are a mixed Mongolian race, to which various Tibeto-Burman tribes—the Pyu, the Kauran or Arakanese, and the Thet or Chins,-have contributed elements, and with these have mingled the Talaings of Lower Burma, who were originally Hindu immigrants from Telingana on the coast of Madras. Immigration also took place from northern India through Assam, and influenced the religious ideas and architecture of Upper Burma in the fifth century; and the complete disappearance among the Burmese of their primeval Mongolian traditions is due to the fact that these Indian immigrants, whether from Northern or Southern India, were the only people who could read and write in those early ages and so keep tradition alive. Thus it comes that the tradition, folk-lore, and chronicles of the Mongolian Burmese are predominantly Indian in character.

Although Mr. Harvey in his treatment of the Pagan kingdom, which was practically paramount in Burma from the eleventh to the thirteenth century,

frankly introduces matter which is pure legend or folk-lore, certain definite facts emerge from his combination of recorded fact, as embodied, for example, in the Myazedi inscription of A.D. 1112, with the romantic narrative of the chronicles. The dynasty, founded by Anaorahta in 1044, which lasted until the terrible Tartar invasion of 1287, managed to hold Burma together for more than two hundred years, built magnificent temples, and preserved Theravada Buddhism, which, in the author's words, "is one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known." Indeed, the tale of the Pagan rulers, though not free from the stain of cruelty, is on the whole more attractive to the modern reader than the long and dreary chronicle of wholesale murder, raiding, and rapine which commences with Shan dominion in 1287, includes the chequered history of the Toungoo dynasty, and ends, so far as Mr. Harvey's work is concerned, with the challenge offered by Bagyidaw of the Alaungpaya line to the Governor-General of India, Lord Amherst, whom the author incorrectly styles Viceroy of India. The title of Viceroy did not come into existence and use until after the transfer of the Government of India to the English Crown in 1858. Battle, murder, and sudden death fill the centuries succeeding the great Shan immigrations; here and there one catches a glimpse of a ruler endowed with greater nobility, personality, or administrative aptitude than the general run of Burmese kings. Such, indeed, were Queen Shinsawbu (1453-72) of gracious memory; Thalun of the Toungoo line, under whose orders the first Revenue Inquest ever made in Burma was carried out in 1638; Bayinnaung, who commenced his martial adventures while still in his teens and continued fighting till his death at the age of 66; Alaungpaya, who rose from the position of village headman to be master of Burma; and Bodawpaya. But one looks in vain for any figure comparable with those of Aśoka, of Samudragupta, of Harsha, and of Akbar in India. These rulers were quite as despotic as the kings of Burma, but they were more cultured, more civilized, and, so long as they lived, they maintained a tolerably efficient administrative organization. It was in this respect that the Burmese Court was a signal failure, and Mr. Harvey's references to the exceptional inefficiency of the government recall the worst days of the later Mughal rulers, when every official was a law unto himself and the injunctions of the pageant emperor went unheeded.

Quite as valuable as the actual history of the various dynasties are the notes which Mr. Harvey has appended to his narrative. Among these one may call attention particularly to the notes on "The temples and their builders," "Massacre of the kinsmen," "Thalun's inquest," which include illuminating paragraphs on slaves and captives, the ideas underlying prohibition of certain exports, and the organisation of society, and "Administrative

conditions." In several respects, particularly as regards official oppression and tyranny, conditions under the kings of Burma approximated to those existing in India under some of the less efficient rulers, both Hindu and Muslim: but it is doubtful whether any Indian potentate, except perhaps Sultan Balban or Muhammad bin Tughlak, was guilty of such sanguinary cruelty as that which characterized successive rulers of Burma. In his note on "Cholas in the Delta," Mr. Harvey rightly exposes Mr. Taw Sein Ko's error in attributing the erection of two stone posts at Pegu to Rajêndra the Gangaikonda Chola-Kidaram or Kadaram, which has been identified with Kedah in the Malay States, is identical with the Kataha of the Tiruvalangadu copperplate inscriptions and with the Kâlaham of the ancient Tamil poem Pattinappalai. The Raja of Kadaram was also ruler of Śri Vishaya or Vijaya, which appears to have been Palembaug on the east coast of Sumatra. At page 320 there is an interesting note on "Myosado," the Burmese name for a human victim buried alive under a building,a custom which was once well-known in India also.

Enough has been said to indicate that Mr. Harvey's work is a valuable contribution to the historical literature concerning England's eastern possessions. It bears the impress of steady research and firsthand knowledge of the country; and as Sir Richard Temple writes in an excellent foreword, it "will form a starting point for searchers of the coming generation. It has blazed a way through the jungle, so that others may build the road." What a jungle it is, can be to some extent understood from a mere perusal of the genealogical tables, which are printed after the explanatory notes. To have woven a consecutive story, replete with new facts, out of that medley of strange names, and incidentally to have thrown most interesting sidelights upon the social condition, customs, and civilization of Burma under its own rulers, is an achievement worthy of the Service to which Mr. Harvey belongs.

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE ROOT ACCH—IN MODERN INDIA, IN SONDER-DRUCK AUS DER GARBE-FESTGABE, 1927, by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON.

In this learned contribution Sir George Grierson commences with the statement: "Much has been written concerning the origin of the Prakrit  $\sqrt{acch}$ —'be'." Then after taking us through the modern Indian languages he winds up with the invaluable remarks: "The most important general point to note in the above is that the forms derived from the primitive past participle, may be, and often are, used in the sense of the present. It is important, because the same phenomenon also occurs in the case of other verbal bases used as verbs substantive. In such cases the participial origin is indicated by the fact that such a present tense is liable to change for gender, a thing which could not happen if the tense were derived from the primitive present.

When we find a modern present tense so changing for gender, we may be certain that it is derived from a participle, and not from any finite tense. I have more than once observed that this guide has not been taken advantage of by inquirers." Readers of this Journal will be grateful to Sir George.

R. C. TEMPLE.

Ancient Indian Tribes, by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Calcutta; Published in the Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) series.

It is generally admitted that, like most countries in the world, ancient India in prehistoric days evolved out of a tribal stage into a settled order of society. What were the names of these tribes, where and how they lived, whence and from which place they came, and what led finally to their absorption are questions, an examination of which would afford supreme interest to antiquarians. We know Vedic literature contains mention of a few tribes. Again these and other tribes are not unknown to post-vedic literature—a clear inference that tribal systems of organisation continued to thrive even in the epic and the Pauranic periods.

But there are striking pieces of evidence to indicate that even in pre-epic days, and at least by the epic age, India had evolved a settled system of government and administration. It is not possible for us to say whether tribal systems of organisation continued side by side with the orderly forms of government. But it is just possible that each tribe gradually developed a sense of state consciousness with the result that each became dominant in that region. Or it may be that originally there was a great family of princes and rulers like the traditional race of the Iksvakus, the different members of which occupied neighbouring territories and became in course of time independent rulers. Whatever it was, the fact was that there were small separate kingdoms occupied by different monarchs and possibly different peoples.

An attempt is made in the book under review to trace the history of five such tribes which played a prominent part in the history of ancient India. These are the Kâśis, the Kosalas, the Aśmakas, the Mâghadas, and the Bhojas. The study of each tribe is an exhaustive one, from its origin to its final disappearance or absorption into other powerful territory. This is not the first endeavour of Dr. Law in this direction. He has already published similar studies with an eernestness all his own. Almost all his authorities are literary, and each one of them is furnished with a wealth of detail that one must call it a study complete by itself.

We trust that the distinguished scholar will pursue his studies further and give us an authoritative and exhaustive treatise on all the tribal kingdoms of Hindu India both in her prehistoric and historical periods.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

Fol. 40b, l. 5.	kaṇ-pratyayah prāyaśa iṣyatē 'tra ; ba syād ivârthē ;   hṛdayē haḍakkë <sup>171</sup> ; śyālē śiālē ; bahulaṁ <sup>172</sup> vikāra-		Mk. 5.
1. 6.	lõpâgamā ; liṅga-viparyayō 'pi. Bibbhīśaṇē <sup>173</sup> bhiścadi taśca hakkaṁ   Indāiṇaṁ yō ṇa a Śakka lēi	5.	Mk. 6, 7.
	ēśē ghalē ettha hagē biśāmi pakṣē yathā-vat sthitam ühanīyam.	6.	
1. 7.	tin-sup-vibhakty-ādi viparya yō'pi, yathā-tatham puribhir <sup>174</sup> ūhanīyam.		Mk. 7.
	supām kvacil lõpam uśanti dhīrā ēd vā striyām jasy api sarvanāmnaḥ.	7.	Mk. 8. Not in Mk.
Metre, Vasantati	llakā. (		
Fol. 40a, l. 1.;	prāyō bhavēt śaïliņī-sa[dṛśē¹¹⁶ vikarṣō.		Mk. 7.
	yuktē parē 'pi guravō 176 'tra laghūbhavanti,		Mk. 9.
	kāmēņa da[y]jjhadi kkhu mē hadakkē tabaśśī¹¹¹	•	
1. 2.	angāla-lāśi-paḍidē bia   maṁśa-khaṇḍē.	8.	
	grāmyam nirarthakam apakramakam viruddham syād āgamâdi-vikalam vihatôpamânam <sup>178</sup>		Comm. to Mk. 9.
1. 3.	prāyah Šakāra-vacanam puna r-uktam iṣṭam dōṣāḥ padē <sup>179</sup> 'pi guṇatām iha samprayānti.	9.	
	Cāṇḍāliká.		
Fol. 40a, l. 3.	Metre, Upajāti, as before. CĀ ĀLIKĒti prathitā vibhāṣā		
	pravakṣyatē câtra yathōpadēśam		
1. 4.	ēṣā tu saṁsidhyati Śaurasēnī- Māgadhy-upaślēṣa <sup>180</sup> -vaśēna samyak.	10.	Mk. xiv. 1.
	ētvam striyām jasy ami cêha śiṣṭam		Mk. 4, only jasi.
	yē itthikē tattha [y]cila[m] basanti,		
l. 5.	mayjjham pi tāṇam haliṇā <sup>181</sup> lamantim tē Lāhikē peśka kuḍaṅgaammi.	11.	
	bhavēn nasah <i>śśah</i> <sup>182</sup> , <i>puliśaśśa atthē</i> <sup>183</sup> ;		Mk. 5.
1. 6.	tiah syāt prakṛtyā, rama ha tia oṭṭa.		Mk. 7.

<sup>171</sup> MS. hadakka.

<sup>172</sup> MS. siālō bihuṇam. The emendation is conjectural, but what is wanted is some word equivalent to varnānām.

<sup>173</sup> MS. bibbhīśalē. This line and the next are very doubtful.

<sup>174</sup> tatham puribhir. So MS. It breaks the metre, and I am unable to emend it. Should we read suribhir for puribhir?

<sup>175</sup> MS. śaivilisa | pūśē, corrected to agree with Mk. śailiņī.

<sup>176</sup> MS. guravavõ.

<sup>177</sup> MS. ? tavallvi. The two lines come from Mrcchakațikā, I, 226, where Godabole corrects the metre of the first line by printing kāmēņa dhajjadi hu mē halakē tavaššī.

<sup>178</sup> MS. vikakalamvihitopamānam. The emendation of vihita to vihata is conjectural, to agree with Mk.'s hatopama.

<sup>179</sup> MS. dotrāh pakē.

<sup>180</sup> MS. upaśēsa.

<sup>181</sup> MS. tālam halilā.

<sup>182</sup> MS. ssa, but contradicted by the example. Cf. Mk. 5.

<sup>183</sup> MS. arthē.

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Fol. 40a, l. 6.	atō bhavēt sāv ud apîha, peśka uatthiē [y]candu nahanganammi.	Not in 12.	1 Mk. Cf. 2, 3
1. 7.	<ul> <li>mmir atra nēh, peška gharammi Kanham;</li> <li>ē ca kvacit, peška banē<sup>184</sup> bi ēdam.</li> <li>  grāmyôktayō 'syām bahulam prayōjyāh ktvā-pratyayō 'syām tu ia<sup>185</sup> pravīņaih.</li> </ul>	13.	Mk. 6, Comm. Mk. 9, Mk. 8
Fol. 41a, l. 1.	syād gauravāmantraņa <sup>186</sup> ō tu nityam, yad <sup>187</sup> bhasṭakō tum Mahuā <sup>188</sup> -ņi bēśi; agauravē tv āt, kaha ettha [y]cēḍā āṇēśi mē ayjja <sup>189</sup> bi ņa kkhu vēḍham.	14.	Mk. 2.
1. 2.	'arē' khal <i>ûrūḥ</i> <sup>190</sup> kathitas, tvadīya- madī[ya]m āhus <i>tuha-kēliâ</i> di <sup>191</sup> ,   ātmīyam <sup>192</sup> <i>appāṇaa-kēliaṁ</i> ca, prāyas ta-kārē svara-śēṣatāṁ ca.	15.	Not in Mk Not in Mk Not in Mk
	Śābarī.	(	
Fol. 41a, l. 2. l. 3.	athôcyatē samprati $\hat{S} \tilde{A} B A R \overline{I}$ , yām purôditā Māgadhikârva sū $ $ tē. angārika-vyādha-vahitra-kāṣṭhô-pajīvinām vāci niyujyatē 'sau.	from 16. (2	xv, (1) derives n Cāṇḍālī, and 2) occasionally m the sources
l. 4.	peśkē kha-luk, tasya mataś ca-kāraḥ, śāmī maha[m] peścadi   aṅgam-aṅgam. nânyatra, kântē maha daśkiṇē <sup>193</sup> śē. aham hagā dvāv aham-arthakau tu.		that Vibhāṣā  Mk. 5, hakē.
1. 5.	<ul> <li>nē him vibhāṣâsya, matāl <sup>194</sup> laghutvam,</li> <li>śā iściā<sup>196</sup> [y]cinṭadi   pāsahim<sup>198</sup>, mē</li> <li>uattiā kuñjahī Nanda-uttam</li> <li>ā peśca<sup>197</sup> mālī kila hōi Lāhī.</li> </ul>	18.	Mk. 6.
1. 6.	kutrâpi tasêyha bhavēd i-kāraḥ, śayc[c]am halā mē ghali   natthi śāmī ādhāra-vāciny api pañcamī syāt,		Mk. 6.  Not in Mk.
1. 7.	tumam ghalādō šahi [y]cintha dāba.  sōr luk na vā <sup>198</sup> , [y]cinthadi laška šēlē.  sambōdhanē nityam a, gau ravē tv āt,	19.	x. 3 different. Mk. 4.

<sup>185</sup> MS. iha, an evident slip of the copiest. Cf. Mk. 8. 187 MS. yat.

186 MS. syāpauramamantraņa.

190 So MS.

<sup>188</sup> So MS., or mahaā. Should we read Mahulā (Mathurā )?

<sup>191</sup> MS. kēlimhādi.

<sup>189</sup> MS. ayjha, conjecturally emended as ab.

<sup>192</sup> MS. ārthīyam. 193 MS. apparently daskēņē. 194 MS. matal. .

<sup>195</sup> The MS. is not clear here. We may also read isthia or hanthia. Cf. II, ii, 16, 17. The MS. has sā not śā.

<sup>196</sup> MS. pasahim.

<sup>197</sup> MS. paśca. The correction is doubtful. ? should we read paścimā li. 198 MS. thava, which I have conjecturally emended.

202 MS. yathātathāityatrajiṣastidhaśca. In the written Bengali character şa (३) can easily be mistaken for dha (4).

203 MS. sakārāt.

204 MS. vi.

205 MS. kāham tōham kathitam jōham, in which ca has twice been misread as the first member of the letter ö, i.e., on and on for so and son.

206 MS. ētāham, an evident slip.

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Fol. 42a, l. 2.	tuhum tvam-arthē <sup>207</sup> , hamu câh[am]-arthē, maham <sup>208</sup> mamârthē jagaduh <sup>209</sup> padāni.		Mk. 8, 9. Mk. 10.
l. 3.	jidham yatharthē 'tra   tidham tatharthē. śēṣam nirūpyam kavi-sampradāyāt.	30.	Mk. 11, 12.
1, 4.	Śakārak'-Audra <sup>210</sup> -Dravidâdi-vācō 'pabhramśatām yady-api samśrayanti, syān nāṭa kâdau yadi samprayōgō		r
1, 4,	naîtāsv apabhramsatayā tathēşţih <sup>211</sup> .	31.	Cf. Mk. 2.
1. 5.	Iti Prākṛta-śāsanē Kalpatarau, ēkatrimsat-kusur   Iti Rāma-Tarkavāgīśa-Bhaṭṭâcārya-virac	mais, tṛtīy itē Kalpa	a[h] stabakah   tarau tribhi[h]

stabakair dvitīyā<sup>212</sup> śākhā niruktā.

207 MS. tumarthe. For tuhum, Mk. has tunga.

209 MS. jagahuh.

210 MS. ôdra.

<sup>208</sup> Mk. has mahum, and it is not impossible to read the same here, as the scribe usually makes hardly any distinction between ha and hu. On the other hand, tuhum in the preceding line happens to be perfectly

<sup>211</sup> MS. tathaista. The correction is very doubtful. Lassen, Inst., p. 21, emends this to tataisah. The MS. is quite clear. 212 MS. dvitīya.

#### TRANSLATION.

#### II, i. Saurasēnī.

1. [The section dealing with] SAURASENI is now being composed. It is generally accepted that its basis is nothing but the language previously described [i.e., Mahārāṣtrī].

In the words  $v\bar{e}tasa$ ,  $ang\bar{a}ra$ , etc. the first a does not become i, nor does the change to o occur in the words  $caturth\bar{i}$ , badara, etc.

[In Mh., by I, i, 2, the first a in the words  $i \not s a d$ -,  $a i g \bar{a} r a$ -, m r d a i g a-, p a k v a-, s v a p n a-,  $b \bar{e} t a s a$ -, and others is changed to i; by I, i, 5,  $c a t u r t h \bar{i}$  and  $c a t u r d a s \bar{i}$  become  $c o t t h \bar{i}$  and  $c a d a h \bar{i}$ ; and by I, i, 4, b a d a r a-, becomes  $b \bar{o} r a$ -.]

2. In the words  $yath\bar{a}$ , etc., the final  $\bar{a}$  is only sometimes shortened. Except in the word  $ki\dot{m}\dot{s}uka$ , the i in the words pinda- etc. does not become e. In the words tunda- etc. the u only sometimes becomes o.  $Ud\bar{u}khala$ - does not become okhala-, nor does [the long  $\bar{\imath}$ ] in  $k\bar{\iota}dr\dot{s}a$ - and  $\bar{\iota}dr\dot{s}a$ - become  $\bar{e}$ .

[In Mh., by I, i, 6, 7, the  $\bar{a}$  of  $yath\bar{a}$ ,  $tath\bar{a}$ ,  $c\bar{a}mara$ -,  $t\bar{a}lavrnta$ -, and a number of other words is shortened to a. By I, i, 8, the i of pinda- and a number of other words is sometimes changed to e. In that verse  $kim\dot{s}uka$ - is not specifically mentioned, but is included in the word 'etc.' By I, i, 11, the u in puskara-, tunda-, and a number of other words is always changed to o; by 13,  $ud\bar{u}khala$ - optionally becomes okkhala-. By 10, the  $\bar{\imath}$  of  $\bar{\imath}dr\dot{\imath}sa$ -,  $k\bar{\imath}dr\dot{\imath}sa$ -, and two other words becomes  $\bar{e}$ .]

3. The a which has been prescribed as a substitute for u in mukuṭa-, yudhiṣṭhira-, and upari, is not found in this dialect, nor is the change of puruṣa- [to puriṣa-] to be made. The words yādrṣa-, and tādrṣa-, etc. are to be included in the gaṇa ṛṣy-ādi.

[In Mh., by I, i, 13, the first u in mukuta- is always changed to a, and in the case of yudhisthira- and certain other words, the change is optional. Here, upari is also included in the 'etc.' By the same verse, the ru of purusa- always becomes ri. By 15, in Mh.,  $t\bar{a}dr\dot{s}a$ - and  $y\bar{a}dr\dot{s}\bar{a}$ - become  $t\bar{a}risa$ - and  $j\bar{a}risa$ -, respectively. In  $\dot{s}r$ . they are to be included in the  $gana\ rsy-\bar{a}di$ , i.e. those words in which r is changed to i. We therefore get  $t\bar{a}disa$ -,  $j\bar{a}disa$ -,  $\bar{i}disa$ -,  $\bar{k}\bar{i}disa$ -, and so on.]

4. [The  $\bar{e}$  of]  $v\bar{e}dan\bar{a}$  and  $d\bar{e}vara$ - does not become i. Rukkha- is the [only] substitute for vrksa-. In daiva- [the ai] does not become  $a\bar{i}$ , nor does [the  $k\bar{o}$  of]  $prak\bar{o}stha$ -become ba. In the words paurusa- etc., [the au] does not become  $a\bar{u}$ , nor in gaurava- does it become  $\bar{a}$ .

[In Mh., by I, i, 19,  $v\bar{e}dan\bar{a}$  and  $d\bar{e}vara$ - optionally become  $bian\bar{a}$ - and diara-, respectively. By 18,  $vrk\bar{s}a$ - becomes vaccha- or rukkha-. By 21, the ai of daiva- and a number of other words optionally becomes  $a\bar{i}$ , so that we have  $da\bar{i}ba$ - etc. By 22,  $prak\bar{o}\bar{s}tha$ - optionally becomes pabatta- (? pabattha-). By 23, 24, the au of paura-,  $pauru\bar{s}a$ -, qauda-, mauna-, aucityaka-,  $k\bar{s}aurita$ -,  $kau\hat{s}ala$ -, mauli-, kauravaka-, and others is changed to  $a\bar{u}$ , and by the same verses, qaurava- becomes  $qa\bar{u}raba$ - or  $q\bar{a}raba$ -. Mk. differs here.]

5. We now proceed to deal with single intervocalic consonants. It is prescribed that intervocalic t becomes d. The th of prathama- also becomes dh [as in Mh.]. In the word prathama-, the t becomes n. Except in the word  $prthiv\bar{v}$  [in which it becomes h as in Mh.], th becomes dh, and so does the t of bharata-.

[In Mh., by I, ii, I, intervocalic t is elided. By 4, the th of prathama- and śithila-becomes dh. By 5, the word garvita- (not garbhita-, as in other authors) becomes  $gabbin\bar{\imath}$  when in the feminine. It will be noted that the MS. has here also garvita-, so that the word in I, ii, 5 can hardly be a mistake of the copiest. By I, ii, 11, intervocalic th becomes h, and by 12, the t of vasati- and bharata- becomes h, so that we get basahi-, bharaha-.]

6. An intervocalic p generally becomes b, and the word  $ap\bar{u}rva$ -becomes aburua-The k of  $\hat{s}ikara$ - does not become bh, nor does the b of kabandha-become m. In  $candrik\bar{a}$  the k does not become m, and intervocalic d is not usually elided.

[For av(b)urua-, Mk. ix, 23 has  $av(b)ar\bar{u}v(b)a$ -.

In Mh., by I, ii, 7, intervocalic p optionally becomes b or may be elided, so that for  $ap\bar{u}rva$ - we have abubba- or  $a\bar{u}bba$ -. By I, ii, 7,  $s\bar{i}kara$ - becomes  $s\bar{i}bhara$ , and kabandha-optionally kamandha-. By I, ii, 9,  $candrik\bar{a}$  becomes  $candim\bar{a}$ . By I, ii, 1, intervocalic d is elided.]

7. The intervocalic letters dh and bh are, like d, to be pronounced with complete contact. Sometimes the r in  $haridr\bar{a}$  etc. becomes l, but in  $\acute{siph\bar{a}}$  etc. the intervocalic ph does not become bh. There is no change [of  $\acute{s}$ ] to h in  $da\acute{sa}$ , but this is optional in the word  $caturda\acute{sa}$ .

[In Mh., by I, ii, 11, intervocalic dh and bh become h. By I, ii, 10, the r of  $haridr\bar{a}$  etc. always becomes l. By I, ii, 7, intervocalic ph generally becomes bh, the word  $s\bar{e}ph\bar{a}lik\bar{a}$  (not  $siph\bar{a}$ ) being an optional exception. By I, ii, 11, the s of the numerals beginning with dasan- becomes h.

The text here of the remarks about ph is doubtful. According to Mk. ix, 29, in  $\hat{S}r$ , intervocalic ph always becomes h, whereas, in Mh. (Mk. ii, 25, 24), it always becomes h, except in the words  $\hat{s}iph\bar{a}$ ,  $\hat{s}\bar{e}pha$ -,  $\hat{s}\bar{e}ph\bar{a}lik\bar{a}$ ,  $\hat{s}aphar\bar{\imath}$ , and others,—in which it becomes h. Mk., therefore, for  $\hat{S}r$ ., excludes these exceptions, and, as his examples of ix, 29 show, teaches that in these exceptional words also, in  $\hat{S}r$ ., the ph becomes h. RT., if the text here is right, says just the opposite. In Mh., his general rule is that ph becomes bh, this being optional in the case of one word,— $\hat{s}\bar{e}ph\bar{a}lik\bar{a}$ . He does not refer at all to  $\hat{s}iph\bar{a}$  in dealing with Mh., and therefore we are to assume that, according to him, the Mh. form of that word is  $\hat{s}ibh\bar{a}$  (as in Mk.). But in  $\hat{S}r$ ., according to RT., in  $\hat{s}iph\bar{a}$  and other words (presumably the  $\hat{s}\bar{e}pha$ -,  $\hat{s}\bar{e}ph\bar{a}lik\bar{a}$ ,  $\hat{s}aphar\bar{\imath}$ , etc. of Mk.) ph does not become bh. What it does become he does not say.

As regards  $da\acute{s}a$ - etc., there is again a difference. In Mh., RT. (I, ii, 11, 13) teaches that  $\acute{s}$  in  $da\acute{s}an$ - etc., always becomes h, but that in the case of proper names containing this word the change is optional. Mk. ii, 45, 46 is to the same effect. For  $\acute{S}r$ ., RT. teaches that the  $\acute{s}$  rever becomes h, except in the word  $caturda\acute{s}a$ -, in which the change is optional. Mk. ix, 31, on the contrary, teaches that in  $\acute{S}r$ . in the numerals  $\acute{s}$  always becomes h, but that in  $da\acute{s}a$ - and  $caturda\acute{s}\bar{\imath}$  this is optional; while in proper names the  $\acute{s}$  does not become h. If the text given here for RT. is correct, and if I have given the right punctuation, the following are the changes of  $\acute{s}$  in  $\acute{S}r$ . according to RT. and Mk. respectively:—

		RT.		Mk.
daśa-		8	• •	h or s
caturdaśa- (-daśī)		h or s	• •	h or s
Other numerals	• •	8	•	h
Proper names	••	8	• •	8]

[In Mh., by I, ii, 14,  $kir\bar{a}ta$ -, when it refers to a non-Aryan, becomes  $cil\bar{a}da$ -. By I, ii, 15, in Mh., danda-,  $d\bar{o}l\bar{a}$ , and dasana- become, respectively, danda-,  $d\bar{o}l\bar{a}$ , and dasana-. RT. does not mention the root dah- in this connexion, in regard to Mh., but Mk. (ii, 34) tells us that in Mh. the initial d of that root becomes d. In Mh., by RT. ii, 14, yasi- becomes latthi-; by I, ii, 15,  $l\bar{a}ngala$ - always becomes namgala-, and  $l\bar{o}hala$ - optionally becomes  $n\bar{o}hala$ -; and, by the same verse,  $s\bar{a}vaka$ - becomes  $ch\bar{a}baa$ -.]

9. In what follows, the rules relate to substitutes for a conjunct consonant in any position in a word. In the word utthita-there is no [change of tth to] tth. In the word sphotaka, kh is not substituted [for the sph], nor is jj substituted [for ny] in Abhimanyu-. The character dd is not substituted [for rd] in sammardana- or gardabha-, nor is cch substituted [for ks] in kṣīra- or sadṛkṣa-.

[In Mh., by Mk. iii, 15, utthita- becomes utthia-, but this is not mentioned by RT. in his third stabaka as it appears in our MS. By RT. I, iii, 3, the sph of sphōṭa- becomes kh. By I, iii, 7, Abhimanyu- becomes Ahimajju-. By I, iii, 10, rd becomes ḍḍ in sammardana-, gardabha-, vitardi-, vicchardi-, and kapardaka-. Here this change does not take place in the case of the first two. By I, iii, 6 and Comm., in a number of words kṣ becomes cch. In Saurasēnī, this does not take place in the case of three of these words, viz. kṣīra-, sadṛkṣa-, and (see the next verse) kṣaṇa-.]

10. So also in  $k \not= ana$ - [the  $k \not= a$  does not become cch], nor does the hn of cihna- become nn. In  $k \bar{u} \not= n\bar{d}$  if  $k \bar{u} \not= n\bar{d}$  in  $k \bar{u} \not= n\bar{d}$  in k

[For kṣaṇa-, see the preceding verse. By I, iii, 11, cihna- becomes ciṇṇa-. So also Kramadīśvara I, ii, 117, where Pischel § 267 looks upon ciṇṇa- as an error. But the fact that RT. also gives ciṇṇa- makes Pischel's correction doubtful. Other authorities (see Pischel, l.c.) give Mh. ciṇha- or cindha-. By I, iii, 15, when kūṣmāṇḍa- is fem., the Mh. form must be kōhaṇḍī. Here kūmahaṇḍī is also permitted for Śr. Mk. ix, 43 refers to the masculine and not to the feminine, and for Śr. gives only kumhaṇḍō, not kumahaṇḍō. For Mh., Hc. ii, 73 gives the fem. kōhalī or kōhaṇḍī; but Mk. iii, 45 gives Mh. fem. kōhaṇḍō or kumhaṇḍō. By RT. I, iii, 15, in Mh. bāṣpa- becomes only bāha-. By I, iii, 9, in Mh. bhindipāla- becomes bhiṇḍhibāla- (sic). Mk. iii, 64 has bhiṇḍibāla-.] 11. The change of ṣm, kṣm, and sm to mh is optional. Except in the word daiva- there is no doubling in the words sēvā etc.

[Half of this verse is missing in the MS. In Mh. by I, iii, 15, \$m, k\$m, and \$sma\$ always become \$mh\$. Cf. Mk. iii, 43. Mk. does not make this optional for Saurasēnī. The \$sevadi\$ are a number of words, in which, in Mh., the doubling of a consonant is optional, as in \$sebā\$ or \$sebbā\$, for \$sevā\$; \$deba\$- or \$debba\$-, for \$daiva\$-. A list of these words is given in the Comm. to I, iv, 1. Cf. Mk. iii, 75. In Sr. this doubling does not occur, except in the isolated case of the word \$daiva\$-. Mk. ix, 50, is different for Sr. He prohibits the doubling only in three words, viz., \$kautūhala\$-, \$sevā\$, and \$sthūla\$-, and allows it in the others.]

12. As a general rule, when a vowel follows, vowels [immediately preceding] are not elided. In  $k\bar{a}l\hat{a}yasa$ , the syllable ya, and in  $bh\bar{a}jana$ , the syllable ja is not elided. In the word  $kar\bar{e}nu$ - there is no metathesis, and in the word Brhaspati- the syllables bha and ya are not to be employed.

[In Mh., by I, v, 1, there are several cases of irregular sandhi. One of these is the elision of the former of two vowels which may happen to find themselves in juxtaposition. Thus  $karnap\bar{u}ra$ - becomes  $kanna\bar{u}ra$ - or  $kann\bar{u}ra$ -. As a rule this elision does not occur in Sr.

In Mh., by I, v, 2,  $k\bar{a}l\hat{a}yasa$ - may optionally become  $k\bar{a}l\bar{a}sa$ -, and  $bh\bar{a}jana$ - may optionally become  $bh\bar{a}na$ -. In Mh., by I, v, 9, the feminine word  $kar\bar{e}nuh$  is subjected to metathesis, and becomes  $kan\bar{e}r\bar{u}$ , and by I, v, 10, Brhaspatih becomes  $Bhayappa\bar{i}$ .]

13. The termination corresponding to both  $tv\bar{a}$  and ya, of the Sanskrit Indeclinable Perfect Participle, is ia. In the word  $id\bar{a}n\bar{i}m$ , the final anusvāra may optionally be omitted. The word  $bh\bar{a}gadh\bar{e}yam$  is to be treated as a masculine. The roots  $pu\bar{s}$ - and (?)rcch- are not used with the terminations  $[-tv\bar{a}]$  and [-ya] of the indeclinable perfect participle.

[In Mh., by I, v, 22, the terminations of the indeclinable perfect participle are ia, dūna or ūna, and uūna. In Mh., by v, 24, idūnīm becomes enhim, but in Śr. it is idānīm or idāni. In Śr. the word bhāgadhēyam is to be treated as masculine. If the conjectural emendation of the last line is correct, is seems to mean that puṣ- and another root, which may be rcch-, are not used in the indeclinable perfect participle. This is, however, very doubtful. For the extended meaning of lyap, see verse 26 below.]

#### DECLENSION.

14. The nominative singular of  $Durv\bar{a}sas$ - is  $Dubb\bar{a}s\bar{a}$ . The termination of the ablative singular is  $d\bar{o}$ , and also, in the case of a-bases, sometimes  $\bar{a}$ . The termination of the locative singular is only  $\bar{e}$ , but, with i-bases and u-bases, it is mmi. The termination  $b\bar{o}$  may not be used for the nominative plural [of i- and u-bases], nor may u be employed for the nominative plural of feminine nouns.

[In Mh., by I, vi, 5, the nominative plural of i- and u- bases may end in  $\bar{o}$ ,  $b\bar{o}$ , or  $n\bar{o}$ , and by I, v, 6, the nominative plural of feminine nouns either takes no termination, or

else ends in u or  $\bar{o}$ .

15, 16. The instrumental, genitive, ablative, and locative singular [of feminine nouns] ends only in  $\bar{e}$ . The accusative singular of  $m\bar{a}tr$ - is optionally  $m\bar{a}dara\dot{m}$ . The vowel  $\bar{\imath}$  is not used [as the termination of the] feminine base in the case of the pronouns kim, yad, tad,  $\bar{e}tad$ . The accusative plural of neuter nouns also ends in ni. The genitive plural of idam etc. does not end in  $\bar{e}sim$ . The pronouns kim etc. do not form the genitive singular (16) in  $ss\bar{a}$  or  $s\bar{e}$ , or the ablative singular in  $tt\bar{o}$ . The ablative singular of kim is  $kud\bar{o}$ , and of idam  $id\bar{o}$ . kim etc. do not employ  $\bar{a}h\bar{e}$ ,  $i\bar{a}$ , etc. [to indicate time], nor is sim used for the genitive plural [of tad], and, instead of the Sanskrit word iha, idha is used.

[In Mh., by I, vi, 6, the instrumental, genitive, ablative, and locative singular of feminine nouns ends in i,  $\bar{e}$ , a, or  $\bar{a}$ . By I, v, 10, the accusative singular of  $m\bar{a}tr$ - is  $m\bar{a}aram$ . By I, vi, 20, 21, in Mh. the pronouns kim etc. form their feminine bases in  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{i}$ , at option. Thus  $t\bar{a}\bar{e}$  or  $t\bar{i}\bar{e}$ , by her. In Sr. the base in  $\bar{i}$  is not used. By I, vi, 7, the nominative and accusative plural of neuter nouns ends in  $i\dot{m}$  preceded by a long vowel.

In Mh., by I, vi, 19, the genitive plural of several masculine and neuter pronouns (including idam) ends in  $\bar{e}sim$  or  $\bar{a}nam$ . In Mh., by I, vi, 20, the genitive singular feminine of the pronouns kim etc. ends in  $ss\bar{a}$ ,  $s\bar{e}$ , or tthi, and the ablative singular in all genders may end in  $d\bar{o}$  or  $tt\bar{o}$ . When indicating [a locative of] time, they take the terminations  $\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{a}h\bar{e}$ , or  $i\bar{a}$ . In Mh., by I, vi, 20, 21, the genitive plural of tad may be sim or nam.]

17. The nominative and accusative singular neuter of idam is idam or inam. The nominative singular [neuter] of  $\bar{e}tad$  does not end in  $\bar{o}$ . The nominative singular [masculine] of idam is ayam, and the feminine is iam. [The nominative singular of] adas, does not [substitute] ha [for da], but the ablative singular is [formed from the base] a.

[So, in Mh., by I, vi, 21, the nominative and accusative singular neuter of *idam* is *idam* or *inam*, and (I, vi, 23) the nominative singular neuter of *ēlūd* is *ēdam*, not *ēsō*. In Mh., by I, vi, 22, the nominative singular masculine of *idam* is *aam*, and the feminine is *iam*. By I, vi, 23, the Mh. nominative singular masculine of *adas* optionally substitutes ha for da, so that we get aha. In Sr., the ablative singular is formed from the base a, so that we have  $ad\bar{o}$ .]

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